Claire M. L. Bourne, Pennsylvania State University

"'Typographical Distinction': Alice Walker's Edward Capell's Shakespeare"

In the only sustained retrospective account of Alice Walker's contributions to the New Bibliographic projects of the twentieth century, Laurie Maguire calls her "an astute investigator of literary origins and appropriation" ("How Many Children Had Alice Walker?", 328). Walker is perhaps best known for her pioneering work in compositor studies, which would become a staple method for disaggregating printing house interventions from the text as it had come off (especially) Shakespeare's pen. She was also a fastidious, well-respected editor. In addition to editing a number of plays for other series, including the New Cambridge Shakespeare, she took over the editorship of OUP's major old spelling Shakespeare project from R. B. McKerrow upon his death in 1940. It was a project that never came to fruition. When Walker died in 1982, all her papers (including records of work towards the edition) were destroyed as stipulated in her will. Still, Walker's body of published work shows that she was not only interested in problems of the Shakespearean text but also in the utility and design (conceptual and typographical) of editorial apparatuses.

In 1960, the same year as she was appointed Reader in Bibliography and Textual Criticism at Oxford, Walker gave the British Academy Lecture on eighteenth century editor Edward Capell, whose 1768 edition of Shakespeare's plays, by Walker's estimation, had been—and, by my estimation, continues to be—neglected. It was overshadowed by Johnson's edition, published around the same time, and then eclipsed by Malone's, even though the latter follows Capell in many respects. In her lecture, Walker celebrated Capell for his eclectic approach to editing, one undergirded by a the first true attempt to collate as many of the early texts of the plays that he could access (a departure from the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century precedent of emending the most recent edition, despite claims to the contrary). She was also fascinated by the attention Capell had paid to "the appearance" of the text in his edition—"the devices he employed for reducing to a minimum extraneous matter displeasing to the eye and distracting to the mind" (134). As Walker wrote, "[Y]ears of planning on Capell's part was the secret [of his edition's] typographical distinction." Capell forewent "unsightly footnotes" and applied a comprehensive system of glyphs (_ , ", †, ‡) to register non-lexical business in lieu of adding clarifying stage directions, thereby solving what Walker called "an aesthetic problem for every editor whose text needs explication." In short, his edition achieved an unsurpassed textual "elegance," all the while being supported by thorough textual scholarship. My paper considers Walker's interest in recuperating Capell's editorial designs, broadly conceived, and illuminates their influence on her own editorial theories and practices. Even though Walker's actual editorial designs for the Oxford Shakespeare are irrecoverable, her attention to Capell's slow, painstaking work on his own major editorial project—and traces of his practices in the editions and scholarship she did publish—gives us purchase on what she valued (both intellectually and aesthetically) and how those values may have shaped her vision for the Shakespearean text.

Cait Coker, Texas A & M University

"Gendering Pedagogy? Empirical Bibliography, Book History, and the Problem of Manuscript Production"

Empirical bibliography is "an effort to understand the manner in which a book was constructed through immediate physical experience (including the systematic and repeatable process of testing and verification based on historical methodology)" (Samuelson and Morrow 2015, 86). As a pedagogical tool, it has been adopted at multiple institutions as a method of teaching book history—where "book" is implicitly understood to be a printed codex created for public consumption. However, programs that look at writing and manuscript work have not utilized similar methods, or if they have, on a much reduced scale; for example, courses in manuscripts and paleography are generally focused on learning skills to read a text rather than to produce one. I would argue that at least part of the discrepancy between the material study of print and manuscript is because of gender: Even as print culture was becoming the norm of consumption, women continued to write and circulate their work in manuscript form well into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. While scholarship is increasingly willing to tackle the material aspect of bibliography and print and how they can inform these concepts, the questions of gender and of manuscripts are ones that remain to be fully scrutinized. By adding empirical bibliography to our toolbox, feminist scholars can revise our narratives in a different way in a different location, and push beyond the familiar conceptions of the "book" to consider alternate narratives of book history.

Heidi Craig, University of Toronto

"Women Rakers and Early Modern Paper Production"

Early modern paper was typically made from recycled linen rags. This process required the labour of rakers, sorters, washers and grinders to collect rags from refuse heaps, separate them according to quality and strength, and prepare them for their transformation into paper, respectively. My essay explores the extent to which women participated in these preliminary processes of paper making in the early modern period, focusing on the first step of rag raking. Although the figure of the "raker" is not an obviously gendered occupation -- as opposed to say, the "butter-woman" or "oyster-wench" -- this paper offers evidence that in early modern England, rakers were often women, and that rag-raking was viewed strongly (though not exclusively) as women's work. Overall, I argue that the early modern papermaking industry relied on women rakers, whose contributions (because of class and assumptions about gendered language) have largely been overlooked.

"Rag-rakers in dung-hills" are among the many kinds of urban labourers mentioned in Bartholomew Fair; the only raker to actually appear in an early modern play happens to be a woman. In the earthy closet play, The Gossip's Brawl or The Women Wear the

Breeches (1655), the dunghill raker Joan Ruggles joins a fishwife, a tub-woman and a hostess in a pub where they drink heavily, quarrel, converse frankly about sex, and discuss the pawning, lending and patching of clothing. The play suggests several avenues of inquiry, which my paper pursues: the centrality of lower-class women's labour to paper fabrication; the status of women rakers as part of a wider, marginalized female labour force in London; the thrifty use and reuse of textiles as quotidian tasks for early modern women of all classes; the extent to which seemingly "non-gendered" occupations can obscure women in these roles, and how to recover women's participation in such occupations.

Alan Farmer, Ohio State University

"Widow Publishers, 1540–1640"

From 1540 to 1640, there are about fifty widow stationers in London who were involved in the publication of over 300 editions of books for the English book trade. This essay attempts to determine what kinds of books these women published and what kinds of publishing specialties they tended to pursue. As Helen Smith and Maureen Bell have demonstrated, women were integrally involved at all levels of the early modern book trade, and so the surviving records of publications by these stationers represent only one way in which women were involved in the London book trade. Imprints and other records, moreover, do not tell the entire story of how widow stationers were involved in book publishing, but these documents give us enough information to begin to make some preliminary observations about the publishing decisions of individual women and about the general strategies widow stationers seem to have pursued.

Most widows had a rather conservative economic approach to publishing and took steps to minimize the risk of bringing out an edition. They tended to publish fewer editions than their husbands had, for example, and those works they did publish were often reprints of titles that had already proven popular with readers. Widow stationers also sought to minimize their risk by bringing out short books rather than long, expensive volumes, and by frequently publishing editions in partnership with other stationers. This type of conservatism was a shrewd approach to publishing that sought to capitalize on some of the economic advantages that widow stationers possessed. A few widow stationers, though, used a more entrepreneurial approach to publishing, bringing out more editions than their deceased husbands had, new works from different authors than their husbands had published, and using different networks of stationers from those employed by their husbands. In the 1630s, though, both of these types of widow stationers began to collaborate more often with one another, apparently forming a loose network of widow printers and booksellers that seems to have cut across ideological and religious ties. In the end, this essay suggests that widow stationers help give us a better sense of some of the economic strategies used by stationers in general and of the importance of collaborative networks within the early modern London book trade.

Adam G. Hooks, University of Iowa

"Precedent Bartlett"

Counting Shakespeare matters because it defines what counts as Shakespeare. Henrietta C. Bartlett was one of the best bibliographers who ever counted Shakespeare, and she knew the critical and historical value of the census and the catalogue. Bartlett is best known for her collaboration with Alfred W. Pollard, *A Census of Shakespeare's Plays in Quarto 1594-1709* (1916) which was revised and extended — by Bartlett alone — for a new edition in 1939. Her work is the model and the inspiration for a new project I am co-directing with Zachary Lesser, the New Shakespeare Census, a digital database that will locate and describe all copies of all editions of Shakespeare's works through 1700 (excluding the four folios). Rather than focusing on women, gender, and book history within the early modern period, then, I want to do so within the history of early modern bibliography, and so I examine Bartlett's career in order to reveal its position within and influence on book-historicist methodologies. Bartlett's bibliographical perspectives and practices both contributed to and conflicted with the interests of the men who are now known as the "New Bibliographers." Her chosen professions and methodologies provide an alternative to the ones ultimately embraced by the New Bibliographers, whose influence actively suppressed the (feminist) mode of bibliography she represents.

Unlike the New Bibliographers, she was not obsessed with text. Instead, her bibliographic work focused on Shakespeare's material texts — that is, she defined Shakespeare's works as copies rather than editions or issues. She understood the value not only of the evidence found in material artifacts, but the critical importance of this evidence for the study of Shakespeare. As we consider, theorize, debate — and practice — a form of feminist bibliography, we would do well to follow precedent Bartlett.

Elizabeth Zeman Kolkovich, Ohio State University

"Seeking Women's Books: Ghosts of the Library of the Countess of Huntingdon"

My paper will present new research on the reading practices of Elizabeth Stanley Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon (1588-1633). She served as muse and patron for an influential literary circle and, together with her family, shaped a surprising amount of the period's literature. She and other family members sponsored commercial and household plays and patronized writers who became our literary canon (e.g. Spenser, Jonson, Fletcher, Donne, Milton, and maybe Shakespeare). As Hastings's letters demonstrate, reading and writing were an essential part of her everyday life, and her funeral sermon remembers her as learned and well read. Central to my study are her manuscript miscellanies—five of which survive at the Huntington Library—which offer the best evidence of her reading. Yet these books, focused narrowly on religious study and pious thought, provide a narrow (and I'd argue incomplete) view of her engagement with literature. I put her miscellanies in conversation with other evidence of family book ownership and book-sharing, especially her husband's book inventory (which seems never to have been studied) and her sister Frances's library list (which is well known

among scholars of reading). As I present Hastings as a noteworthy case study, I also explore the limitations of this critical approach to reading. My paper begins to consider such questions as: To what extent was reading gendered in the early modern period? How might familial and geographic networks have shaped reading practices?

Catherine Loomis, Rochester, New York

"Ordinary Books and Ordinary Readers"

Scholars are fortunate that some early modern English women who owned books left records of that ownership, but are there ways to recover the stories of ordinary readers? Ordinary books are one possible source. Texts without much literary merit make occasional references to women's daily lives, including their reading practices. In this paper, I will look at references to books and reading in a subset of early modern English prose works and poems: non-canonical works in which male authors adopt a female persona. In Nicholas Breton's The Miseries of Mavillia, and in anonymous songs and ballads, references to reading and books allow us to access the experiences of female readers. At the same time as these texts supply details of the lives of girls and women, however, they also raise troubling questions of authority and authorship.

Breton's long prose narrative, which he claims he simply recorded as a woman told him the story, includes an account of a young woman learning to read, and then teaching a younger woman to read. The songs and ballads discuss other aspects of literacy. These texts reveal a nuanced relationship between women whose "bringing up hath been chiefly at her book and needle" (Breton, Post with a Packet) but whose lives are otherwise not documented.

Tara L. Lyons, Illinois State University

"The Library of Elizabeth (née Talbot) Grey, the Countess of Kent"

This paper examines the library of the Countess of Kent, Elizabeth Grey (1582-1651) and the methods of cataloguing her books at Whitefriars, London. The manuscript inventory of the Countess's 179 titles (approximately 186 volumes) can be found within a much larger inventory of books owned by legal historian and antiquary, John Seldon (1584-1654). According to my current tally, the Countess of Kent's catalogue is the second largest recorded book inventory of an early modern Englishwoman who was not a member of the royal family. In this respect then, the inventory provides a rare opportunity to view and interpret the reading habits of a well-educated multilingual aristocratic woman with a wide variety of personal and scholarly interests. However, for the purposes of this paper, I turn to a specific feature of the Countess's list -- the document of the inventory -- and the processes that brought it into being. By reading the Countess's inventory within the context of the whole manuscript and its cataloguer's aims, I consider what we can learn about the arrangement and storage of women's books. Moreover, I hope to highlight what could be lost when women's book catalogues are read and interpreted outside the local and material contexts in which they were created.

Kirk Melnikoff, University of North Carolina, Charlotte

"[T]il some houshold cares mee tye": Isabella Whitney, Richard Jones, and Luckless Authorship"

Sometime around 1567, Isabella Whitney had two poems published by the newly freed printer-bookseller Richard Jones as part of a four-poem amalgam now commonly referred to together as *The Copy of a Letter*. Jones gave the "yonge Gentilwoman" "Is. VV" top billing on his title page, and he also imagined himself actively peddling the short pamphlet to passersby in the first of what would be his many readers' epistles. "WHat lack you Maister mine?" he asks, "some trifle that is trew? / Why? then this same wil serue your turne / the which is also new" (sig A1^{v}). Six years later, towards the end of her most-famous poem "Will and Testament," Whitney directs her readers' attention to "all ... Bookebinders by Paulles," particularly to the poem's publisher Jones, this upon ironically lamenting her luck that she never "came in credit so / a debtor for to be." "Amongst them all," she dictates, "my Printer must, / have somwhat to his share: / I wyll my Friends these Bookes to bye / of him, with other ware" (sig E6^{v}). This intimation of Whitney herself hawking copies ("these Bookes") of her second poetry publication *A Sweet Nosegay* at Jones's stall suggests not simply shamelessness but, as I hope to show in my contribution to this seminar, familiarity--with Jones's bookshop(s) (and their "ware[s]"), with Jones himself ("my Printer"), and with Jones's early publishing practices. In this essay, I will be especially interested to consider Whitney's figurations of female authorship within this professional context, unpacking the full implications of her pledge in *A Sweet Nosegay*'s "To her Sister Misteris A.B." to employ her "bookes and Pen" "til some houshold cares mee tye" (sig. D2^{r}).

Helen Smith, University of York

"Looking for Women in the Book Trades"

From the relatively slender visual record of the early modern book trades, we could be forgiven for thinking that women had little part to play in the business of printing and publishing. My SAA paper will investigate several of the extant sources depicting the work of printing and publishing, images which have gone largely unstudied (save for illustrative purposes) in research on the book trades and, to the best of my knowledge, entirely unstudied as artefacts of visual culture, though several of them possess important and intriguing features in their own right, and participate in a powerful visual rhetoric.

I will investigate what these images have to tell us about questions of gender and identity in the printshop and at the bookstall, first by briefly investigating the multiple modes of masculinity represented, and reproduced, by artists and engravers. From there, I will go on to explore what images have to tell us about women's work in the book trades, as well as what they leave unsaid, or rather unshown.

The final section of this paper will go on to explore some possible futures for work in this field, taking the lessons of the first part as a starting point to ask how we might explore and profit from the productive tension between the possibilities offered by ‘big’ data and the need for detailed and specific archival, bibliographical, and literary work.

Martine van Elk, California State University, Long Beach

"‘Famed as far as one finds books’: Women Publishers and Printers of Plays in the Dutch Republic"

This essay explores the cultural climate in which Katharina Lescailje, author, printer, and publisher of plays, worked. Most likely together with her sister, Lescailje took over the printing house of her father after his death. The Lescailje printing house had been closely associated with the only public theater in Amsterdam, the Schouwburg, and in order to get a better sense of the working life of Lescailje, my paper asks which other women published plays, how these women were connected to Lescailje, and what we can gather from this about women’s role in publishing drama in the Dutch Republic.

Since not much research has been done into the broader subject of women and the book trade in the Dutch Republic, I begin by sketching in broad outlines what we do and do not know about these women and how printing plays worked. I then discuss the relationship between Lescailje and several individual other women who published plays. Finally, I look at the few moments when Lescailje is explicitly connected to publishing and print in texts about her, which are generally remarkably silent on her professional career. The paper concludes with a look at printer’s marks as forms of female selfrepresentationon title pages, which at times can be silent about their contributions to book production. While much of the public reputation of Lescailje as it exists in poetic form highlights only her writing, my research suggests other avenues for approaching this remarkable woman, which show her professionalism and status in the book trade.

Sarah Wall-Randell, Wellesley College

"The Countess of Pembroke’s The Countesse of Pembroke’s Arcadia"

Mary Sidney Herbert’s involvement in the creation and production of her brother Philip Sidney’s Arcadia has been widely acknowledged. The prose romance’s title in print, The Countesse of Pembroke’s Arcadia, declares a certain kind of ownership of the text, and Sidney’s dedicatory letter makes explicit the centrality of her role as inspirer, audience, real-time editor, and patron. Sidney’s posthumous voice in the letter credits Pembroke with commissioning the work as well as with being literally, materially present throughout its composition: “You desired me to doo it, and your desire, to my hart is an absolute commandement. Now, it is done onlie for you, onley to you …. Your deare selfe can best witnes the maner, being done in loose sheetes of paper, most of it in your

presence, the rest, by sheetes, sent unto you, as fast as they were done" (Arcadia 1590 [STC 22539], A3r). For the 1593 edition, the countess became literary executor and editor, striking back at textual choices made by Fulke Greville in the 1590 edition that she condemned. She was "moued … to take in hand the wiping away those spots wherewith the beauties thereof were vnworthely blemished" (Arcadia 1593 [STC 22540] ¶4r), according to a preface signed "H. S." The nature of and rationale behind Pembroke's interventions in Sidney's text have been considered previously; in this essay I am interested in examining the idea of her work in the text as it would have been received by readers of the Arcadia. Sidney sketches a role for Pembroke that is collaborative and material, positioning her so close to the scene of creation and so essential to the romance's existence that she is, if not authorial, then far more immediate in her agency than muse or patron. And the role for Pembroke outlined in the prefatory letter to the 1593 edition (a letter, I suggest, that may have been written by Pembroke herself) goes far beyond the idea of editor. In the essay, I call for a new vocabulary for describing Pembroke's work on the Arcadia, and, using such potential new terms, a reevaluation of what it meant for a woman to be responsible for the transmission of a "literary" text in the late sixteenth century in England.

Sarah Werner, Washington D.C.

"Weaving a Feminist Book History"

Most work on women and book history is focused on recovering the histories of women in the book trades or in the scholarship of textual studies and bibliography. The problem I want to explore, instead, is how do you enact a feminist practice of book history if you're not looking to recover earlier women?

I started worrying about women and book history (and specifically that subset concerned with how books are made, which is to say, bibliography) as I was writing a textbook about how books were made in the first centuries of the printing press. Mine wasn't a work about books or about the book trade, so there wasn't a focus on authors or printers or book sellers per se, just a lot of information on machines and processes and discussions of why it matters. So how could I bring my investment in feminist theory and practice to the forefront of my current work?

This paper starts off with a look at Leslie Howsam's "In My View: Women and Book History," her important 1998 call to arms for a feminist approach to book history. It then follows the metaphors of printing, gender, weaving, and erasure from her essay through other key pieces on the gender implications of the technology of hand-press printing and writing to end up with an advocacy for a feminist way of writing textbooks through a pedagogy of questioning.

Deanne Williams, York University

"The Making of the 1501 Edition of the Works of Hrotswitha of Gandersheim"

The German humanist, Conrad Celtes, published the works of Hrotswitha of Gandersheim in 1501. Hrotswitha, a 10th-century German secular canoness, was a poet and dramatist who composed, among other works, six plays loosely based on the works of Terence: the first dramatic compositions in western Europe since the classical period. Together, these Latin plays constitute a gendered reading of Terence that provides an alternative model of female identity to the pregnant teenagers and sexually exploited slavegirls that populate the comedies of Terence, whose elegant and lucid style made his works required reading in the medieval schoolroom. My paper explains how this beautiful edition of Hrotswitha, which contains eight woodcut illustrations, including two by Albrecht Dürer, situates Hrotswitha retrospectively within the humanist tradition. While my paper is not about women creating books per se, it is about gender in relationship to book history, as it seeks to situate the Celtes edition of Hrotswitha as a watershed moment in the publication of women authors. It looks closely at the material details of the edition in order to understand how it constructed and promoted Hrotswitha and her work, not only in conversation with early printed editions of Terence, but also through a close and responsive reading of her dramatic work.

Molly Yarn, University of Cambridge

**"'A thorough piece of work':
Katharine Lee Bates and the Revaluation of Student Editions of Shakespeare"**

Student editions of Shakespeare form an enormous body of neglected editorial work, and it is within this oft-overlooked corpus that many women editors of Shakespeare working prior to 1950 can be found. A common criticism leveled at student editions involves labeling their texts as 'derivative', and although well-known texts such as Wright and Clark's Globe editions were often reprinted in their entirety as an alternative to creating a new text, not all student editions can be painted with the same brush. Using materials gathered during my work in the Wellesley archives, this paper examines the work of poet and editor Katharine Lee Bates to demonstrate that Bates applied both considerable critical understanding and significant textual scholarship to the preparation of student editions of Shakespeare. Bates represents a generation of American women who embraced opportunities to edit Shakespeare for audiences outside of the academic elite, and whose work has too often been excluded from editorial history. Sonia Massai cautions against the impulse towards 'exceptional examples' in the telling of editorial history, blaming the 'teleological desire which foregrounds familiar (and therefore properly editorial) strategies as the expense of […] much wider and more representative textual practices' (*Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor*, p. 3). Bates is undoubtedly exceptional, but I employ exceptionalism here not to valorize one particular woman who stands above others, but to demonstrate that an entire chapter of the Shakespearean editorial tradition remains largely unexplored, and that its contents deserve attention.

Georgianna Ziegler, Folger Shakespeare Library

"'Her Hand and Book':
Women as Owners of Early English Books at the Folger Library, a Second Look"

How can we excavate the presence of women from early modern objects, in this case books, and how might that excavation enrich our study of the objects themselves as well as the people who used them? Those are questions I asked in relationship to over 200 volumes printed during the STC period which I identified in the Folger Library collections, to which I am adding some newer acquisitions and books printed during the Wing period (to 1700). In recent years, the subject of material culture has broadened beyond the vision of Kopytoff who taught us to see the "biography of things" as "the way they are culturally defined and put to use"; in other words, the idea that people give things meaning. Scholars such as Fumerton, Stallybrass, Jones, and Eastop, among many others, have complicated this binary by suggesting that we look at reciprocal relationships between objects and subjects to see how they construct and give meaning to each other. Most of the books that turned up in my survey were not owned by important people, but that's the point, because the ownership of these books and the ways in which they are marked allow the objects to help define the people. Books, as Natalie Davis has rightly noted, are the "carriers of relationships." My paper surveys and summarizes some of these relationships based on a finite sampling of books from one institution.