Theses and Dissertations (All)

Summer 8-2018

Documenting Gender Equity in Renaissance Anthologies: A Study of the Contemporary Anthologization of Early Modern Women Authors

Mais Al-Shara'h

Follow this and additional works at: https://knowledge.library.iup.edu/etd

DOCUMENTING GENDER EQUITY IN RENAISSANCE ANTHOLOGIES:

A STUDY OF THE CONTEMPORARY ANTHOLOGIZATION

OF EARLY MODERN WOMEN AUTHORS

A Dissertation

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

Mais Nayel Al-Shara'h

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

August 2018

Indiana University of Pennsylvania
School of Graduate Studies and Research
Department of English

We hereby approve the dissertation of

Mais Nayel Al-Shara'h

Candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

_____   _____
                                          Christopher M. Kuipers, Ph.D.
                                          Associate Professor of English, Advisor

_____   _____
                                          David Downing, Ph.D.
                                          Distinguished University Professor

_____   _____
                                          Veronica Watson, Ph.D.
                                          Associate Professor of English

_____   _____
                                          Stephen Zimmerly, Ph.D.
                                          Assistant Professor of English
                                          University of Indianapolis
ACCEPTED

_____   _____
Randy L. Martin, Ph.D.
Dean
School of Graduate Studies and Research

Title: Documenting Gender Equity in Renaissance Anthologies: A Study of the Contemporary
         Anthologization of Early Modern Women Authors

Author: Mais Nayel Al-Shara'h

Dissertation Chair: Dr. Christopher M. Kuipers

Dissertation Committee Members: Dr. David Downing
                                  Dr. Veronica Watson
                                  Dr. Stephen Zimmerly

This dissertation will be devoted to the evolution of the inclusion of women's writing in the present-day literary canon of the English Renaissance and the influence of concerns about gender equity on the formation of contemporary anthologies of Renaissance literature. As a social principle, equity means equal access to a society's opportunities and resources, such as in schooling (Ferguson). The exclusion of women from writing, publishing, and otherwise participating in the literary tradition and its cultural advantages has been recognized as a central problem for some time in English studies, one that scholars have worked to redress. Lack of gender equity is particularly a problem in those literary traditions of earlier periods, when women were actively discouraged from gaining literacy and rarely granted access to publishing outlets for their writing. Such was the case during the Renaissance of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when male writers, like William Shakespeare, had more publishing rights and opportunities than their fellow female authors, like Virginia Woolf's posited "Judith Shakespeare," a figure who suggests that the Renaissance remains an important construction site for achieving contemporary ideals of gender equity.

These inequalities have often been cemented by the modern textbooks used to teach literature, which feature mostly male authors. Moreover, textbooks of literature embody what John Guillory has called the "cultural capital" of the literary canon because, according to Guillory, "the school" is the primary location where literary canons are formed and perpetuated.

Therefore, various critics and editors such as Barbara Pace and Paul Lauter have called for revision of the exclusively biased "textbook canon." Much revision of the traditional university literature curriculum with attention to racial and gender equity has been accomplished, primarily by recovering women and minority writers and by including in anthologies more representative selections of their work. In the field of Renaissance studies, various scholars have also answered this imperative (Callaghan), resulting in many changes in Renaissance literature anthologies. However, except for contemporary anthologies of Renaissance drama, which have been explored by Lopez and others, there has been little study of the contemporary formation of the textbook canon of Renaissance literature, which includes many genres other than plays. This inquiry is devoted to examining how gender equity has (or has not) been achieved in the contemporary textbook canon of Renaissance literature. In order to assess the various kinds of editorial interventions that have been performed regarding the anthologization of early modern women authors, I apply statistical models for anthologies from Pace, Kuipers, and others.

Because the anthology was also a popular form of publication in the Renaissance, I will detail the minimal presence of women authors in the earliest English Renaissance poetry collections, like Tottel's *Miscellany* (1557), and subsequent landmark collections like Palgrave's *Golden Treasury* (1861). My primary area of investigation, however, is the last several decades of the present, where I will survey a range of Renaissance textbook anthologies published during this time. Some of these anthologies, like the Renaissance sections in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature,* are studied diachronically to reveal relevant changes across editions. Other anthologies are studied synchronically, grouping them by genre or theme. Within individual anthologies, I investigate such areas as the inclusions and exclusions of given authors and texts; the editorial organization, sourcing, presentation, and abridgment of selections; the role of editors' introductions, headnotes, and bibliographies; various anthology paratexts, such as dust

jackets and marketing materials; and other relevant statistical proportions and related evidence that may suggest how contemporary editors and publishers have been motivated by concerns about gender equity. Necessary literary and cultural history will also be referenced as needed, such as the differences between the period terms "Renaissance," "Elizabethan," and "early modern," when deployed in anthologies' titles.

Regarding its theoretical methodology, this investigation is located at the intersection of two existing areas of literary study: the advocacy research of the "recovery movement" (the sector of contemporary canon studies devoted to recovering female authors and their works) and the cultural study of Anglo-American university textbooks, specifically the anthologies published as textbooks for college courses in literature. I will employ a "mixed method" (combined qualitative/quantitative methodology) also known as "attending to the anthology's 'soft figures'" (Kuipers, "Contemporizing"). The effective starting point is the post-war period when canon-making relocated to the university, and the canon-making college textbook anthology first appeared. Of the dozens of published post-WWII anthologies of English Renaissance, I will analyze altogether about 30, dividing them into four general categories based on three variables: relative size and market reach (number of selections, audience, sales figures, re-editions); gender inclusivity (male-only, mixed gender, female-only); and overall design (comprehensive, vs. those limited in genre, theme/topic, and/or subperiod). I will argue that there are four discrete textbook types based on these three variables: the "middlemen" anthology, the "marquee" anthology, the "female utopia," and the *passaggio.*

Following Chapter One which is an introduction that will review relevant scholarship on Renaissance studies, canon formation, and the nature of the contemporary textbook anthology, the dissertation chapters are broken down according to these above four types. Chapter Two will be a historical examination of the exclusion of women authors from the earliest English

Renaissance anthologies down to the immediate post-WWII period, when the modern textbook anthology emerged. The role anthologies play in this period is that of "middlemen," whose authoritative male editors grant access to the past to a present readership. In Chapter Three, on "marquee anthologies," anthologists begin to work in committees to address a wider and less specialized student audience. Renaissance literature in two of these best-selling anthologies, *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* (1962-2018) and *The Longman Anthology of British Literature* (1999-2010), will be studied over the full range of their editions, tracing the shifts over the series in their inclusion of women. Chapter Four, on "female utopias" (as perfect places and as nonexistent places), studies anthologies that include only female authors of Renaissance literature. Here, the desire to represent Renaissance women's experiences as worthy of study plays a strong role in opening the Renaissance canon, but the absence of male authors has additional pedagogical consequences. In Chapter Five, on *passaggio*, or the concept of high and low singing registers available to all voices, female and male authors of the English Renaissance exist as co-equals in populating anthologies and representing the Renaissance age. Ultimately, anthologists who have grouped male and female authors of the English Renaissance together project a Renaissance canon that is imagined as "open" to women, yet one not necessarily over-determined by concerns about gender equity.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1: The Renaissance Canon and the Textbook Anthology

The English Renaissance literary period, often delineated as the years 1450-1650, stands as a foundational era in English literary history. The period is typically represented by a standard list of authors who wrote remarkable poetic and dramatic works during that era: Spenser, Shakespeare, Donne, Milton. More broadly, the Renaissance literary canon also implies all of the literature produced during that time. Like any literary period, the Renaissance is too vast to be contained, broken down, or simplified into a singular entity. Such wider canons are naturally too massive to be contained in an anthology. Nevertheless, as one of the best pedagogical resources for teaching any literary period, textbook anthologies cannot "cover" all literary works during the Renaissance era, but they can present effective representations from that age. However, since the full range of Renaissance literary work continues to become more widely accessible,[1] particularly as lost, forgotten, or neglected works come back to light, the problem of how to best represent this historical literary corpus will persist as a fresh challenge to anthologist, for whom "all-inclusiveness" is a desired yet ever-receding ideal.

This ongoing nature of canon formation in the realm of textbook anthologies, focused on the Renaissance, is the central topic of this dissertation. Period anthologies, which always form "micro-canons" of some full historical corpus, are thereby meant to represent the era in a more digestible manner. Canons and anthologies are alike in some ways, since they share the purpose

---

[1] In their 2009 *The Renaissance Literature Handbook*, Bruce et al. write: "The English Renaissance produced what is perhaps the greatest literature in English history: the range and quality... surpass[es] that produced in any other period" (23). They discuss the many projects that have been devoted to expanding the corpus of Renaissance literature. One of these is EEBO (Early English Book Online), a database created in 1999 to make more widely available the many publications and manuscripts written from 1473 to 1700.

of representing a particular field of literature, having thereby a certain scope and organization, and both signify that choices have been made. But the key difference between them is pragmatic: anthologies are always *embodiments* of whatever canon(s) they may be send to represent. Anthologies thus play a crucial role in the way literary ages are interpreted, accepted, and taught, and can be said to be the vehicles or virtual embodiments of canons.

The Renaissance famously produced a number of influential anthologies, such as Tottel's *Miscellany*, and some of these will be analyzed further in Chapter Two. The anthology form, however, dates to the ancient world. The word "anthology," drawn from the Greek term *anthologia,* originally signified "a collection of flowers," i.e., a artfully arranged "bouquet" of poems. As a metaphorical figure, a literary bouquet implies many pertinent variables: which flowers are selected, who pick(s) the flowers, the garden or meadow where the flowers were found growing, how the flowers are arranged within the bouquet, and also the intended recipient of the bouquet. Drawing upon this metaphor, we can see how it correlates to the process of collecting texts in publishable anthologies. The flowers represent the selected texts, the picker of flowers implies the author (or editor), the garden represents the relevant corpus of literature, the flower arrangement represents the published presentation of the selections, and the bouquet's recipient represents the anthology's audience, which in the case of textbook anthologies is imagined as students (and instructors).

Intensive work goes into creating an anthology, so a number of variables need to be considered when studying it. In his "Analyzing Anthologies," Jeffrey Di Leo explains three phases of anthologization through which an anthology could be examined (see *Figure 1*). Di Leo states that although the anthology is a product that can be considered merely "repackaging of primary sources" (9), it is a valuable contemporary publishing medium that has not "been given sustained analysis by cultural theorists" (6). He outlines three useful focal points of anthology

analysis: the politics behind making the anthology; he pedagogical impact of the anthology; and the economics of making and distributing of the anthology. To Di Leo, anthologies should be questioned particularly in terms of subjects, ideologies, and canons; since "[a]ntholologies have consequences;" they can empower and disempower specific literary contents and specific cultural contexts (2).
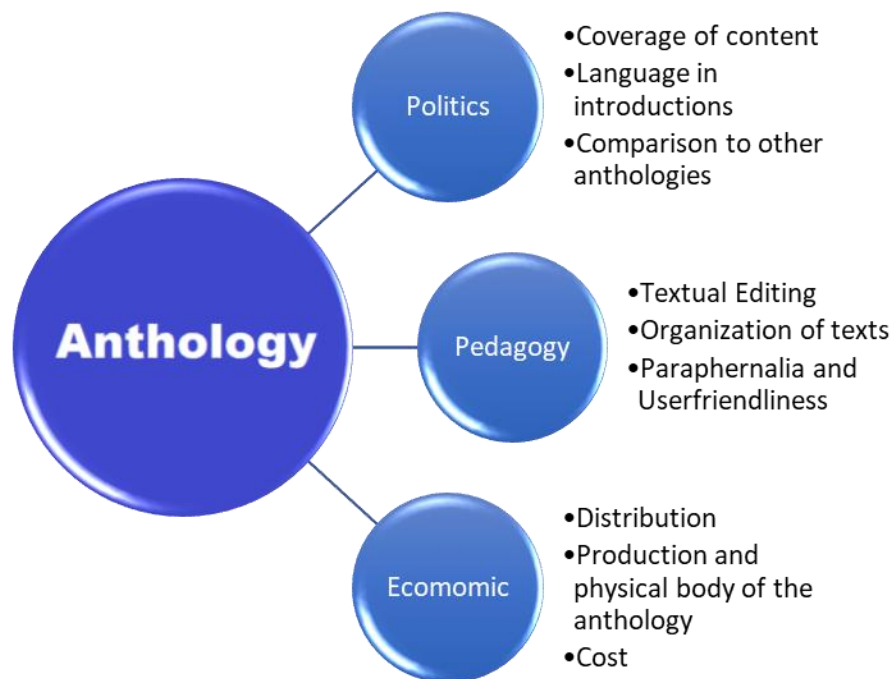
Fig. 1: *Di Leo's Anthology Analysis*

In their "Anthology," Bishop and Starkey offer this simple definition of the form: "[a] literary anthology is a collection of works by various authors in a single volume" (11). Of course, there are many anthologies involving single authors, such as volumes of "selected" or "collected" poems, which are understood to be drawn from multiple volumes previously published by the poet in question. Yet in all cases, anthologies are collections and selections, and any choice made—whether consciously or unconsciously—to include or exclude authors or

texts should be seen as an unavoidable necessity of anthologization. Therefore, anthologies can be seen as controlled "readings" of the literary canon, as it were, and may be considered a mode of literary performance in its own right, one that creatively enacts the selecting and groupings by the anthologists, the editors of authors and texts. Before delving deeper into Renaissance anthologies, we thus need to acknowledge that there is a clear though complex relationship between anthologies and the canons they represent. In short, canon formation plays a crucial role in anthologizing the English Renaissance, and the opposite is equally true.

The history of the Renaissance canon's own formation has been critically influenced by the evolving definition of "canon" itself, for the word "canon" and many of its related forms ("canonize," "canonical," etc.) first entered the English language during this seminal era. On the one hand, Kolbas defines the literary canon as a "corpus of works … [the] summit of cultural achievement" (1). A canon is thus the core of works that are constructed from, and as, a valued literary heritage. Kolbas notes that a canon can also be a tool, specifically something used to organize the knowledge of a certain culture's "inherited literary excellence" (22). Furthermore, as Lauter declares, works in a canon are classified based on their relative significance to the culture in question. He writes, "[b]y 'canon' I mean the set of literary works, the grouping of significant philosophical, political, and religious texts" that carry "cultural weight within a society" (ix). Although Lauter argues that canons are stable and rarely change, the linking of canon to society implies that as the values of a society fluctuate, perhaps extremely, so will its literary canons. From another viewpoint, Winders believes that the canon is a reflection of "intellectual history" (4), stating that the contemporary take on canons has brought "[e]xciting transformations of intellectual history," particularly since the 1980's, when the canon transformed to include a wide array of previously marginalized literature (5).

In line with the perspectives of the canon theorists like Kolbas, Lauter, and Winders, Renaissance literature, largely in sync with English literature of other eras, has experienced two very different types of canon formations within its own historical evolution both as a field of culture, and as a field of formal study. The first is the detection of its *valued* cultural achievements as a kind of recorded intellectual history. Here, the Renaissance literary anthology forms a critical hierarchy where certain literary kinds, authors, and texts, among many other achievements, are more valued. The second is the selective process of what particular authors and texts carry the most weight and worthiness within the wider valued hierarch. It should be noted: the first is really the literary "mass," an attempt to delineate what stands as the body of (true) literature in general, and the second is the more narrowly selected field of truly exceptional, or "great" literature. If the canon is *the cultural achievement*, then it cannot easily be reduced into a *tool of organization*.[2] Therefore, what Kolbas means by organization and choices of *excellence* should properly refer to anthologies, which choose what is to be included from the mass of canon. The same goes for Lauter's reading of the canon: the canon is reduced to *sets* and *groupings*; which seems to defines an anthology better than a canon.

There are two additional issues concerning the understanding of what canons and anthologies are, and how they are related. These two issues are two sides of the same coin, and both can be traced to conceptions of literary canonicity that emerged in the Renaissance. The first is that there is a common assumption that canons are somehow "standard." The word "standard" suggests fixation and universal agreement. This assumption of fixity consequently implies that the process of change and expansion in canons is slow and often delayed, though always by some general consensus. The second issue arises when anthologies are mistaken for

---

[2] An example on this is Rachel Speght's *Dream* which was not anthologized until Woudhuysen's *The Penguin Book of Renaissance Verse* (1993). This will be better explained in Chapter Five.

complete corpora, on the model "The Holy Bible," i.e., considered to be "closed" canons. Thus, today's user of the textbook anthology, perhaps influenced by its obvious physical resemblance to a printed Bible, believes it to be "*the* canon," a final and complete product naturally incapable of change. Zagarell's essay "Conceptualizing Women's Literary History" supplies an important corrective: "[a]s canonizers we might run the risk of accepting or practicing reification, but as recoverers and reconceptualizers of literary history, we remain engaged in that pursuit of causation and connections" (274). Literary canonization is misunderstood if it is though to imply stillness, and though print anthologies may promote a strong sense of textual stability, they also can falsely imply that canons are primarily characterized by immobility.

Taking after the concept formation of the famous Renaissance astronomer Galileo, Kuipers' "field theory" of canonicity suggests that the process of canon formation depends on the dynamic interaction between the inclusive force of "corpus" and the selective force of "anthology." Similarly, I propose a working definition for both canon and anthology, using the English Renaissance as a base for my definition. As more research is devoted to English Renaissance literature, the number of available authors and texts from this era keeps incrementally rising. Thus, the Renaissance's literary corpus is a slowly expanding universe. I thus understand "canon" as the initial, most basic filter through which authors and texts are understood *as*, i.e., as definitionally equivalent to, "Renaissance literature." Though this "canon" does minimally exclude many texts as simply "non-literary" (informational, "of purely historical interest," etc.), this great archive is still far too vast to be taught as a whole to those studying the literature of the English Renaissance. Hence, a second filter should be applied to Renaissance literature: "anthologies." The literary canon in this narrower sense includes many literary works and authors that are singled out as part of the legacy of the age it covers. Those works are included or excluded from literary anthologies based on editorial choices and other contingencies

that rationalize or explain such selections. This canonizing function is underscored by the fact that anthologies are also created for teaching purposes, and they essentially consist of works whose literary fame stems from recent academic training in literary study. Effectively, then, there exists apart from the wider corpus of literature a more limited canon: a virtual, text-based "classroom"—the anthology. At this juncture we may also observe how throughout Renaissance Europe there emerged a new pattern of public education (i.e., schools not primarily affiliated with the Christian church), memorialized in England by texts such as Lily's famous Latin grammar, and Roger Ascham's *The Scholemaster* (1570). Our contemporary, notably secular canon of literature can certainly be traced to these educational developments of the Renaissance.

In light of the various definitions sketched above, I take "canon" in the context of Renaissance literature to refer particularly to its conceptual borders and territories. "Canon," in other words, may offer an almost scientific approach to the era, delineating its essential categories and characteristics. While the anthology is far more contingent and tentative, it should offer a useful and effective *index* to what the larger canon is. Prior to the advent of feminism and modern movements that endeavored to include marginalized literary works, the English Renaissance canon included a limited number of almost exclusively male authors, and their texts were thus functionally equivalent to "Renaissance literature." This males-only literary arena is the subject of Chapter Two. Thus, anthologies of the pre-feminist era, based on this male conception of canon, ineluctably (though certainly regrettably, we now feel) excluded any literary works that were not explicitly authored by men (or that were anonymously authored). Later, the Renaissance canon would be characterized as far more "open." Yet, as I will show in Chapters Four and Five, this evolving openness had uneven and perhaps regressive effects on Renaissance anthologies.

The term "opening" the canon has come to stand for the act of inclusion of marginalized or forgotten literary texts into the canon. There has been vigorous cultural debate over whether such "opening" is desirable, and if so how it should take place.[3] In any case, however, as Fishelov observes about even the most well-intentioned canons, "we have to also admit that they have their limitations, regardless of our personal sympathies or arguments" (45). If marginalized works do become part of the canon, the canon still needs continuous cultural support to maintain its authoritative status. There also seems to be a general "inertia" within the canon that helps maintain a core of "great works" against all changes, as Fishelov notes:

> If the status of a great book is a function of changing social and ideological hegemonies, we would expect the list to change dramatically with the permutations of economic, social and ideological hegemonies. But despite such influences, many literary works (Homer, Shakespeare, and many others) keep their reputations as great books throughout the ages. (45)

Today's literary anthologies are not merely indexes of, but fulcrums for, and flashpoints of, changes in the greater canon. This has come about because of the substantially increased role of universities and university-based scholars in canon formation in the second half of the 20th century. As John Guillory writes, "[c]anonicity is not the property of the work itself but of its

---

[3] William Bennett, in his notorious *To Reclaim a Legacy: A Report of Humanities in Higher Education* (1984), argued that there is a virtue for the "common culture" of the Western literary canon because it is the source of "educational leadership." Lynne Cheney's *Humanities in America* and 1989 *Hours: A Core Curriculum for College Students* (1988) argues that there is a timeless characteristic of canonized literary works, or what she calls "basic landmarks of history," that fit into the modern approaches to curriculum. The editors of *The New Criterion* (1982), Roger Kimball and Hilton Kramer, enforce the closed conception of a canon by depicting how the "decay" of the canon is caused by the entry of invaluable thoughts to the process of teaching the canon. Harold Bloom, in *The Western Canon* (1994), speaks of a "School of Resentment" that is trying to question and perhaps eliminate the teaching of the canon, also implying a canon that is more or less "closed."

transmission, its relation to other works in the collocation of works—the syllabus in its institutional locus, the school" (55). If there is to be an "opening" of the Renaissance canon or any other literary canon, it seems that it should now occur in the university. The textbook anthologies edited by the university's scholars now exert not only an indexical, but a constitutive force in forming literary canonicity: "an individual's judgement that a work is great does nothing in itself to preserve that work, unless that judgement is made in a certain institutional context, a setting in which it is possible to ensure the reproduction of the work, its continual reintroduction to generations of readers" (Guillory 55). It is hard to imagine such university-centered cultural reproduction of literature without the textbook anthology.

Those who seek to "open" the canon in the university context may not recognize that there is a danger that any newly "opened" canon can quickly ossify and become virtually closed in its turn, particularly if it is communicated through the same traditional "banking" methods of education, and not actively re-formed by students' own developing literary tastes. In this case, "students lack both the necessary epistemological curiosity and a certain conviviality with the object of knowledge under study" (Freire 19). In a classroom setting, the unintentional equation of canon(s) and anthologies seems unavoidably to bring "closedness" to canons, as Di Leo explains: "Anthologies are considered to be reflective of the laws of their domain. Both students and teachers can be humbled and intimidated by their inventories of readings" (1). And thus, even with an "open," "soft" canon,[4] anthologies still profoundly shape pedagogies.

A textbook anthology, then, whatever its individual orientation to a literary tradition (the Renaissance or otherwise), is always created to organize and filter the vast sum of literature

---

[4] The opening of the canon has also been referred to as the softening of the canon by scholars such as Karen L. Kilcup, in her 1999 *Soft Canons: American Women Writers*, and by Di Leo, in his "Analyzing Anthologies" (15).

produced under a specific organizational criterion pertinent to literary study (era, genre, topic, etc.). The textbook anthology's commercial as well as disciplinary success in providing such a filter is easy to explain. It provides convenience; it brings neatness to literature, which promotes accessibility; it is cheaper than purchasing the included texts by themselves; it is helpful in the educational process, as the user can rely on the layout and the consistency of its content; and it allows its users, with a relatively minimal investment of time, to pass as knowledgeable in the field of literature it reproduces. From the literature teacher's perspective, i.e. as a curriculum- and a syllabus-maker, the anthology vastly simplifies the search for appropriate texts and authors. On the other hand, the convenience and prevalence of the textbook anthology has led to resistance in the literary field: if it serves as the sole source for imparting literature, many important forms in the literary field that are not easily anthologized (notably long forms, like the epic and the novel) may be unduly neglected.

Dependency on the textbook anthology for promulgating literature is problematic for other significant reasons. Anthologies unite a reader and a literature, and as a result, may serve to confine both of them. Anthology editors' individual tastes, and their very definition of what literature is, may be hard to pinpoint, yet are paramount in creating the implied limits of any anthology. Likewise, the literary metanarrative that anthologists create through their anthologies seems often untraceable to the assumed meanings and value of the literature in question. Even unaware of the anthologist's metanarrative, the reader or user takes the selected text as something sanctioned, helping to build unintended chains of value among the anthology's selections. Just as in the reception of all literature, the defining of the anthology's value in the "literary market" is jointly affected by both the anthologist and the reader, who often remain unaware of how central this co-creation is for canon formation—since many working assumptions are that canons are "closed," and not continually being re-opened and re-valuated by

each anthology editor, teacher, and reader[5]. Just how various the canon-making possibilities of Renaissance anthologies are will become clearer as this dissertation proceeds.

Reliance on anthologies, in short, is the main reason behind the seeming unchangeability of canon. While the literary canon is diverse and continuously changing, anthologies partake in a narrowly selecting from canon, and yet many anthologies subsequently pose as fully authorized selections—that is, as complete canon[6]. The more anthologists claim an omniscient role, distancing themselves from the selection process, the more the anthology insinuates omniscient authoritativeness[7]. Consequently, the most regularly selected texts and authors assume a status of intellectual necessity, encapsulating thereby a standard literary taste. This is a dogma of canonical authority that many contemporary anthologies try to escape, with mixed results.

In the recent past, the literary field has discouraged sanctioning lists of authors appearing in anthologies solely on the basis of some "inherent" literary merit. The rise of literary theory in the mid-20th century complemented a shift in the nature of the anthology. The textbook anthology broke free from the chains of authoritative canon-interpreters and restored a self-consciously selective sort of anthology, with modified editorial features that underscored how the anthology was now something personalized and individualized. The traditional anthology was narrow, predictable, and sanctioned, and thus curtailed the inclusion of many worthy literary texts. Henceforth, a new, more inclusive method of selection rapidly emerged and consolidated. From depicting the center, to shedding light on the marginalized; from a readerly friendliness and neatness, to a scholarly messiness and openness; and from editors as "taste collectors" and tastemakers assembling virtually identical lists, to editors as "text collectors" within an

---

[5] This will be explained in Chapter Three with relation to the reception of marquee anthologies.
[6] The aim of this dissertation is to argue against this assumption.
[7] Discussed more across the dissertation.

acknowledged metanarrative, the mid-20th century shifts in the mode of the textbook anthology were thus profound. Today, the anthology no longer tends to pose as an interpretation of the canon; instead, the anthology becomes a grand text that depicts the anthologist's individual point of view. This shifting of the anthology's perspective is closely tied to shiftings in the society in which particular anthologies have been produced. The once dependent consumer of an anthology provided by an authoritative editor has been replaced with a new audience, one that is given the freedom to choose from canon right alongside the anthologists themselves. In this way, canon has raised literary consciousness, as being a social construct that is affected by the relationship between text, anthologist, and reader.[8]

The spectacular 20th-century renaissance of the English Renaissance anthology[9] ran in parallel with pressing academic contemporary critical demands for defining what literature is, and what particular literature has come to be placed at the anthologized core of literary curricula. Gradually, as the numbers of new and republished Renaissance anthologies began to multiply in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, these anthologists' roles were shifting from *selectors* of canon to its *interpreters*.[10] When anthologists are selectors of canon, each individual editor's choices of literature create a unique anthological site, one where these literary selections are

---

[8] The idea that a literary canon can be specific to a particular time and place and that canon is thus a social construct is persuasively argued by thinkers such as Foucault, Bourdieu, and Habermas, and explored in literary theorists and critics such as Guillory, Kramnich, and Ross.

[9] The number of Renaissance anthologies published from the early to mid 20th century onward is much greater than the number published during the four full centuries running from 1600 to the 1900. The primary factor in this increase was the rise of the English literary studies as a profession within the university (see Irvine).

[10] The larger historical trends involved here will be expounded in the Chapter Two. For now, this overview will suffice: the idea that the Renaissance anthology represented a selection from some canon is typical in the 16th- through the 18th-century anthologies, while in the late 19th to early 20th centuries the Renaissance anthology became to be seen as virtually equivalent to a canon. Thus the anthologist's role became that of an interpreter of what the canon "is." Then, in the late 20th to 21st centuries, the Renaissance anthology reverted to being seen as a contingent selection-from-canon.

being collected and reproduced for their value based on some acknowledged criterion, one which the editor chooses. However, with the growth of English literature as a profession and its wide acceptance as a subject to be taught and studied at universities,[11] the demand for pedagogically "complete" or fully representative literary curricula drove the creation of a new kind of literary collection, the textbook anthology[12]: those who created anthologies during this context took on a far more burdensome editorial process. These anthologists, in short, transcended mere selection to assume a much expanded role: they were now the interpreters, the conveyers, the conductors of the canon[13].

As interpreters of canon, anthologists take great power in their hands. Often, these more ambitious sort of editors engage in a masquerade to obscure of their authority, disguising themselves under the veil of impartiality and indifference, purporting to be "true seekers" of valuable texts. Here editors are understood to serve as mouthpieces for an entire canonical institution, rather than independent gatherers, who may access that canonical realm however they please. This heavy reliance on selected text as a universal commodity of cultural value may be characterized, to borrow Roland Barthes' famous terminology, as "the death of the editor." In this (anthology-)readerly paradigm, the anthologist should claim a level of editorial detachment and aesthetic passivity that allows the anthology to speak for its canon. This anthological mode of canon formation in turn imbues the anthology's list of authors and texts with an idealized quality, reinforcing the "closed canon" ideology where these chosen texts and authors can actually escape their "chosenness" and become, to coin a phrase, "transcenthologized."

---

[11] See Robert Irvine's "English Literary Studies: Origins and Nature" (18).

[12] There are many examples on anthologies that are non-textbook anthologies. An example on this is John Williams's *English Renaissance Poetry* (2016). This anthology is collected as a dedication to the anthologist's friend.

[13] Chapter Two shows how teaching is not the sole purpose behind creating an anthology.

1.2: <u>Female Authors and the Renaissance Canon</u>

Historically, the Renaissance canon has frequently been seen as devoted only to male authors and their texts. This was true until the later 20th century, which seriously inaugurated the study of marginalized literatures, as critical theory and cultural studies revealed the exclusive nature of the content of anthologies. The study of female-authored literature flourished as an newly independent field of literary study from the 1960s. A revival and recovery of literature written by Renaissance women helped empower in turn a modern feminist logic that revolves around the marginalization of female authors when compared to literary legacy of "male genius" (Hattaway 5).[14] Toward the 1970s, advanced theories of feminism were being formulated, and both women's studies programs and the reading of female-authored texts from previous ages thrived.[15]

There is a foundational feminist issue that is fully ensnared in the literary canon: the idea that canonical greatness is associated with men and men alone[16]. Consequently, Winders asserts that women authors are for their part burdened with being evaluated within the borders of the feminist canon rather than the broader "literary canon." Women then would bring their own gendered identity to form a new canon, one that is not affected by the masculine hierarchies of

---

[14] This traditional conception of "male genius" is discussed and critiqued by many scholars. For example, in her essay "The Singularity of Genius," Birgit Schippers calls on Julia Kristeva's feminist thought to demonstrate the dangers of mainstreaming genius as something male-gendered (120-21).

[15] Major historical landmarks during this innovative time include: the first women's studies courses held in 1969 at Cornell University; the first women's studies program founded at San Diego State University in 1970; the publication of Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* (1970); the launching of Marsha Rowe and Rosie Boycott's *Spare Rib*, the first feminist magazine in U.K. (1972); the first journal devoted to women's studies in the U.S. is *Feminist Studies* (1972). Not long afterwards, the first feminist press in U.K. was set up (Virgo Press, 1974); Susan Brownmiller published *Against Our Will* (1975); the first National Women's Conference was held in the U.S. in 1977, and Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar published *The Madwoman in the Attic* (1979).

[16] Chapter Four will delve into this.

greatness and literary excellence, but working in parallel with such evaluative classifications. Accordingly, Winders questions "'educational excellence' (that dreadful, heavily coded word)" (4). Winder questions any restraints stemming from what "should be taught" and how. Canons should be critiqued and held to account for the advertising of certain privileged ways of thought, and suppressing others (Winders 4). Furthermore, canons should be scrutinized and politicized because they call into question the very history of ideas itself: "The entire field of intellectual history has traditionally been structured by its relation to a canon of 'great' texts" (Winders 7).

As a result of this historical marginalization[17], women are typically forgotten when it comes to the teaching of literary canons such as that of the English Renaissance. Sullivan's *Memory and Forgetting* reflects on the idea that literary canons have been spotlighting the memory of certain authors over others, who have been moved out of those canons to make space for more authoritative texts, effectively consigning the former to canonical oblivion. This means that canons catalyze literary memory, and such memory brings cultural authority and influence. Though memory and recollection are psychologically individual, canons have the power to render memory as a long-lived social phenomenon. In this light, in order to be canonized women writers of the English Renaissance need not only recognition, but continuing promulgation, since a whole new space in social memory should be created for them to have any lasting canonical place in the English Renaissance. Interestingly, as will be discussed below in Chapter Four, such lasting canonicity may actually be harder to achieve when women writers of the Renaissance are given "rooms of their own" in the English canon, rather than sharing the same anthological spaces that have been the exclusive bailiwick of men.

---

[17] See Chapter Four for more scholarly attributes on this.

Ravitch's *The English Reader* confirms that female authors in the English Renaissance need recognition "by the larger culture" of the literary canon. Acknowledgment of their place in the corpus of Renaissance literature is the first step for female authors, but women's' fullest inclusion in the Renaissance canon will entail ongoing negotiation with the evolving dynamics of this quintessential literary-historical field of English. I will argue that even after ubiquitous additions of women to English Renaissance anthologies, these entrances have often not led to any better understanding of why women belong there and how best to include them not only to be usefully present but portrayed as adequately authoritative[18]. Witness Shakespeare, who for all the genius implied by his works, nonetheless had the benefit of elegies written by other recognized authors, to say nothing of the continual buildup of critical texts and resources that have principally maintained his heritage since the days of Ben Jonson and John Donne. English Renaissance canons and anthologies should be strengthened through new modes of selection and collection, as well labels more appropriate for both the women and the men within.

Reading female authors within collective literary goals, ones that are separate from the domain of gender and that do not automatically separate them from their male counterparts, should allow women to become most involved in English Renaissance canons. Reading women as individuals who wrote separately from other females and males, and in isolation from each other, is not fruitful when it comes to canon studies[19]. Any legitimizing authority entails direct intellectual influence on minds as well as tangible social forms. Here, the pragmatic study of the tangible history of women's anthologization will itself afford a kind of authorial location for women within the borders of the English Renaissance canons.

---

[18] See Chapter Five. In order for women to be properly included in the classroom, active inclusion of female authors in anthologies is required until the gain global fame like that of their male counterparts.

[19] See Chapter Four.

Fraser's essay "On the Political and the symbolic: Against the Metaphysics of Textuality" probes the exclusion of women from intellectual history and characterizes it as dangerous, since such exclusion has led to an equally exclusive conception of literature under the rubric of women's studies. This can represent an unintentional pitfall for women writers, because they become included in the canon of women's studies, but not in intellectual history broadly considered (Fraser 12). Works authored by women are thus not seen as part of *the* literary canon, but as part of a gendered canon, a canon of interest primarily to gender studies itself; though for admirable motivations, women are nonetheless still being eliminated from the culture of general literary canons. Why cannot women's texts compete within the familiar hierarchy of literary canons, and not be written off as a marginal, separate entity?

Winders outlines how in the 1980s a fundamental shift happened in the canon: women's literature (along other canonically marginalized literatures) began to be seriously and extensively included, so that the canon was reconceived as basically multicultural. She argues that our received intellectual history should be reevaluated to detect its gender-based biases: "[t]he many links between gender (in all its cultural aspects) and reputations of texts and authors, between gender and the ability of certain arguments and interpretations to be convincing, need to be anticipated and examined" (Winders 47). Women of the English Renaissance have entered the anthology before the 1980s, but they gained a far more canonical reputation in the textbook canons of that decade.

As one outcome of the intensive scholarly work done on the social exclusion of women and the roots of the feminist consciousness, many scholars have argued that the true beginning of a movement towards feminism can be found in the Renaissance.[20] However, as the study of

---

[20] Scholars, such as Constance Jordan's 1990 *Renaissance Feminism*, Linda Gregerson's 2007 "Life Among Others," Dympna Callaghan's 2007 *The Impact of Feminism in English*

Renaissance female authors was undertaken as part of the modern feminist movement, the terms and ideologies of modernism were imposed, whether consciously or unconsciously, on these historical women. Servadio, for instance, explains in her *Renaissance Women* that "[t]he Renaissance also started when women became more learned, women were able to argue, to give their opinion, to rule. … [I]t could even be argued that the Renaissance, a 'feminine' movement, sprang from the new status of women" (2). Servadio associates women's early modern education and writing with the more contemporary movement affirming femininity, which was keyed in the literary field to how women were included within anthologies.

Servadio goes so far as to attribute the Renaissance itself as the age that brought women into literal and cultural existence in the anthology, since such radical cultural countertrends were a distinguishing feature of that age:

> The Renaissance was characterized by observation, study, analysis, and an unwillingness to accept attitudes inherited from the past. Indeed, the key factor about the Renaissance was the new compulsion to research, to seek the root of everything. (2)

Servadio stresses the era's individualistic ideology, that this age inaugurated the building up of an English identity that could be seen as separate from its past. The search for roots, bases, and appropriate labels, and not taking any sort of knowledge for granted, were among the hallmarks of the Renaissance. Servadio's basic justification for the need of including women in the Renaissance canon is based on the Renaissance's origin itself, when "difference" became a watchword rather than an enemy. In practice, on the other hand, Servadio's feminist re-reading of the English Renaissance focuses overwhelmingly on those texts by women that also exhibited

---

Renaissance Studies, and Sarah Ross's 2009 *The Birth of Feminism*, have argued that feminism has roots in the English Renaissance.

strong proto-feminist ideals, thereby dismissing a great variety of women and women's writings which do not fit easily under either "feminist" or "Renaissance" labels.

Servadio does however suggest that the full amount of literature written by women in this period is prodigious indeed:

> But women read, and women wrote. Over fifty English women published manuscripts between 1524 and 1640, producing eighty-five books, but the large majority created religious works—not poetry in a Renaissance vein. Only Jane Anger used her gifts to answer men's attacks by writing *Protection of Women*. (193)

Such figures confirm that women did write books and read them, and such literacy was not practice of only a few unusually well-educated women. Servadio's estimates here have subsequently been proven to be significant underestimates by other researchers, but even those 85 works are far too many in number, and far too various in content, to fit into any imaginable textbook anthology. Moreover, such understatements of the actual amounts of Renaissance women's literature, by a devoted feminist scholar no less, typify the substantial obstacles that women of the Renaissance continue to endure when it comes merely to promoting awareness of them and acknowledging their contributions to the era. (These barriers will be discussed below in more depth in Chapters Three and Four.)

In her essay "Misogyny Is Everywhere," Rackin also discusses the oft-neglected importance of women to the English Renaissance:

> *Women* were everywhere in Shakespeare's England, but the variety of their roles in life and the scripts of plays too often "goes without saying." If we wanted to look for it, I think we could find an interpretive "embarrassment of riches" for a revitalized feminist criticism. (Rackin 71)

Like Servadio, Rackin views female authors of the English Renaissance through the modern feminist tradition, rather than seeing them as equal members of the Renaissance that in England is solidly centered on Shakespeare. Thus, the Renaissance canon, as Rackin views it, is too inherently strict (it "goes without saying") to ever adequately represent the era's women. The only way Rackin can see to these women's inclusion in literary history is to form a discrete feminist canon. But does this anthological methodology not also imply a Renaissance canon that excludes women on much the same basis, i.e., that they cannot really compete with their male counterparts?

Too often, I argue, women who wrote in the English Renaissance are seen mainly as contributors to feminism, and their works are read, more often than not, as feminist tracts. I will try to show below in Chapter Four that this counter-exclusivity, while it may be a necessary and salutary phase of canon formation for women authors, should not be considered an endpoint of women's canonization, and that its limitations for promoting progressive canon formations are quite significant. I would point out for instance that this mode of associating women authors first and foremost with their gender rather than their writerly efforts itself dates back to the Renaissance. For instance, when the renowned scholar Bathsua Reginald Makin demonstrated her intellect in court, King James I, Queen Elizabeth I's successor, responded with "but can she spin?"[21] This anecdote epitomizes how, despite their worthiness and their efforts to be seen as equal to men, even great women can still be reduced to little more than gendered bodies in just a few short words.

---

[21] This sexist royal phrase has been taken as the subject of Sheila Margaret Pelizzon book *But Can She Spin? The Decline in the Social Standing of Women in the Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism* (SUNY P, 1999).

1.3: <u>Gender Equity and the Renaissance Anthology</u>

UNICEF defines, and argues for, gender equality in this way: "women and men, and girls and boys, enjoy the same rights, resources, opportunities, and protections. It does not require that girls and boys, or women and men, be the same, or that they are treated exactly alike" (LeMoyne 1). As understood for the purposes of this project, gender equity refers to the fairness of treatment in the anthologization of female and male authors of the Renaissance. In the context of the anthology, this means, but is not limited to, equitable treatment with regards to representation, content, location, and space allotments (i.e., number of selections and number of pages). Regarding gender, moreover, the Renaissance anthology should not use any language that suggests misrepresentation by stereotype or prejudice. Whatever the social context, concern for gender equity is a yardstick used to help eliminate such gender misrepresentations as well as any oppressive practices against any gender.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, women's literature became inseparable from significant political and social conflicts, such as the suffrage movement to grant women the right to vote. Since World War II, women's literature has likewise been affected by other women's rights movements culminating in the Equal Rights Amendment and various conventions created to liberate women from social prejudice: the Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960s), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1970s and 1980s), the Declaration on Elimination of Violence Against Women (1990s), and the Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (2014). All such political action worked towards guaranteeing that women are treated as equal to men by fighting against gender stereotypes, achieving balance in the social participation of both genders, and guaranteeing equal access of both genders to economic opportunity and just legal treatment.

In 1994, a group of scholars published a galvanizing article, "Continuing the Journey toward Gender Equity" (Klein et al.). This manifesto declares the need to put into action gender equity in all forms and sources of education. The anthology, being one of those key sources, should ensure that its user is provided a collection that supports gender equity. In order to attain gender equity in Renaissance anthologies, three equitable outcomes should be achieved: (1) both female and male authors should be attributed the same values and characteristics, even if those are generally attributed to only one gender; (2) the exclusive representation of one gender in the anthology should be reduced as much as possible, given the historical contexts in question; and (3) any content that uses gender stereotyping should be flagged and contextualized, and gender stereotyping should be eliminated from all paratextual matter.[22] To gauge whether anthologies have achieved these outcomes, one should identity both the "overt barriers" and "subtle barriers" that contribute to sexual discrimination in anthologies (Klein et al. 13).

In order for the anthology to recognize and support gender equity, a gender-neutral democratizing of the anthology should occur. Here, democratization implies knowledge distribution and access. Democratization connotes a process moving towards equality, but not necessarily sameness. Equity does not entail achieving sameness, but rather acknowledging that any difference should still receive the same treatment. According to Rachel Brickner, "a democratic ethos is not sufficient to ensure the promotion of gender equity," and that "attention to gender equity requires the presence of feminist activists" (751).[23] Similarly, Larkin and Staton argue that equality is limiting if it means "one-size-equals-all"; equity should reason with difference and diversity (364). Carol Bacchi and Joan Eveline's article "Gender Mainstreaming

---

[22] The three outcomes have been reworded to suit the topic of this dissertation (for the original outcomes see Klein, et al., p. 13).

[23] Brickner explains, "feminist activism refers to a range of activities that challenge gendered (power) dynamics that discriminate against women" (761).

or Diversity Mainstreaming? The Politics of 'Doing'" proposes that gender mainstreaming (i.e., achieving equality between sexes) should be folded into a more general diversity mainstreaming to best ensure gender equity (314). While anthologies may appear to celebrate diversity and introduce more variety, equality in page or word counts does not equate to equity; instead, equality in the valuing and appreciation of individual authors in the context of others will truly move the anthology towards diversity mainstreaming and gender equity.

The lens of *gender analysis* is the mode that will be applied in this study to identify the biases of the anthologization process and evaluate the inclusion of the female voice in Renaissance anthologies. In their "Obeying Organisational 'Rule of Relevance': Gender Analysis of Policy," Bacchi and Eveline explain that gender analysis is essential when "gender-blindness is normalized" (290). They declare that gender-blindness needs study and that it is a pressing matter to analyze gender everywhere, in order to "learn how to 'see'" gender inequalities and treat them" (290). The basic aim is a "strategy of defamiliarisation," in order to point out and make male heteronormative supremacy appear strange rather than mundane (295). Defamiliarization only allows seeing of gender inequities, however; some sort of "doing" should subsequently occur to enable gender-equitable change.

To reinforce women's inclusion in the anthologization of English Renaissance literature, I adopt Larkin and Staton's yardstick of "AICE." This acronym suggests four components to help ensure gender equity: Access, Inclusion, Climate, and Empowerment (362). I will adapt these basis terms as follows: *access* is taken here to pertain to authors and refers to the baseline of fairly representing women's writing in Renaissance anthologies, as similar as possible to the ways in which men are represented (for instance, ensuring that women are shown as writing in the same genres as men). Ensuring women's *inclusion* in Renaissance anthologies will communicate to the users of those anthologies, giving them opportunities to explore women's

literature. From the anthology users' point of view, inclusion denotes ensuring that any biased language, content, and pedagogical practices are flagged or eliminated. *Climate* refers to the particular quality of the placement and space that is given to women's literature in the anthology. *Empowerment* highlights the relationship between equity and power; female authors should be depicted as working to change or resist any stereotyped images of what Renaissance literature is.

When diligently applied, all four of these perspectives can reveal how a significant level of gender bias has persisted in the Renaissance anthology. Considering *access,* we can observe a pronounced "blindness" towards women's literature in most anthologies before the 1950s. *Inclusion* invites us to consider how a particular acceptance of female authors, such as the ubiquitous inclusion of Queen Elizabeth I's poems in influential anthologies published between the 1950s to 1970s, in fact communicated to anthology users something less than a sense of inclusivity: namely that a female author's political influence may have been a far more important determiner of her inclusion than the content or aesthetic quality of her chosen works. *Climate* invites careful examination of how women's literature is accorded status through particular kinds of editorial treatment. For instance, where a Renaissance anthology includes only women, this could imply that women's literature is worth examination on its own merits, having qualities that distinguish it from men's writing—or, they are ultimately incommensurable for some less favorable reason. *Empowerment* invites the editors and readers of Renaissance anthologies to note how particular selections written by women may, or may not, fight against female disempowerment: for example, are Elizabeth's references in her military speeches to her own gender empowering, or a reinforcing of Renaissance gender norms?[24]

---

[24] For the distinction between gender blindness, sudden seeing, seeing, and doing, see Bacchi and Eveline, pp. 290-96.

1.4: <u>Research Methodology: Mixed Method</u>

As previously noted, anthologies shape the taught culture of the English Renaissance. The inclusion of women in the contemporary Renaissance anthology under the open canon requires exploration for the purposes of teaching in a context where the anthology plays a great role in introducing and studying Renaissance literature. A detailed understanding of the contemporary status of Renaissance women's anthologization would shape the effect of the open canon. This is achieved through examining the anthologies directly and allowing them to define the English Renaissance women's literature, English Renaissance age, English Renaissance canon, and finally the English Renaissance anthology. Understanding the context of and content in the anthologies is essential to both future Renaissance anthologies and canons.

The purpose of this dissertation is to document the inclusion of English Renaissance female authors' in the English Renaissance literary anthology (1450s-1650s). This documentation process occurs through the use of the mixed methodology (where both the quantitative survey approach and the qualitative phenomenological approach are applied). Also, it is supported with the open-canon oriented theory (where the Renaissance canon is acclaimed to be closed which affected the Renaissance anthology's exclusion of the female voice from the anthology), as well as, the gender analysis theory of gender equity (where Renaissance anthologies' inclusion of the female voice is identified as a movement towards gender equity and gender diversity mainstreaming).

Therefore, the central question of this study is: How did the contemporary Renaissance anthology achieve the inclusion of Renaissance female authors under the open canon? The sub-questions that are also addressed here are: (1) What is the context through which Renaissance women are anthologized before the open canon? (2) How, when, and why did the Renaissance anthology include women? And (3) How is the Renaissance woman affected by the Early

25

Modern anthology? Further, three procedural sub-questions are to be answered in the study: (1) What statements and paratexts are used in the anthologies to reflect on their adoption of the open canon to include the female voice? (2) How does each anthology contextualize the English Renaissance era to fit the inclusion of women's literature? And, (3) What does each anthology expect from its users to accomplish from using them?

To best answer the above questions and achieve the aim of investigating women's inclusion in the Renaissance anthology (after the expansion of the Renaissance canon in mid-20th century), I use both quantitative and qualitative methods (i.e., mixed methodology) to analyze the contemporary Renaissance anthologies.[25] There is no framework that initially informs the data collection; therefore, the mixed method is appropriate to approach the Renaissance anthologies. The research design used here is both exploratory, where the inclusion of women is explored, and explanatory, where the influence of the open canon on the anthology is explained. My approach is inductive; this would allow me to move from specific to general to gather evidence from and seek patterns between anthologies. I employ the quantitative survey approach to explore anthologies. I also adopt the qualitative phenomenology approach to reach an explanation of how the open canon phenomenon affected the Renaissance anthology.

Twenty-two primary anthologies (some being studied across multiple editions) represent the sample of the study to be both quantitatively and qualitatively examined and analyzed. Those anthologies' publication dates range from the 1970s to 2016. Reference to 10 secondary anthologies is also used in this research; most of which are used to provide a context to the study,

---

[25] This definition of the Mixed Method as applying both quantitative (closed-ended data) and qualitative (open-ended data) methods to understand the research problem is supported by April Heiselt and Carl Sheperis' 2010 "Mixed Methods Design," John Creswell's 2015 *A Concise Introduction to Mixed Methods Research*, and W. Alex Edmonds and Thomas Kennedy's 2017 *An Applied Guide to Research Designs: Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Methods*

those date from (1557-1973). This secondary list is composed of anthologies prior to 1970s as well as anthologies that have shared characteristics as those published after the 1970s. (The list of primary and secondary anthologies is located in Appendix).

These anthologies are chosen on the bases of their inclusion of Renaissance literature (late 15th century to early 17th century).[26] Because I want to center this research on only the Renaissance age, I have excluded any anthology that chooses to represent only one century (most of those excluded anthologies were devoted to women's literature in the 17th century). I have also excluded any anthology that focuses on only prose or drama genres; however, I have included anthologies that focus on only the verse genre. Besides, I included anthologies that present prose, drama, and verse genres together. The reason for this exclusion is that most Renaissance anthologies use verse rather than any other genre to highlight that women wrote in the Renaissance age.

The reasons why I chose the mixed methodology are many. First, I am seeking a complete understanding of the effect of the open canon on Renaissance women's literature. Second, it is necessary for this research to confirm the quantitative measures with the qualitative experiences. Third, after conducting the quantitative survey, I explain the quantitative results using the qualitative method. The final point is the need to gather "trend data" and "individual perspectives" from each anthology.[27]

---

[26] I have not specified the exact dates of the beginning and end of the Renaissance era because the dates differ from one anthology to another. Thus, the definition of what the Renaissance age is will be left to each anthology.

[27] These reasons are listed in general in Creswell's 2013 "Steps in Conducting a Scholarly Mixed Methods Study" (35).

1.4.1: <u>Quantitative Approach: Survey</u>

The quantitative method is employed in this research to aid in answering the questions of 0where and how women's literature is included in Renaissance anthologies. The quantitative method allows "an effective way of displaying the characteristics of a range of data" (Hudson 152). This method results in allowing me to locate patterns of inclusion between anthologies. The research strategy that I use is the survey: A quantitative method which allows the examination of causative variables between different types of data.[28] The survey study is a statistical survey where data is collected from anthologies to form factual information.

I use descriptive statistics techniques to "improve the communication and display of numerical information in an analytical context" (Hudson 149). I rearrange and summarize the numerical data gathered from Renaissance anthologies and display it in tables, figures, and graphs to assist in commenting on the status of English Women in those anthologies. This data collection method is useful for visualizing the different ways the anthologies have included Renaissance women's literature. Thus, I chose the survey approach to collect factual information from anthologies; Neuman explains that "[s]urvey can provide us accurate, reliable, and valid data" (317).

Choosing survey as the approach to apply to my research is because survey, here, is built to display trends and positions of Renaissance anthologies. Edmonds and Kennedy explain that the "[p]articipants are usually selected from the population to discover the relative incidence, distribution, and interrelations of educational, sociological, behavioral, or psychological variables" (133). The participants or respondents, in this research, are the anthologies selected.

---

[28] See W. Lawrence Neuman's 2014 "Survey Research" (315-365).

Using the Longitudinal design where I could collect data "over a designated period of time with the same or different samples within a population" (Edmonds and Kennedy 135).

With regards to the way I collect data in each stage of the quantitative research, I have divided my findings into four sections.[29] First, middlemen anthologies; here, I collect data using "trend" studies where the anthologies are examined to explore the exclusion of Renaissance women over time. The anthologies; here, are chosen as representatives of from the Renaissance age to the 21st century (1557-1956). The outcomes form questioned anthologies answer the following questions: (1) Are women excluded from the Renaissance anthology? (2) How many female-authored texts are present in each anthology when compared to male-authored ones? And (3) How many female authors are present in each anthology compared to male authors?

Second, Marquee anthologies, the data is collected through using "panel" studies where the same anthology is surveyed over time. I study the inclusion of women in a cross-edition survey of four anthologies ranging from (1968-2018). The questions highlighted here are: (1) When are women included in each anthology? (2) What texts are included? (3) How many female-authored texts are present in each anthology when compared to male-authored ones? (4) How many woman authors are present in each anthology? And (5) How many male authors are present in each anthology?

In the last two chapters, Female Utopia and Passaggio, I use "cohort" studies in which I identify the anthologies that have used specific characteristics to allow the inclusion of women within them. On the one hand, in Female Utopia, female authors and their texts are presented in anthologies while male authors and their literature are completely excluded. The questions that

---

[29] Edmonds and Kennedy, in there 2017 *An Applied Guide to Research Designs: Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Methods*, use those terminologies to explain how there are different survey forms and depending on that the outcomes are affected (135).

are seeking an answer here are: (1) How many Renaissance female authors are in each anthology? (2) How many Renaissance female-authored texts are in each anthology? (3) How many anonymous authors are in each anthology? And (4) How many anonymous-authored texts are in each anthology? On the other hand, in Passaggio, female and male authors' texts seem to find nearly equal space in the anthologies. The questions answered here are: (1) How many female authors are in the anthology? (2) How many male authors are in each anthology? (3) How many female-authored texts are included in each anthology? And (4) How many male-authored texts are in each anthology?

1.4.2: Qualitative Approach: Phenomenology

The qualitative method that I use in analyzing the results of surveying the Renaissance anthology is the phenomenology approach. The reasons behind choosing this approach are many. First, the collected data are located in the same place where the "participants" (i.e., the anthologies) experienced the issue studied (i.e., the effect of opening the canon to include women's literature).[30] This is called the "natural setting." Natural setting also allows an "up-close" interaction with Renaissance anthologies to see how anthologies "behave and act within their context" (Creswell 37). Second, the researcher, like the data collected, is a key instrument for the research. I collect data myself through examining the texts, authors, paratextual material (table of content, preface, acknowledgments, reviews published on the anthology … etc.), introductions, definitions, periodization divisions, and any component that is present in the anthologies. Those components are studied along with the surveyed material from the quantitative research conducted on the anthologies. The anthologies, being the participants of the study, would go through a thorough "inductive data analysis," (Creswell 38).

---

[30] Anthologies, here, are personified to fit the definition of "participants." Also, the open canon is seen as a shared experience, or a phenomenon, for anthologies.

Third, this research methodology allows the researcher to use multiple sources of data: "interviews, observations, and documents" (Creswell 38). Interviews and observations are not used here, but documents that explain how the anthologies interacted with each other or any other materials related to the anthologization process published by anthologists, publishers, and readers are used where relevant. The anthologies are comparing together to discuss how in an open canon they have shown different varieties in ways to respond to the same phenomenon. This allows me to group anthologies that used the same approach together. "Qualitative researchers build their patterns, categories, and themes from the "bottom-up," by organizing the data into increasingly more abstract units of information" (Creswell 38). The researcher, here, works back and forth between themes and the database until a comprehensive set of themes is established.

Forth, the "Emergent design," which means that "the initial plan for the research cannot be tightly prescribed, and that all phases of the process may change or shift after the researchers enter the field and begin to collect data" (Creswell 39). The initial design I have chosen is based on how the anthologies have approached women's literature as well as the anthologies' purposes for existing. Here, I have suggested four types of anthologies: Middlemen, Marquee, Female Utopia, and Passaggio. The fifth, and final reason is to learn from the anthologies how women are included in the contemporary open canon; this means that the knowledge obtained here is to locate how the participants resolved the issue of women's exclusion.

The phenomenon is the inclusion of women in contemporary Renaissance anthologies. I collect data from anthologies which experienced this phenomenon and develop a composite description of the essence of their experience: What anthologies experienced when including women, and how they placed women. Then, as the researcher, I interpret the meanings of what each anthology experienced with regards to women's inclusion. I mediate between different

meanings. Creswell explains that the best type of problem that is suited for this phenomenological approach is research in which "it is important to understand several individuals' [participants': anthologies'] common or shared experiences of a phenomenon. It would be important to understand these common experiences in order to develop practices or policies, or to develop a deeper understanding about the features of the phenomenon" (Creswell 60). The data collected is from anthologies who experienced this contemporary shift of women's inclusion.

The anthologies are asked two questions: What was experienced in terms of the inclusion phenomenon? And, what affected the situation and influenced this experiencing of the inclusion phenomenon? Phenomenology draws from the need to describe the essence of the phenomenon and from philosophy, psychology, and education. The study is conducted on several anthologies who experienced the same shared experience. The final written product, here, should describe the "essence of the experience" (Creswell 79).

In conclusion, the qualitative through the canonistic theoretical lens of gender equity were the collected data from the anthologies are in their "natural setting" that allows the inductive method of data analysis "to establish patterns and themes" (Creswell 37). The data collected from anthologies and my analysis, description, and interpretation of the problem highlight the changes needed for future English Renaissance anthologies that target an audience that is dependent on the anthology.

1.4.3: Application of Methodology

Due to the time and space limitations, I have begun the process of choosing the anthologies analyzed in this research based on the following factors. First, because of the enormous number of anthologies done on Renaissance and early modern literature, I chose to focus my study of anthologies to be focused on the verse genre or verse and prose, but not prose

by its self. This was because the highest numbers of women inclusions in Renaissance anthologies are seen in the verse genre. This does not mean that women wrote in only this genre but tracing their inclusion in anthologies is more visible in verse as they have continuously been represented by anthologists who focused on this genre. Second, I have focused my study on anthologies who included literature from 1450-1650. This has caused me to choose only the volumes or sections of the anthologies that have represented literature within these dates. For example, Ritson's three volume anthology, *English Anthology*, has limited the first volume to the 1650s and thus I have studied only the first volume although the second and third volumes have included women's literature, my results show that there are no female authors represented before the mid seventeenth century. Third, in the second chapter, even though my results show that there are little to no women included in the anthologies presented, there have been anthologies where women were included but these anthologies were not seen as popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; therefore, I have chosen anthologies that are referred to or edited by anthologists who were used as a reference in Marquee anthologies analyzed in Chapter Three or are included in the Appendix that share the same qualities as Chapter Three's anthologies.

In addition, I have started my analysis process with over 60 anthologies, around 50 anthologies are included in the Appendix, but I have only chosen to analyze seventeen anthologies in this study. My reason for that was the limited space of the dissertation and maintenance of a semi-chronological stand where my results intertwine but do not get repeated. Chapter Four has depicted parts of this issue, I include a figure where other anthologies have had similar approaches to anthologies like the ones that are presented but have included more or less female authors from the ones analyzed in the chapter.

I do not intend to generalize the results nor wish to highlight the anthologies of the presented anthologist over others, but I made my choices based on what suited the project first,

then the reception of the anthology. As a Jordanian student and instructor of English Literature in Jordan, where anthologies play a great role in undergraduate and graduate classes, and especially in relation to Chapter Three, it was easier to choose marquee anthologies. Those anthologies that I have chosen for the third chapter are considered the "go-to" anthologies for English Literature departments; the analyzed anthologies are widely used and highly recommended among students and teachers in Jordan. However, Chapter Three was limited to only two anthologies. The rationality behind that is mainly space, the two anthologies analyzed have formed the largest chapter here. But even with the issue of space, some other reasons behind choosing *Norton* and *Longman* are (1) their wide readership, (2) they are published in two different continents, (3) their differences although visible; in the titles of the sections for example, they are very much similar in more subtle ways, and (4) *Norton* has the widest range of editions that allows tracing the changes in the literary field and its relation to the anthologization process; with this in mind, *Longman*'s first edition has affected *Norton* in many ways that are addressed in the chapter.

Furthermore, I used digits that where not relative but actual, with decimal points; this has caused the figures to seem over crowded. However, without doing this the results might have been seen as generalized, I sought accuracy. I chose three other people to go over my results to insure of this accuracy; their names are mentioned in the acknowledgement; two are literary majored and one is an accountant. I used Microsoft Excel to calculate percentages and for easier access to the data. I also used the same program for creating the figures and tables.

The way I have collected my data is through going through each and every anthology to see actual space given to women and the way they have been given this space. This means that I have delved into the anthology rather than just depending on just the table of content. Without doing that the one female-authored text that I have found in Tottel's *Miscellany* would have not been found. This text is presented under the "uncertain" anonymous authors but in the anthology

34

is stated as a female-authored and yet still anonymous and uncertain authored text. I used different types of figure where I thought it best matches the data. I have not included the anonymous authors in the figures, but I have included them in the data presented in the figures and in the analysis.

Finally, Chapters Four and Five have a different format than the Second and Third chapters because like the ages they are published in, the modern or postmodern, I did not follow a specific structure. Where suitable, I added figures; and where I saw that the data was enough, I left it at analysis. The quantitative approach is visible in the digits presented in the figure and the analysis; however, the qualitative approach is an overarching theme that all the chapters depict. The phenomenon of female authors being included in Renaissance anthologies is highlighted in even the titles of each chapter and could be studied in a chronological continuum where some results might overlap.

1.5: Chapter Outline

This dissertation divides anthologies into four types: middlemen, marquee, female utopia, and passaggio. The division is rationalized based on (1) the role anthologists play in their anthologies; respectively: (a) men who stand as the medium between the male author and the reader, (b) detached anthologists claiming detachment from the selection process as texts and authors are those that have allegedly proven their greatness and representativeness, (c) creators of a female canon that defies male categorization, and (d) selective anthologists who group female and male authors to better understand the age the anthology portrays. (2) The second reason is because of the anthologies' grasping of gender equity: (a) anthologies who chose male mainstreaming, (b) those who gradually introduced diversity mainstreaming but have not achieved gender equity, (c) anthologies that adopt female mainstreaming, and (d) anthologies who sought and found gender equity through diversity mainstreaming (also respectively with

regards to the chapter divisions). (3) The final reason behind those divisions is the almost visible

chronology in which the anthologies where published, respectively: (a) starting with the first

known Renaissance anthology to the first half of the 20th century, (b) the beginning of the

second half of the 20th century until the twenty-first century, (c) mainly during and after the

1970s towards the beginning of the twenty-first century, and (d) the 1990s towards the twenty-

first century.

1.5.1: Chapter Two: Male Mainstreaming: Middlemen

This chapter studies the process through which the Renaissance literature is anthologized

across five centuries (16th-20th). I start with a study of the process of anthologizing women prior

to 1950s. Then, I study the anthologization process for English Renaissance literature in five

anthologies. The first anthology I study is Richard Tottel's two initial editions of the *Miscellany:*

Songs and Sonnets Written by the Right Honourable Lord Henry Howard, Late Earl of Surrey,

and Others (1557). The second anthology is John Bodenham's *England's Helicon or the Muses*

Harmony: A Collection of Lyrical and Pastoral Poems (1600, 1614). The third anthology is the

first volume of Joseph Ritson's *The English Anthology* (1793-94). The forth anthology that

studied in depth is Francis Palgrave's *The Golden Treasury of the Best Songs and Lyrical Poems*

in the English Language, a very influential aesthetically-driven anthology (1861; subsequently

revised and expanded and still in print today). The fifth anthology to be examined is Roy

Lamson and Hallett Smith's *The Golden Hind: An Anthology of Elizabethan Prose and Poetry*

(1942).

This chapter concludes with an overall analysis of the role anthologies play as

"middle*men*" between literature and readers. These first anthologies played a firmly authoritative

part in canonization and disseminated a selective canon that at best minimally included female

authors. This created a long-lived myth, one still perpetuated by the Renaissance anthologies of

the later 20th century, that the great writers during the early modern era were not just

predominantly, but almost exclusively, male. In short, though the look and purpose of their

collections changed vastly in the years, anthologies remained and even gathered strength as tools

of patriarchal control throughout this time, right up until the brunt of 1970s. Moreover, since all

these anthologies considered in Chapter Two are still widely available in print and online, they

still exert this anti-inclusive canonical influence.

1.5.2: Chapter Three: Toward Diversity Mainstreaming: Marquee

The lineal descendants of Norton's *The Golden Hind*, "marquee" anthologies are

anthologies that are widely used in teaching the canon. They are very familiar to anyone

interested in or associated with the literary field. The English Renaissance within those

anthologies has presented authors who are implied to be the most important for the age. Studying

those anthologies constructs in readers an identifiable and unified, if unspoken, border around

the English Renaissance canon contained therein. This chapter examines the selective

proportions and editorial representation of female-authored literary texts in two marquee English

Renaissance anthologies. Specifically, I begin by examining the reasons behind viewing those

anthologies as marquee with a discussion of the reception of anthologies. Then, I survey the

history of women's inclusion in each volume devoted to the English Renaissance of each edition

for two major anthologies, illustrating diachronically the very gradual speed and the quite limited

extent to which ideals of social inclusion have been upheld by their editors; and thus, the

movement towards diversifying the Renaissance to include female authors alongside their male

counterparts.

The first anthology series that is analyzed is M. H. Abrams' and Stephen Greenblatt's

editions of *The Norton Anthology of English Literature.* To date, ten editions of this best-selling

anthology have been published over the course of seven decades (1962-2018). The Renaissance

was included within volume 1 of the 2-volume editions, or, from the 8th edition of 2000, as the second volume (vol. B or 1B) of the 6-volume expansions. This series, thus, forms an ideal historical sequence for charting a movement toward diversity mainstreaming affected a literary series that was initially conceived and executed entirely by men. The second anthology series that is studied is David Damrosch, Christopher Baswell, and Anne Howland Schotter's *The Longman Anthology of British Literature: Volume 1* (4 editions: 1999, 2003, 2006, and 2010). Under "The Early Modern Period," this anthology includes many female authors. This catalog of authors forms an ideal data set for studying canon formation in the context of Longman's more recent history.

In conclusion, this chapter reviews when and to what extent are women included in these two *marquee* anthology series, and how these shifts represent larger changes in the Renaissance canon. I ask: What are the shared characteristics of those Renaissance anthologies? How do textbook anthologies define the Renaissance canon? How has the Renaissance canon shifted or changed to include women? Why exactly are women included—are there specific themes or genres in play, appeals to cultural value in headnotes, or other editorial clues about the reasons for canonization? Lastly, what is the overall role that marquee anthologies have played in the construction of a diverse Renaissance canon? This implies that although diversity mainstreaming has evidently been one of the main changes that anthologists have presented, this diversity is limited to certain female authors and to a space that does not overshadow male authors.

1.5.3: Chapter Four: Female Mainstreaming: Female Utopia

This chapter focuses its content on anthologies that have excluded male anthologies as a reaction to the closed marquee and middlemen anthologies. The chapter is starts with the study of the term "Renaissance" and comparing and contrasting the term with the "early modern" term. Both terms in anthologies over went historical evolutions and withheld connotations for

anthologists. The study, then, discusses the Utopian anthologies and how the term utopia could be applied to refer to anthologies that are female mainstreaming. I suggest two groups of anthologies under this chapter, anthologies that sought a chain of influence among a few of the Renaissance female authors and anthologies that are all-inclusive and try to include as many female authors as possible in their anthology. The anthology that is studied here is Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women* (1985).

The all-inclusive anthology is divided into three sections: chronology, genre, and topic or theme. This second form of utopian anthologies explains that the all-inclusive anthology fits usually under one or more of those three sections. The anthologies that fit under these sections are Moira Ferguson's *First Feminists: British Women Writers, 1578-1799* (1985), Charlotte Otten's *English Women's Voices, 1540-1700* (1992), Marion Wynne-Davies's *Women Poets of the Renaissance* (1999), Jane Stevenson and Peter Davidson's *Early Modern Women Poets: An Anthology* (2000), Stephanie Hodgson-Wright's *Women's Writing of the Early Modern Period* (2002), and Michelle M. Dowd and Thomas Festa's *Early Modern Women on the Fall: An Anthology* (2012). The study, then, compares and contasted between other anthologies that share female mainstreaming.

1.5.4: Chapter Five: Diversity Mainstreaming: Passaggio

This chapter discussed diversity mainstreaming. It starts with a comparison between single sex mainstreaming and diversity mainstreaming. It also compares and contrasts between diversity mainstreaming and marquee's toward diversity mainstreaming. Then, the passaggio anthology is delved into. This section discusses where the word passaggio came from and how it is applied to anthologies and the process of anthologization. I found three anthologies that have the passagio H. R. Woudhuysen's *The Penguin Book of Renaissance Verse 1509-1659* (2005), Kate Aughterson's 2nd edition of *Renaissance Woman: A Sourcebook: Constructions of*

Femininity in England (2003), and Betty S. Travisky and Anne Lake Prescott's *Female and Male*

Voices in Early Modern England: An Anthology of Renaissance Writing (2000). All three

anthologies are studied in depth and tied together to shape how the passaggio diversity

mainstreaming anthology. The chapter ends with a conclusion that brings together the process of

anthologizing the Renaissance female author.

CHAPTER TWO

MALE MALESTREAMING: MIDDLEMEN

2.1: <u>Anthologizing Women Prior to the 1950s</u>

The literary English Renaissance has been studied repeatedly and extensively. Each time it is delved into, it becomes richer with authors and works. The gold mine, here, is female authors. Prior to the idea of "opening the canon," female authors had minimal inclusiveness, save for a handful of authors, most notably, Queen Elizabeth I. Women's exclusiveness in the canon, and thus anthologies, has detrimental effects including, but not limited to, the teaching of female authors from the era. But to understand how they were marginalized, we need to understand how women were treated during that period. Also note that while explaining the hardships of women during this era, it is not the condition of *every* woman, there are exceptions. As Allison Heisch states,

> … [E]xceptional women are not representative of women, for many such women one
> condition of being both exceptional and female may be that the values and practices of
> the male society in which they function may be accepted by them, transformed and
> internalized, and followed, so that they become, in effect, "honorary males." (45)

Part of the English Renaissance era is also referred to as the Elizabethan Era. Some scholars would postulate that Queen Elizabeth I "escaped" the constraints of women by being a female ruler, but this is not the case. Even as a child, she was considered exceptional for being a woman; one of her schoolmasters even said: "[h]er mind has no womanly weakness, her perseverance is equal to that of a man" (Mead 262). As queen, she felt her duty was to the people of the country, but the country was built on male dominance which almost wholly silenced the female voice. Furthermore, though she was very well educated and the queen, she was also subject to the oppression of male superiority through Parliament. She was constantly challenged by her

advisors on her decision to never marry. They often tried to blackmail her or delay votes on bills she wanted to pass, trying to force her to marry and/or produce an heir (Heisch 49).

Considered exceptional in many ways, one cannot blame nor praise Queen Elizabeth I's impact (or lack thereof) on women. She had to ultimately transform herself into a new being, separate yet part of her sex, in order to have the impact that she did/does on her society at that time. As Heisch explains, "Elizabeth was absorbed into the existing patriarchal system, de-sexed, elevated, and hence transformed into a figure both above and distinct from other women" (54). Consequently, while she did write, was published, canonized, and anthologized, we cannot factor her into the struggle of the "normal" Renaissance women of the era as she was never truly considered an ordinary woman.

Why weren't there many female authors in anthologies? A simple answer would be "the legacy of women's lived experiences in past ages is not easily recovered" (Mendelson and Crawford 1). For starters, exclusiveness was the norm, "[c]onventional political narratives of early modern England were written on the assumption that men were the only citizens" (3). During the era, England was very much a patriarchal society with female authors struggling to defy accusations from the societal and religious basis. For example, on the one hand, while patriarchy is confirmed through Joseph Swetnam's *The Arraignment of Lewd*, on the other hand, Ester Sowernam's *The Arraignment of Women*, Jane Anger's *Protection*, and Rachel Speght's *A Mouzell for Melastomus* present a counter-argument that demonstrates that women were actively responding to male supremacy. And while miscellanies such as Richard Tottel's *Miscellany* exist and are made famous in the 19th century by anthologists such as Edward Arber and John Payne Collier, Aphra Behn and Francois La Rochefoucault's *Miscellany, Being a Collection of Poems By Several Hands* (1685) is rarely mentioned as influential.

42

The most profound disadvantage what women faced was education, "most women were denied the chance to be schooled beyond the basics," (Papp and Kirkland). Because men had the most access to education, they were also able to have better opportunities and experiences in life. Educating women was drastically different than a man's education. It was important for both men and women to learn to read for religious reasons. As Wright states: "[t]he mother was expected to read the Bible to her children and, in the absence of her husband, to conduct family worship…" (142). While man's education was to help the successfully begin a career, a woman's education was to produce perfect housewives and was dedicated to domestic roles. Even with overcoming education, women were typically taught by their familial male figures. Thus, professional writing is made possible to them through their family and often published to a limited audience.

Nearly every advantage in life is given to most men. It should be noted that the elite gained the most out of this situation; while the less important the status, the fewer opportunities there were. Many authors during the era wrote on what the role and/or place of a woman was little more than to be a good wife and mother. For instance, many male authors perceived women as inconsistent, in John Donne's *Paradoxes and Problems*, he questions this "common opinion of women." in his "Paradox I: A Defence of Womens Inconstancy," he states:

> That Women are *Inconstant*, I with any man confesse, but that *Inconstancy* is a bad
> quality, I against any man will maintaine: For euery thing as it is one better than another,
> so it is fuller of *change*; … soe in Men, they that haue the most reason are the most
> intolerable in their designes and the darkest or most ignorant, doe seldomest change;
> therefore Women changing more than Men, haue also more *Reason*.

While Donne admits to the familiar binary oppositions between males and females, still, he recognizes that change and inconsistency is a good quality because it will lead to bringing freshness or as he describes it light to reason. In contrast with Donne, the majority saw women:

A woman's Tongue that is as swift as thought,

Is ever bad, and she herself starke Nought:

But shee that seldome speakes and mildly then,

Is a rare Pearl amongst all other Women.

Mades must be seene, not heard, or selde or never,

O may I such one wed, if I, wed ever. (Kelso 51)

This poet's idea of a perfect wife is one who doesn't challenge his presence, nor does she think for herself. This is a shared thought amongst men during that time. For some an educated or independent woman was seen as a threat and many rules were put in place to keep a woman from threatening a man's status. Krontiris states that some went so far as to "require the wife to show outwards signs of her husband's superiority (for example, bowing in his presence)." (7)

Many female authors faced a lot of criticism for writing. Males have commonly criticized female's literature to silence their authors. Mary Wroth was called a hermaphrodite and a monster by Edward Denny, Baron of Waltham. Because of perceiving women as a threat, having her un-sexed would make more sense to people such as Denny rather than admitting that her sex is capable of competing against male authorship. Thus, limiting females' education would ensure a passive and intellectually inferior female. This reduction of the Renaissance female voice is popularized through the anthologization process of Renaissance literature prior to the mid-20th century.

Hence, the answer to "did women write?" is Yes. They wrote a lot, but due to circumstances beyond their control, they did not have the resources to become renown and

preserved like male authors. Women wrote plays, prose, and poetry. The cliche of Judith

Shakespeare did not come from a nonsensical stand. Virginia Woolf was remarking on the lack

of female authors represented during the English Renaissance era. She could not fathom an idea

that a literary age consisted of no female authors and instead suggested the notion that women

wrote and men were credited for their work. Sir Thomas More wrote this to his daughter,

Margaret, who was considering publishing her work *The Last Things*:

> Although you cannot hope for an adequate reward for your labor, yet nevertheless you
>
> continue to unite to your singular love of virtue the pursuit of literature and art. Content
>
> with the profit and the pleasure of your conscience, in your modesty you do not seek for
>
> the praise of the public, nor value it overmuch even if you receive it, but because of the
>
> great love you bear us, you regard us - your husband and myself - as sufficiently large
>
> circle of readers for all that you write. (Jardine 50)

Many shared this same view that More had. A woman should not seek fame and that she should

only seek acknowledgment from her husband and father. Although we don't know what

Margaret's publishing ambitions were, the manuscript she was writing at that time never was

published. It would be safe to assume that many women faced this same struggle of personal

ambition versus duty to husband and family and were, therefore, unable to pursue their

publishing goals.

Linda Nochlin's article, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" speaks of

the oppression that women faced due to a list of greatness that is strictly male. Nochlin says:

"Stultifying, oppressive, and discouraging to all those - women included - who did not have the

good fortune to be born white, preferably middle class, and, above all, male" (5-6). Thus, a male-

privileged era that promoted men, printed men, and overshadowed women, despite their

numerous contributions to the literary world. Truth be told, canon formation and anthology

creation were also male saturate and continued to benefit men. While Renaissance anthologies are designed to ensure a balanced education, and while literary education should include rather than exclude as much as possible of literature that gives a just insight of what Renaissance literature is, the overwhelming odds against female authors shows a sense of bias against any author other than male prerogatives. The representation of who wrote in the English Renaissance is male-oriented. To understand women's absence from the list of greatness, an examination of the process of canonization is due; the economic, social, and cultural forces in which a decision is made to consider a literary work "great" and worthy of preserving, circulating, and studying should be carefully studied. This chapter will locate the exclusion of women in the English Renaissance anthology and miscellany before the 1950s.

2.2: <u>Anthologizing the Renaissance Prior to 1950s</u>

Like "middlemen" is how Roy Lamson and Hallett Smith describe anthologists within their anthology, *The Golden Hind.* According to these editors, anthologists play a linking role between teachers and scholars. They believe that this distance between teachers and scholars, between readers and writers, is a gap that needs to be professionally and authoritatively filled by anthologies. The emphasis, here, is on male mainstreaming where male anthologists play the middle role between writers and readers, men who formed a taste for Renaissance men rather than men and women. Teaching literature, for Lamson and Smith, is a process of deliberate selection from a vast literary canon, and the anthological outcome of this process claims both objectivity and representativeness.

The first stage through which the English Renaissance was being anthologized before the second half of the 20th century is the middlemen stage which goes with three essential contexts. First, women were almost entirely excluded from Renaissance anthologies, from Tottel up to the contemporary feminist-driven inclusions starting in the second half of the 20th century, in

46

general, and 1970s, in specific. Second, more so than Tottel, academic anthologists like Lamson and Smith are very actively aware of their adopted role as middlemen between readers and authors. They deliberately act not merely as canonical gatekeepers, but canonical wall builders who actively work to keep women out. Third, this middlemen role of anthologists was the essential component in creating both the modern definition of the English Renaissance canon and in defining this canon as one populated exclusively by men.

To understand woman's minimal inclusion in most anthologies of the English Renaissance, we should trace the anthologization process of this age. In its vast glory, the literary English Renaissance has been collected for centuries, with the first anthology having been published as early as 1557. I will start my study of the anthologization process of the English Renaissance with a survey of five anthologies. The process of selecting these specific anthologies is based on (1) widespread acceptance of them as they are anthologies that have been influencing other anthologies in form or selection, (2) I specifically focus on poetry as a genre of focus in my selection and even though some anthologies do have prose in them, all the anthologies have poetry as a center for selection of texts, and (3) placed in chronological order, each anthology is selected to depict the shift in anthologization from one century to the other; starting with the 16th century and ending with the middle of the 20th century, the anthologies should stand as representatives of the century that they are published in. The list of anthologies studied, here, is: (1) Richard Tottel's *Miscellany: Songs and Sonnets Written by the Right Honourable Lord Henry Howard, Late Earl of Surrey, and Others* (1557), (2) John Bodenham's *England's Helicon, or, The Muses Harmony* (1614), (3) Joseph Ritson's *The English Anthology: Volume the First* (1793), (4) is Francis Palgrave's *The Golden Treasury of the Best Songs and Lyrical Poems in the English Language* (1861), and (5) Roy Lamson and Hallett Smith's *The Golden Hind: An Anthology of Elizabethan Prose and Poetry* (1956).

In the 19th century, the revival of sixteenth and seventeenth-century anthologies was at its peak, the valuing of anthologies and the popularizing of certain authors through anthologization was thoroughly delved through in this age. In 1867, John Payne Collier published his *Seven English Poetical Miscellanies*. In his "General Introduction," Collier speaks of the value of seven miscellanies (two of which are presented here: Tottel's and Bodenham's miscellanies) as they should be the basis for anthologies published to present the literature of the Renaissance age. He states:

> Everybody at all acquainted with the history of our [English] literature will be well aware
>
> of the value of the value of all these productions [the seven miscellanies], which may be
>
> looked upon as the earliest revival of a true taste for poetry, after a dreary century
>
> between the death of Chaucer and the birth of Surrey. (Collier iv)

Collier's use of the word revival indicates that the age still has not been named as the Renaissance Age, but his reference to it as a 'revival' indicates a shift in the literature that is different from that which came before it. He gives this age's literature a significant value that differentiates it from any other age.

In 1870, Edward Arber's *Tottel's Miscellany, Songs and Sonettes by H. Howard, Earl of Surrey, Sir T. Wyatt, the Elder, Nicholas Grimald, and Uncertain Authors* is published to highlight the importance of anthologies written in the sixteenth century, in general, and Tottel's *Miscellany*, in specific. In his "A Prologue," Arber speaks of the Elizabethan age as the age were the English national literary identity is formed. He writes: "The Elizabethan age produced the most blithesome of our English Song" (Arber iv). He publishes a list of poetical miscellanies (their names, editors and/or collectors, editions, and dates of publication to each edition); 8 miscellanies in total and 35 editions distributed amongst them (v). Arber also lists 2 "Collections

of Poetical Quotations" and 5 "Rare Works by Single Poets" (v).[31] Following the prologue and

the table of content (which is located after the prologue), Arber publishes a "Chronological

Memoranda Connected with This Miscellany" (ix-xiv). Here, he listed in chronological order the

events and publications of important works that are associated or related to Tottel's *Miscellany*.

Finally, Arber writes an "Introduction" to conclude with listing his reasons for republishing this

miscellany in particular. He states: "It would be interesting to know with whom originated the

idea of this first Miscellany of English Verse. Who were its first editors? What was the principle

of selection? [and] Who were the *Uncertain Authors*?" (xv). He provides an answer to each of

these questions in his introduction. The main concern here is his answer to the question of the

principle of selection in this miscellany, in which Arber answered:

> … [T]hese Poetical Miscellanies are but Selection. Their essential principle is, to separate
>
> the Verse from its antecedents and occasion, even to the using the Author's name simply
>
> as a label; in order to present its intrinsic Excellence and Beauty to the close Attention
>
> and Subtle Penetration of the Reader. (xvi)

Then, the main principle behind such miscellanies is to make valued poetry available to the

readers. Arber's description of the process of selection does not escape vocabulary that sets a

certain hierarchy. On the one hand, the included poems have 'intrinsic Excellence and Beauty'

through which the reader is 'subtly penetrated,' but on the other hand, those works include only

male certain authors and male uncertain but identified (by Arber) male authors.

In his 1887 *England's Helicon: A Collection of Lyrical and Pastoral Poems*, the editor,

Arthur Henry Bullen, republished Bodenham's miscellany *Englands Helicon*. Interestingly, in

his "Introduction," Bullen uses the word 'anthology' to refer to miscellanies; he says: "The first

---

[31] Those miscellanies, collections, and works are published between the dates 1557-1621.

English anthology, known as *Tottel's Miscellany*, was published in 1557" (v). This clearly

defines miscellanies as anthologies. This use of the word 'anthology' can be caused by the

impact of English anthologists such as Ritson who used it in the title of his *English Anthology* in

the 18th century. Like Collier, Bullen highlights the importance of this anthology in building

English national literature as it provides the reader with "masterpieces" written by "true-born

poets" (ix). Like Arber, Bullen uses vocabulary that establishes hierarchies among authors and

texts: "The selections are made for the most part with such excellent taste" (x). Bullen spends a

detailed 19-page section of the introduction contextualizing the poems and trying to identify the

authors of each poem presented in the anthology (xiii-xxxii). Thus, the revival of the Elizabethan

miscellanies and anthologies have consumed a great number of literary editors of the 19th

century which has impacted the anthologization process of the 20th century.

2.2.1: Tottel's *Miscellany* (1557)

Tottel's 1557 *Miscellany: Songs and Sonnets Written by the Right Honourable Lord*

Henry Howard, Late Earl of Surrey, and Others declares a need for collecting English literature

in order for it to form an identity of its own separate from any other European influence. This

anthology revolves around the works of Henry Howard; and thus, the choices of inclusion are

meant to make sure that Howard's legacy is highlighted and well represented. The title of the

anthology by itself reflects this notion of hierarchy that places Howard above any other author

presented in it. In Tottel's "The Printer to the Reader," he addresses the need to preserve English

literature calling it a "treasure." He speaks on how other European countries not only preserve

their literature but also praise it; thus, he wants to do the same with English works. His hopes

were that the educated people would help support and spread these works and that the

uneducated would learn to read and become part of this mission to preserve, spread, and delight

in their national identity (2). Tottel's miscellany is not the first English literature miscellany but

the first one to be collected during the English Renaissance age on the literature of the Renaissance (1527-1557).

Here, the first English Renaissance anthology is published,[32] and the first attempt to bring together literary texts to form the literary corpus of parts of English Renaissance literature. This collection of poems announces its new approach to literature as it gathers English verse from 1530-1557 for the purpose of recognition and building up English national literature. The prologue states the need to appreciate national literature as well as the need to give recognition to English poets. This miscellany has been republished with an introduction by the editor Edward Arber (1870).Writing on the value of miscellanies, in Arber's "Introduction" to Tottel's *Miscellany*, declares that "[e]verybody at all acquainted with the history of our [English] literature, will be well aware of the value of all these productions, which may be looked upon as the earnest revival of a true taste for poetry" (XV). His statement closely reflects the ideas in "The Printer to the Reader," expressing the need to prioritize the preservation of English literature to scholars. And yet, 'true taste' is found in this anthology.

Arber's republishing of this anthology came from the stressing for the need to anthologize English literature as it maintains, defines, and allows the study of national literature to thrive. The prologue and the introduction are written by Arber who sought the exclusion of any edition that came after the second edition because he claims that the editions that occurred after 1557 were all affected by the publishers who aided in the course of changes that happened to the anthology. Although Arber claims sticking to the origins of the anthology; and thus, publishing only the first two editions. In addition, he refutes Tottel's ranking of Henry Howard

---

[32] One of the first references to this miscellany as an anthology was in 1887 by the editor A. H. Bullen, in his edition of *England's Helicon: A Collection of Lyrical and Pastoral Poems*. In his introduction, he states "The first English anthology, known as *Tottel's Miscellany*, was published in 1557 and reached an eighth edition in 1587" (vii).

as the most significant figure whose name was central to the original anthology. Arber says that the most significant influence on English verse is Thomas Wyatt.

Arber infuses both the first and the second edition (5 June - 31 July 1557) to form one anthology that consists of 310 works; 130 of which are anonymous. The miscellany is divided into two parts: 'certain' and 'uncertain' authors. There are no female authors in the *Miscellany*, but there is one poem in the section of uncertain authors that is accredited to a woman. The poem, "The Answere," is ended with the footnote by Tottel acknowledging that it is "[o]stensibly by the gentlewoman to whom was addressed *To False Report and Flying Fame*," (250). Furthermore, this assumed female author is the only author whose gender is announced in the section containing uncertain authors; which can leave the reader with one or both of two conclusions: (1) it is assumed that all the other authors are male, and (2) the female author is known, to Tottel, just purposely unnamed.
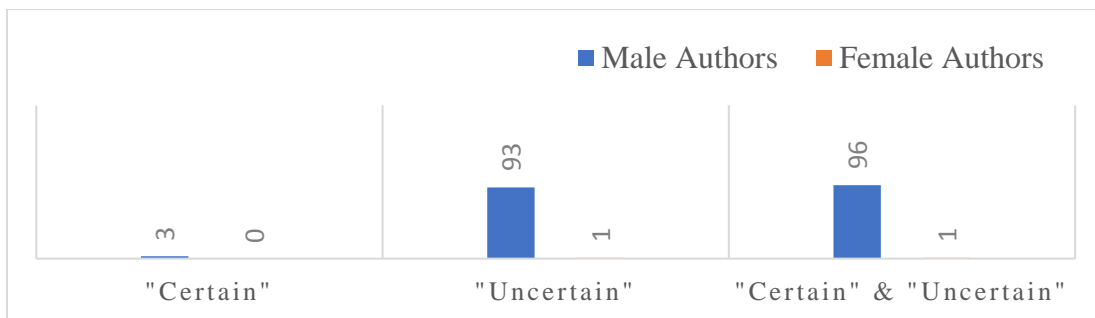

Fig. 2: Tottel's Number of Authors
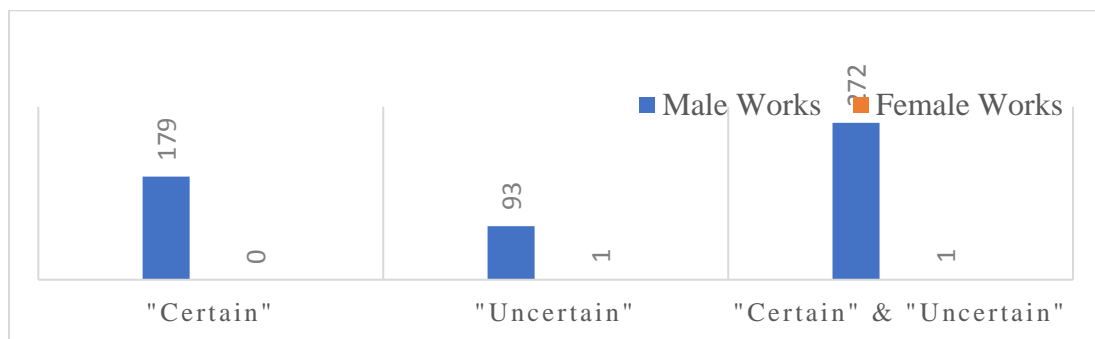
Fig. 3: Tottel's Number of Works

Figures 2 and 3 depict the number of authors and works that are included in Tottel's miscellany. As shown, the total of authors represented is 97 (96 male authors and one female author). While only three authors are certain (Wyatt, Howard, and Grimald), 94 authors are uncertain; one of which is a female author. The total amount of works included are 273 (272 male-authored and one female-authored work). 179 works belong to the three certain authors while 94 works are published for uncertain authors (only one work is for the uncertain-gendered-female author). Thus, the percentage of male to female works is 99.63% to 0.36% (65.56% certain male-authored, 34.43% uncertain male-authored, and 0.36% uncertain female-authored works) (Figure 3).
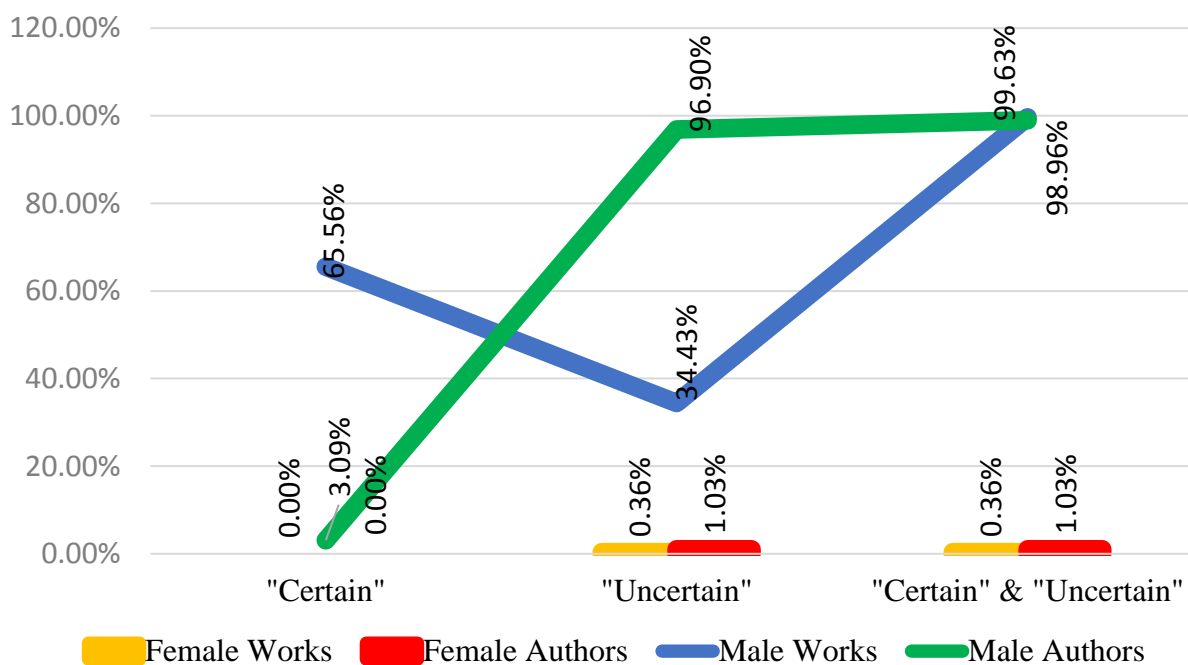
Fig. 4: Tottel's Percentage of Male and Female Works and Authors

Furthermore, Figure 4 shows the difference in percentages of both female and male as well as certain and uncertain authors and works. The drastic percentage shows how the anthologization process here not only shows a shift between male and female authors and works but also a shift between certain- and uncertain-authored works. Tottel's anthologization process

presents the impact of the editor on the magnification of the represented three certain male

authors and supporting their works with uncertain authors who answered to the works (such as

the one female-authored work) or as a compliment to show the same style or topic in writing

poems.

Tottel's *Miscellany* though used as an initial and important base for many anthologies of

the 17th-20th centuries; such as Lamson and Smith's *Golden Hind*, it introduces how the

anthologist uses his anthology to communicate his ideologies. Whether it happens through

making available to the public male-authored works and by that setting a binary opposition

between male and female authors, or through creating a limited hierarchy of taste by highlighting

the works of few authors more than others. I argue that Tottel, whether intentionally or

unintentionally, has managed and succeeded (due to his influence on other anthologists) to

initiate providing a value system for future anthologies.

2.2.2: Bodenham's *England's Helicon* (1614)

John Bodenham's *England's Helicon, or, The Muses Harmony*[33] (1600, republished with

additions in 1614) is an anthology of lyrical poems that is composed between the end of the 16th

century and the beginning of the 17th century. In his 1887 edition of the anthology, A. H. Bullen,

in *England's Helicon: A Collection of Lyrical and Pastoral Poems*, questions the authorship of

Bodenham (xi-xii). Bullen explains "Bodenham did not edit any of the Elizabethan miscellanies

attributed to him by bibliographers; he projected their publication and he befriended the editors"

(xii). He states that this anthology, like many others, was "issued under his patronage" (xii). In

---

[33] The title of this anthology is a reference to a mountain in Greece called Helicon. This mountain viewed by ancient Greeks as the place where Apollo and Muses reside. Making the Helicon a property of England, in the title of the anthology, could add to Tottel's purpose behind gathering his anthology; the formation of the English literary identity and the preservation of the English literary legacy. In my opinion, the title is meant to reflect on the greatness of the literature produced by the included authors.

addition to this, Bullen interestingly uses the word "banquet" to refer to the texts presented in the anthology; this brings the reader back to the original definition of the word anthology (xxxiii). Here, the second edition of this anthology is studied as it has an addition of nine poems and a dedication written by Richard More.

The anthology is initiated with a prosaic dedication to the reader, titled "To the Reader, If Indifferent" that is signed by an Elizabethan publisher, Nicholas Ling. Remarkably, Ling begins this dedication with a critique of the way anthologies have been created for personal interest; "Many honoured names have heretofore (in their particular interest) patronized some part of these inventions: many here be, that only these Collections have brought to light, and not inferior (in the best opinions) to any before published" (4). Ling, here, criticizes the process of anthologization as some editors highlight certain authors and dismiss others.[34] He confirms that a lot of work should go into the making of an anthology and that anthologies play a huge role in making sure that the works survive time. This is in addition to settling authorship and copyright issues, which are parts of the purposes of anthologizing texts, according to Ling.

The last dedication of the anthology is addressed to the playwright Elizabeth Cary and written by Richard More (the second edition of this anthology was printed for More). In this poetic dedication, More highlights the musicality of the poems chosen in the anthology as he sought that Cary would appreciate the value of such a collection. The anthology is created, according to More, "[t]o shield from envy's paw and time's abuse/ The tuneful notes of these our shepherds' reeds" the works of the selected authors (9). More describes Cary as "Truly Virtuous," "Honourable," "worthy," and "England's happy Muse" (9). More, also, hopes that

---

[34] An example on this is Tottel's *Miscellany*; where the whole anthology names only three male authors and gives the majority of the anthology to cover their works while other authors are sectioned under uncertain poets are not even named and not given a proper representation.

Cary would "[h]ave equal fate" like the authors that are anthologized. He says that anyone would "[i]n silence lay the vales as in a trance" and "race to hear them [the poets] sing" (9). More wants her to share the same destiny as those poets who wield of the "quill … with the lights of heaven" (9).
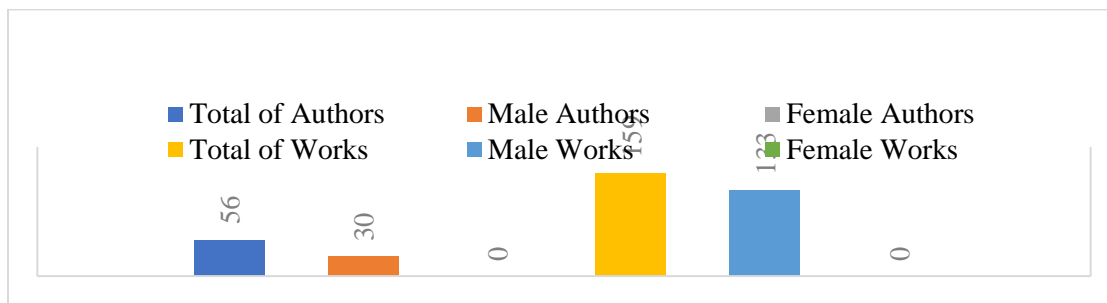
Fig. 5: *Bodenham's Totals of Male and Female Authors and their Works*

Although More's description of Cary and his wishes for her literary future are positive, the anthology does not have any female-authored texts in it. As Figure 5 shows, this anthology contains 56 authors; of which 26 are "Ignoto" or "Anonymous." Ignoto, according to Bullen, refers to a work that "has been ascribed without the slightest authority" (xxii).[35] Bullen heavily criticizes the use of the Ignoto, especially when other anthologies published in the same period have accredited some of these works to known authors. Although Bullen tries his best to provide evidence from other anthologies when identifying the authors of Ignoto works, some of his identifications are not based on any proof. For example, he states "Page 222. *The Shepherd's Slumber*. Signed *Ignoto* in ed. 1600; there is no signature in 1614. It has been ascribed, without evidence, to Raleigh" (xxx).

Although there is a total of 26 anonymous authors and although there is an addition of 9 works in the second addition, the female voice remains excluded from this 17th-century

---

[35] Bullen has also repeatedly referred to the use of the word Ignoto as a "slip" (for example, on pages xxiii, xxv, and xxx).

anthology. 158 is the total of works that are presented in the second edition of the anthology (Figure 5). 133 is for named male authors; some which are Philip Sydney, William Shakespeare, and Edmund Spenser (Figure 5). In his introduction, Bullen traces most of the Ignoto poems as written by male authors such Sir Walter Raleigh.

The distribution of space given to these authors' works is to showcase a large number of pastorals and songs written in this period, and none of those subgenres were identified as written by a female author by both the editor and Bullen. Thus, the editor did not highlight an author over another; he just provided as much as possible representations of pastorals and songs. But Bullen, in his introduction, to refused to acknowledge some poets. On Bartholomew Young (or Yong), Bullen writes "It would be a relief to me if I could oust Young's verses from this anthology" (xi). His judgment is based on Young's "unpoetical name" and Bullen's "judgment" that Young "falls below mediocracy" (xi). Bullen claims that the editor's choice "can only be explained on the assumption that he [Young] was a close friend of the indulgent editor" (xi).

2.2.3: Ritson's *English Anthology* (1793)

Joseph Ritson's *The English Anthology: Volume the First* (1793) is an anthology of English poetry that is divided into three volumes, the first volume is the one studied here because it is the volume that collects Renaissance literature. The anthology begins with an "Advertisement" that explains why the reader should purchase this anthology that starts with 16th-century poetry (with the exception of including selections from Chaucer from the 14th century). In addition, the advertisement clarifies where Ritson got the title of the anthology from; he states: "[T]he idea originated from a sight of the elegant French song-book, entitled L'Anthologie Francoise" (vi). This statement shows that the word 'anthology' was not used in the title to English selections of literature before this anthology.

This anthology does not have an introduction, nor does it introduce the poets with a bibliographical section, but some footnotes accompany the poems to explain them or comment on the authors. Also, where known to Ritson, dates of composition and the dates of birth and death of the authors are provided. From opening, "The Advertisement," the anthology immediately goes ahead to the table of content which is followed by the first poem presented. Ritson explains that his selection is based on selecting poets of "eminence or merit," "best," and those whom "deserve a place" in this anthology (i, i, v).
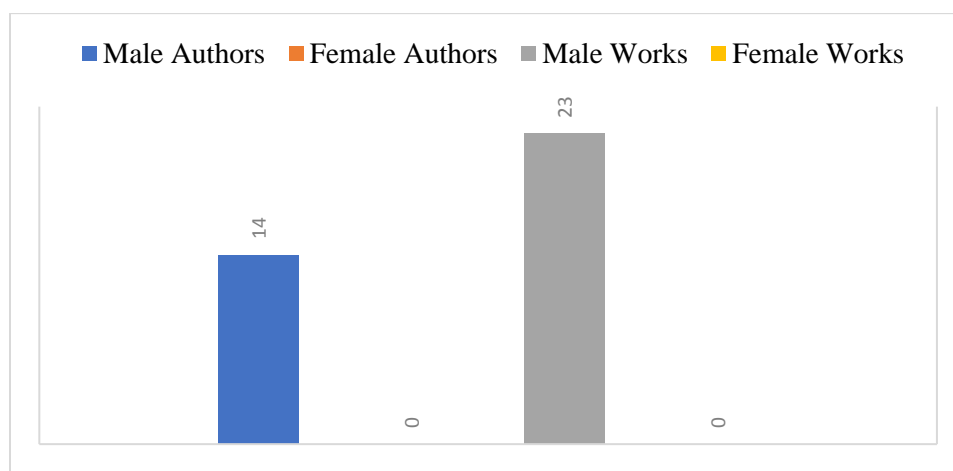
Fig. 6: *Ritson's Male and Female Authors and their Works*

With this in mind, the exclusion of female authors in this volume is because they do not have merit, eminence, or deserve a place in an English anthology, according to Ritson. His anthology contains 14 male authors who are represented in 23 works (Figure 6). With no anonymous- or female-authored texts, Ritson limits both the reader and the poetry of the age represented to a small group of authors who are poorly represented as well. With a title like the one Ritson choose, a fair representation of the authors is due, but the limitedness of this anthology calls into question his definition of 'best' taste.

The composition of this anthology took 51 years (1752-1803), during which the first volume has not changed.[36] Add to that the fact that Ritson acknowledges in his advertisement that his second and third volumes were not ready to be composed and published before the publication of the first volume (1793), this means that the first volume took Ritson 41 years to produce this first volume (1752-1793). In my opinion, this volume, and by default this anthology, has left the user/reader longing for more since the title and the advertisement suggest a sense of inclusiveness of more works and authors.

2.2.4: Palgrave's *Golden Treasury* (1861)

The fourth anthology that is studied is Francis Palgrave's *The Golden Treasury of the Best Songs and Lyrical Poems in the English Language* (1861).[37] This anthology, though not specified to the Renaissance age, is divided into four book that allows a distinction between Renaissance literature and that which came after it (representing poems from 1560 to 1850). The anthology devotes the first and the second books to the Renaissance age; covering in Book I 1556-1616 and in Book II 1616-1700. The anthology is one of the first to provide groupings of texts that belong to the same time frame as well as coverage of poetry from the 16th century to the 19th century.

In the dedication of the anthology, Palgrave declares that this book is aimed to be cheap so that the laboring and the poor classes can be obtained easily (b). Besides, the anthology is

---

[36] The dates of composition and publication are taken from archive.org. To see more information on this anthology: https://archive.org/details/englishanthology01ritsuoft

[37] The title of this anthology by itself shows that the anthologist wants to confine the literary legacy of this age to his view of who is best to be presented. The use of the words "Golden" and "Treasury" in the title by itself insinuates Palgrave's confinement of literature in the Renaissance canon to a limited number of authors and texts that he labeled, whether cautiously or recklessly, best. This glorification of the title goes hand in hand with the glorification of the authors included in the anthology and by that excluded works are marginalized in the presence of such 'best' works.

intended to be a source for teaching lyrical poems in the three centuries it covers. This means that the anthology is intended to have a wide readership, then this would popularize such poets on a wider base rather than being only read by the elite or scholarly readership. The dedication also claims that this anthology is "endeavored to make a true national Anthology of three centuries" (a). Like the dedication, the preface also claims that this anthology is different than any other predecessors, as it presents the "best," "known," and "valued" poetry in only the English language that is "familiar" or "should be familiar" to the reader, in his opinion (c). The preface speaks of the selected poems as the major, most significant, and *best* of the poems written in those centuries; labeling by that any other lyrical poets during those periods as insignificant when compared to the listed poets.

Interestingly, Palgrave questions merit and value in his preface. He writes: "what degree of merit should give rank among the Best" (d). "[B]revity," "worthy of the writer's genius," "reach a perfection," "passion, color and originality," "clearness, unity and truth," "excellence … [as a] whole … [not] in the parts," and finally works that "canons have steadily provided" are the arbitrary answers that Palgrave provided to this question (d). He stresses that the works chosen are "carefully and repeatedly considered" by other anthologists and readers (d). Thus, although Palgrave is responsible for the choices of texts and authors in the anthology, he stresses that this responsibility is shared with others as it is a collective taste that is taken from those who helped him compile this anthology and those who have collected other anthologies (d-e).

The arrangement of the poems is chronological. Palgrave highlights that this chronology depicts how English literature as a whole has developed and the ways through which literature has shifted. "The English mind has passed through phases of thought and cultivation so various and so opposed during these three centuries of poetry," he states (e). Because of those phases, Palgrave has divided his anthology into four books: Book I 1556-1616, Book II 1616-1700,

Book III 1700-1800, and Book IV 1800-1850. He also titles each book by the major poet who gave each section its "distinctive character:" Shakespeare, Milton, Gray, and Wordsworth, consecutively (e). This, in his opinion, would "accurately reflect the natural growth and evolution of our [English] poetry" (e). He seeks a "certain unity" in this anthology that would supposedly illustrate a natural flow of how greatness came to form (e).
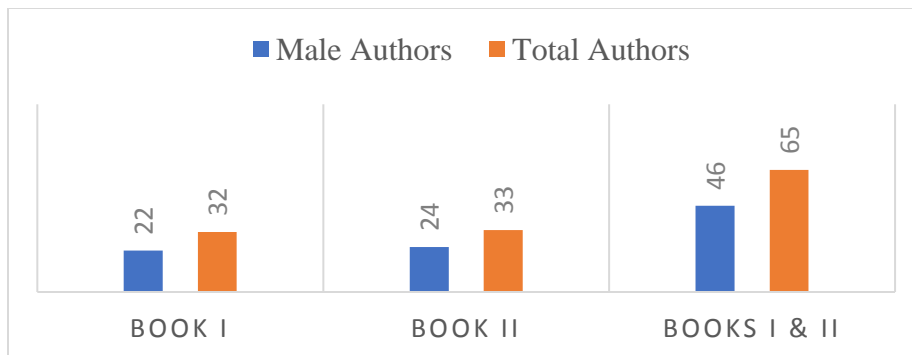
Fig. 7: *Palgrave's Total of Authors and Male Authors*

Fig. 8: *Palgrave's Total of Works and Male Works*

Book I and II do not have any female poets in them. The only book that contains women (only two women) is Book III; Anne Lindsay's "Auld Robin Grey" (1750-1825) and Carolina Nairne's "The Land O' the Leal" (1766-1845). Figure 7 shows the number of male authors and anonymous authors in the first two books. In Book I, the total of male and anonymous authors is 32 (22 male authors). In Book II, the total of authors is 33 with 24 male authors, and the rest are anonymous. Thus, the total amount of authors that could be considered as Renaissance authors

are 65 (46 of which are male authors and 19 anonymous). As for the total amount of works, as shown in Figure 7, 235 works are presented in the first two books of the anthology, 216 of which are male-authored. In Book I, the total of works is 84 (74 male-authored poems). Book II, however, has 151 of works as a total with 142 of which is male-authored. Therefore, and as Figure 8 demonstrations, the percentages of male authors and works in Book I are 68.75% and 88.09%, respectively. As for Book II, the percentages of male authors and works are 72.72% and 94.03%, respectively (Figure 8). The total of the percentage of male Renaissance authors and their works are 70.76% and 91.91%, respectively (Figure 8).
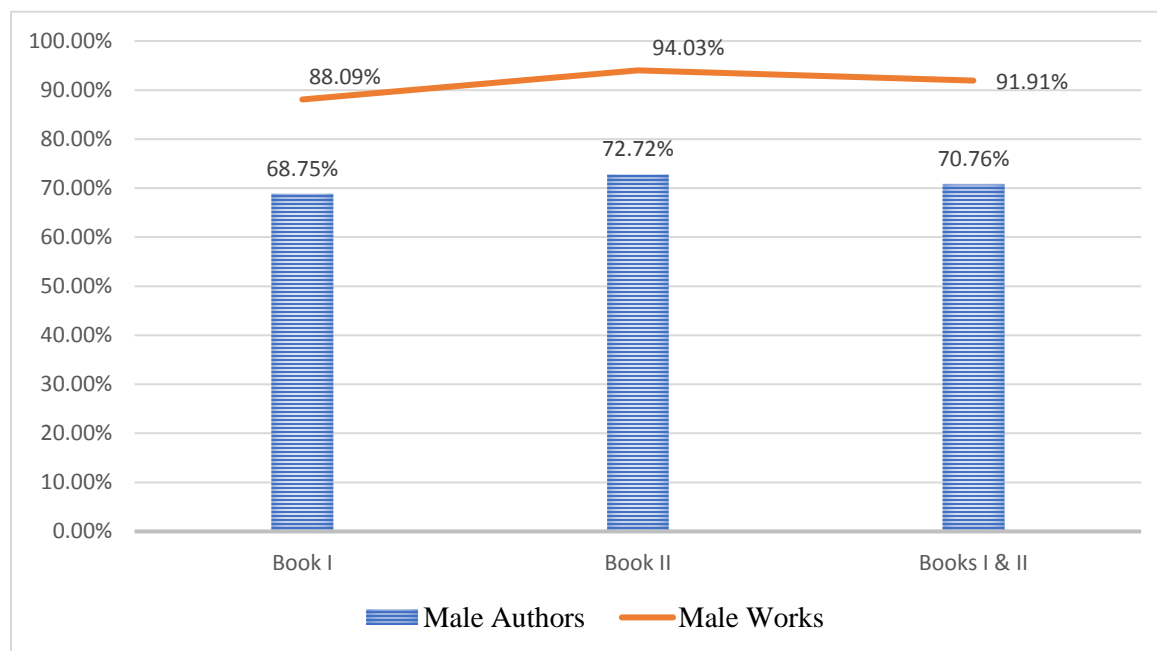
Fig. 9: *Palgrave's Percentages of Male Authors and their Works*

Not only has this anthologist disregarded the female voice, but he also discredits the titling of the first two books as the 'Elizabethan Poetry' claiming in the endnotes of the anthology that the period's name is "vaguely termed" (369). Although Palgrave does not provide an alternative name for this period, Palgrave uses this term, 'Elizabethan,' to refer to this period three times in his book (specifically in the endnotes). His disregard for this term leads him to divide the period with reference to the main highlighted male author in each book. The preface

defines Book I as the *Book of Shakespeare* and Book II as the *Book of Milton*, and by that, it offers a lyrical heritage that shows a chain of influence between those two major authors and the chosen lyrical poems by their contemporaries.

This exclusion of female and other male poets that do not fit under this chain of influence is based on the canons that allowed the anthology to exist. As stated above, Palgrave writes that his labeling of the included poets as excellent is based on the "always steadily regarded" "canons" (d). This could be the first reference to the English literary canon/s. The fact that exclusion is based on *always steady* canons of literature is the first foundation towards building up an argument that women are excluded from English Renaissance anthologies prior to and in the 19th century, and as a consequence the first half of the 20th century, is because of their exclusion from English Renaissance canon/s.

2.2.5: <u>Lamson and Smith's *Golden Hind* (1942, 1956)</u>

The fifth and final anthology studied here is Roy Lamson and Hallett Smith's *The Golden Hind: An Anthology of Elizabethan Prose and Poetry* (1942 and Smith's revised edition 1956). This anthology consists of both poetry and prose works from the Renaissance age, as explained in the preface of the 1942 edition, the selections are intended for "students and the general reader" (v). The works enclosed are chosen to present the "artistic achievement" of the age (v). With the aid of introductions, notes, and bibliographies, the anthology aims at showing the "spirit of the age" (v). As the title describes, the reign of Queen Elizabeth I is highlighted, although texts from before and after her reign are presented.

The 1956 edition's preface, a question is posed of whether the anthology needs renaming as the division of Elizabethan age (1558-1603) is "unnatural and awkward" to "give the reader an opportunity to understand the currents of feeling and thought in the early Tudor period which indicated that a renaissance and a reformation were taking place" (xvii). Smith's criticism of the

title shows how the 20th-century anthologization process has shifted the attention from what is considered great to how to name this greatness without limiting the authors to Queen Elizabeth's reign. As mentioned in the previous sections, the glorification of the authors considered to belong in the anthologies from Tottel up until Lamson and Smith has been reflected in the titles chosen to define these anthologies. But Smith poses a new shift for greatness, a shift that would label the age that those great authors are chosen from; periodization. This process of the periodization that was emphasized by Smith took a great impact on the second half of the 20th century anthologies such as the *Norton* anthology series, which had the shared the same publisher as the *Golden Hind.*[38]
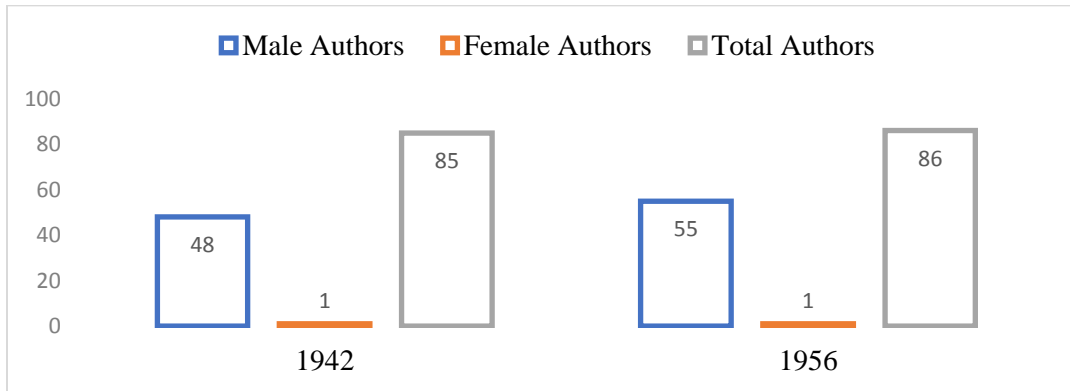
Fig. 10: *Lamson and Smith's Male and Female Authors*
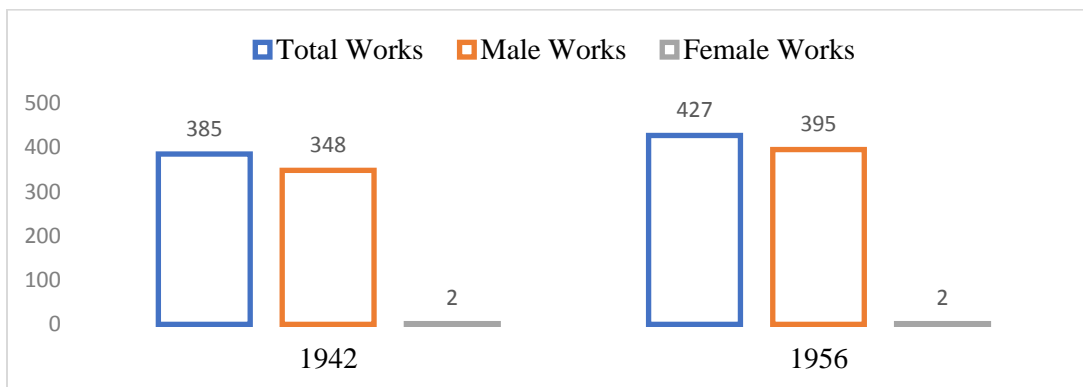
Fig. 11: *Lamson and Smith's Male and Female Works*

---

[38] This will be further discussed in Chapter Three.

Lamson and Smith have initiated the inclusion of the female voice but the only female who is inserted into the anthology is Queen Elizabeth I. Figure 10 shows that in the 1942 edition of the *Golden Hind* the total of authors are 85 while many of the texts where anonymous, 48 male authors are named and given a proper bibliographical introduction and only 1 female author is named but has not been given a bibliographical introduction (However, Queen Elizabeth is mentioned in the introduction of the anthology). In the revised edition of 1956, the total of the authors is 86, 55 are male authors, the same one female author, and 30 texts are of anonymous authorship (Figure 10). While the male authors increase in the revised edition, the same texts by the same female author, Queen Elizabeth I, remains unchanged. The number of works included for male authors is 348 in 1942 and 395 in 1956 while Queen Elizabeth I has only two works included in the anthology (Figure 11). This huge gap of representation between female and male authors and texts shows how Lamson and Smith have dismissed the works of a whole sex in their anthologies.
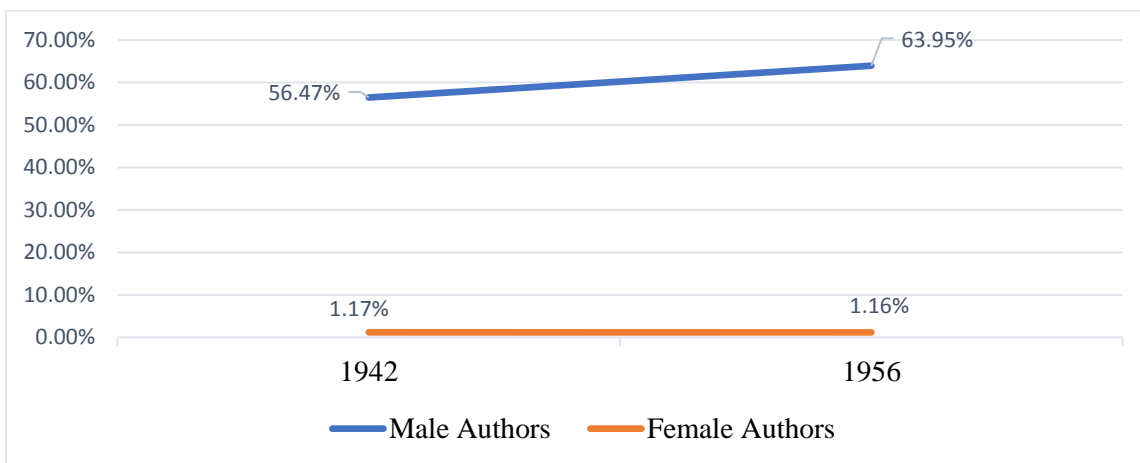
Fig. 12: *Lamson and Smith's Percentage of Male and Female Authors*
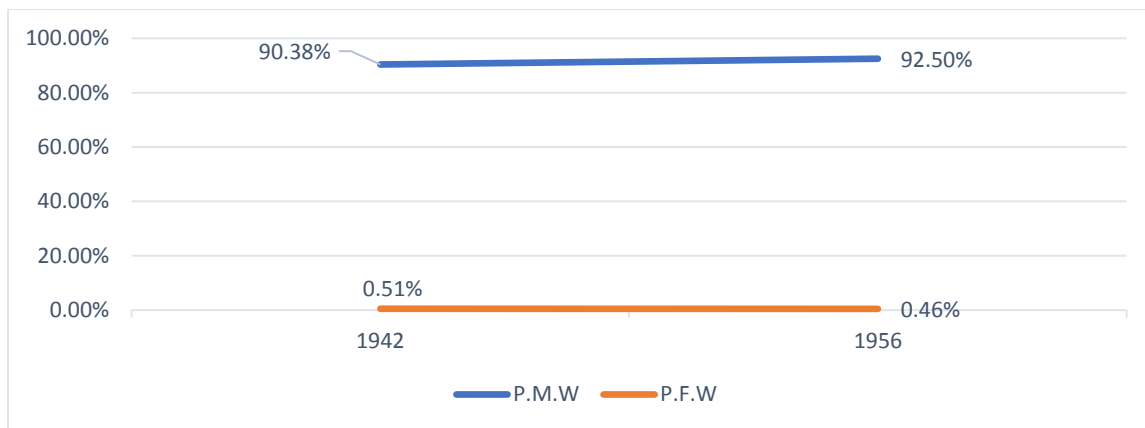
Fig. 13: *Lamson and Smith's Percentage of Male and Female Works*

Figures 12 and 13 show the percentage of male and female authors and works, respectively. The huge gap in the percentages reflects on the space given to female authorship in comparison to the male authorship. Whereas 56.47% of male authors are included in 1942 and increases to 63.95% in 1956 with the inclusion of more male authors, the percentage of female authors in the drops from 1.17% in 1942 to 1.16% in 1956 (Figure 12). Despite the increase in the space given to male authors and the promise of a revised edition that is more inclusive and representative of the age, the percentage for the one female author has decreased. As for the percentage for the number of works, on the one hand, male-authored works occupies 90.38% (1942) and 92.50% (1956) of the anthology, on the other hand, the female-authored works are reduced from 0.51% in 1942 to 0.46% in 1956 (Figure 13). The barely included female voice is a reminder of how women are excluded in anthologies prior to the second half of the 20th century.

Not only has the *Golden Hind* exclude any female voice other than the Queen that the title of the anthology allegedly glorifies, but the Queen is also given a limited page count of two pages. With two poems and no biographical introductory space or any prose,[39] the poems given space in this anthology for the Queen are "When I was Fair and Young, and Favor Graced Me"

---

[39] Every male author presented in this anthology is given an introductory biography as well as a good representation of his poetry and/or prose.

and "The Doubt of Future Foes Exiles My Present Joy." The Queen's poems are sectioned under the subtitle "Minor Lyrics."[40] This limiting representation of women, the choice of representation, location, and space, as well as the claims that those poems are the only poems "accredited … but the attribution is not certain" to the Queen, as the footnote on page 299 states (1942) and page 566 (1956), is an assertion to any claims that women were excluded from the anthologizing process of English Renaissance literature.

2.3: Female Exclusion Prior to 1950s and Unpopular Exceptions

Although there are many anthologies that have included women's literature from the Renaissance, they are unpopular exceptions that are not mentioned in anthology lists mentioned by anthology editors such as Collier, Arber, and Bullen. These unpopular exceptions are (but not limited to) Thomas Bentley's *The Monument of Matrons* (1582), Aphra Behn and Francois La Rochefoucault's *Miscellany, Being a Collection of Poems By Several Hands* (1685), and George Ballard's *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain* (1752). Their limited inclusion in this chapter is because of their fame that has been highlighted after the second half of the 20th century.[41] One should question both the reason behind the exclusion of the female author from the above-studied anthologies (i.e., the anthologies studied in sections 2.2.1 – 2.2.5), as well as their exclusion from 19th-century anthology lists of the English Renaissance anthologies (Section 2.2).

One of the main reasons behind the exclusion of women from the English Renaissance anthology and anthologization process has been emphasized by Benson and Kirkham in their *Strong Voices, Weak History*. Print politics is the main reason for their exclusions in Renaissance

---

[40] This section is also not introduced although it follows an introduction to lyrics in the revised edition of 1956.

[41] These anthologies will be further studied in Chapter Four.

anthologies prior to the second half of the 20th century. On English women and print, Benson and Kirkham declare:

> The cultural setting that contained their [women's] work in private domestic coteries and mitigated against going into print made their work for less durable. Persevered only in manuscripts and extremely rare printed editions, it was not easily available to later editors. (9)

Women wrote, but due to oppression in publication that is sustained through domestic economic suppressions, many of women's works were circulated in the form of manuscripts. Though available due to our modern forms of research and collection and are collected by anthologies like Bentley's *The Monument of Matrons*, manuscripts have been set aside in preference of print works. Thus, authors like Kathrine Phillips and Mary Cavendish were given a bigger opportunity to be included in anthologies when compared to authors whose works are in manuscript form because they have published their works.[42]

Women's inclusion in 16th and 17th-century anthologies were based on the definition of text as both print and manuscript. Tottel's *Miscellany* and Bodenham's *Englands Helicon* use both print and manuscripts in their anthologies. In contrast, during the 18th century, women included in anthologies; such as Ballard's *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain* that devoted its content to women's memoirs in print and manuscripts, depicts a movement towards excluding manuscripts from anthologization. Ballard rationalizes this detachment from manuscripts to the awareness of lost texts due to the manuscript form of publishing. In the preface of his anthology, Ballard explains

---

[42] This is further addressed and properly examined in the Chapter Four.

The present age is so far from being defective in this respect, that it hath produced a

greater number of excellent biographers that any preceding times: and yet, I know not

how it hath happened, that very many ingenious women of this nation, who were really

possess'd of a great share of learning, and have, no doubt, in their time been famous for

it, are not only unknown to the publick in general, but have been passed by in silence by

our greatest biographers. (vi)

Ballard shows how there is a need to maintain the introduction of women's literature in this

period even if the form it is published in is inequivalent to the 18th-century forms of publishing

memoirs and biographies. The form women used in publicizing their works during the sixteenth

and seventeenth centuries need separate treatment and valuing from that of the 18th-century.

Ballard depicts a shift in the 18th century that caused the disregard of English women

authors. He contrasted the English interest in foreign literature with interest in women's literature

saying:

When it is considered how much has been done on this subject by several learned

foreigners, … we may justly be surprised at this neglect among the writers of this nation;

more especially, as it is pretty certain, that England hath produced more women famous

for literary accomplishments, than any other nation in Europe. (Ballard vi)

This "neglect" of women's literature is a concern that caused Ballard to compose this anthology.

Likewise, Benson and Kirkham confirm this notion of neglect of women's literature. They

explain that "[w]omen's presence in national literary histories, generally speaking, has been less

stable than men's, their riches more shallow or precarious, their memory more quickly occluded

by time" (Benson and Kirkham 1).

Women's literary value has undergone several changes from the 18th to the 19th century.

On the one hand, during the 18th century, neglect of women's literature was caused by the forms

of publishing their literature, as Ballard stated. On the other hand, during the 19th century, women faded from the process of anthologization. In Palgrave's anthology, *The Golden Treasury* (1861), women's literature no longer exists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thus, Ballard's concern of neglect develops into exclusion. The form of publishing no longer becomes the element of questioning the value of women's literature; instead, the whole female gender becomes questionable to the point of exclusion. Benson and Kirkham remark: "[M]any of these women were erased from history … during the nineteenth century, when a new canon of scholars … emphasized a more masculine kind of humanism in their reconstructions of the Renaissance" (10). Women then are excluded in the name of 19th-century humanism, which argues unity and uniformity, that suggested locating chains of influences between male authors of the Renaissance.

The once neglected, then excluded Renaissance women author, becomes the no longer existing "Judith Shakespeare" in Virginia Woolf 's 20th century canonical listing of women authors, in *A Room of One's Own* (1945), beginning with Aphra Behn (1660-1689). Likewise, anthologists of the first half of the 20th century have given value to male authors because women no longer became an issue as a result of the de-evolution of the inclusion of Renaissance women's literature. Such anthologists could be represented by Lamson and Smith's *The Golden Hind* (1942). This anthology has depicted only two poems by Queen Elizabeth I since she could not be forgotten because of her influential historical reign. Benson and Kirkham remark: "As literary ideals changed, so did the anthologies that mirror tastes, narrowing the range of examples that have transmitted the women's work and shrinking our memory of how venturesome they were informal experimentations" (10). Literary ideals and canons change, these changes affect anthologies. Hence, accurate representations of Renaissance women's literature in anthologies are tied to their inclusion in the Renaissance canon.
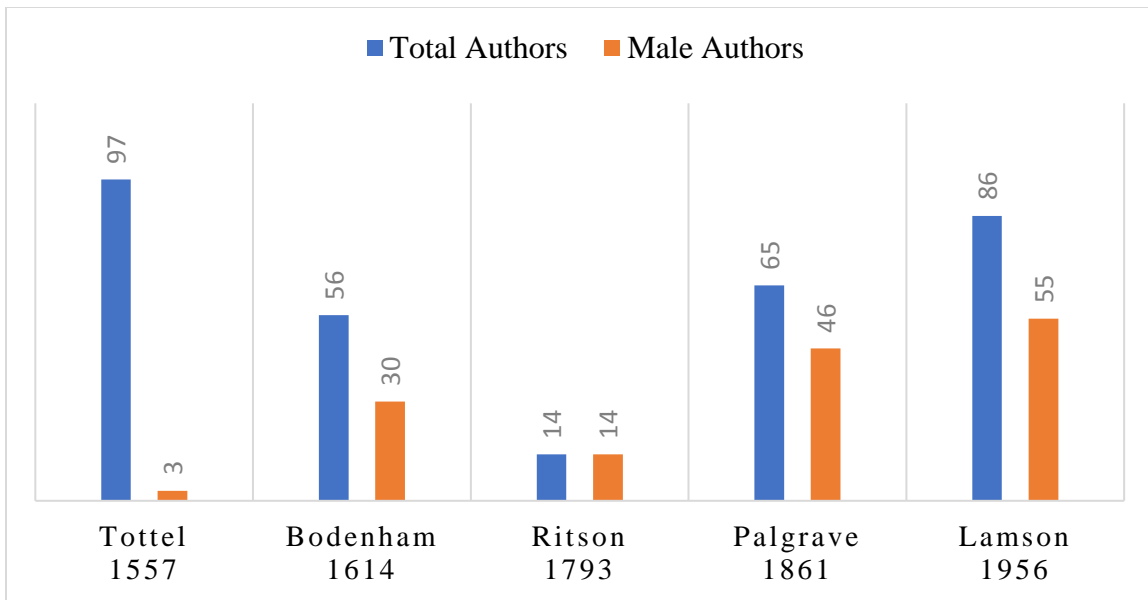
Fig. 14: *Male Authors across Middlemen Anthologies*
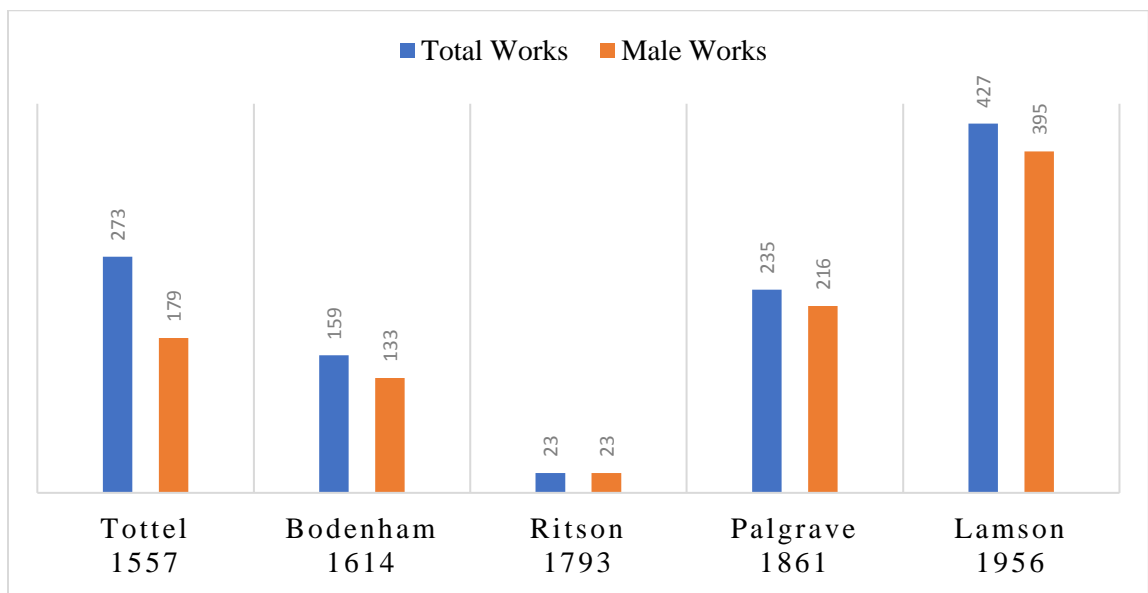
Fig. 15: *Male Works across Middlemen Anthologies*

Figure 14 contrasts between the five anthologies (discussed in sections 2.2.1-2.2.5) with regards to the total of authors in the whole of the anthology and the number of named male authors. As shown in the figure, the amount of named male authors is increasing from one anthology to the other (with the exception of Ritson). Figure 15 points out the contrast between the works in these anthologies. With the exception of Ritson's anthology, the growth of the

amount of literature presented by identified male authors exists in an increase. From Tottel's 94 to Bodenham's 26, to Palgrave's 19, and to Lamson and Smith's 30 anonymous works, anthologists are shifting their focus on either identifying the once anonymous works or including more works that are written by identified authorship.
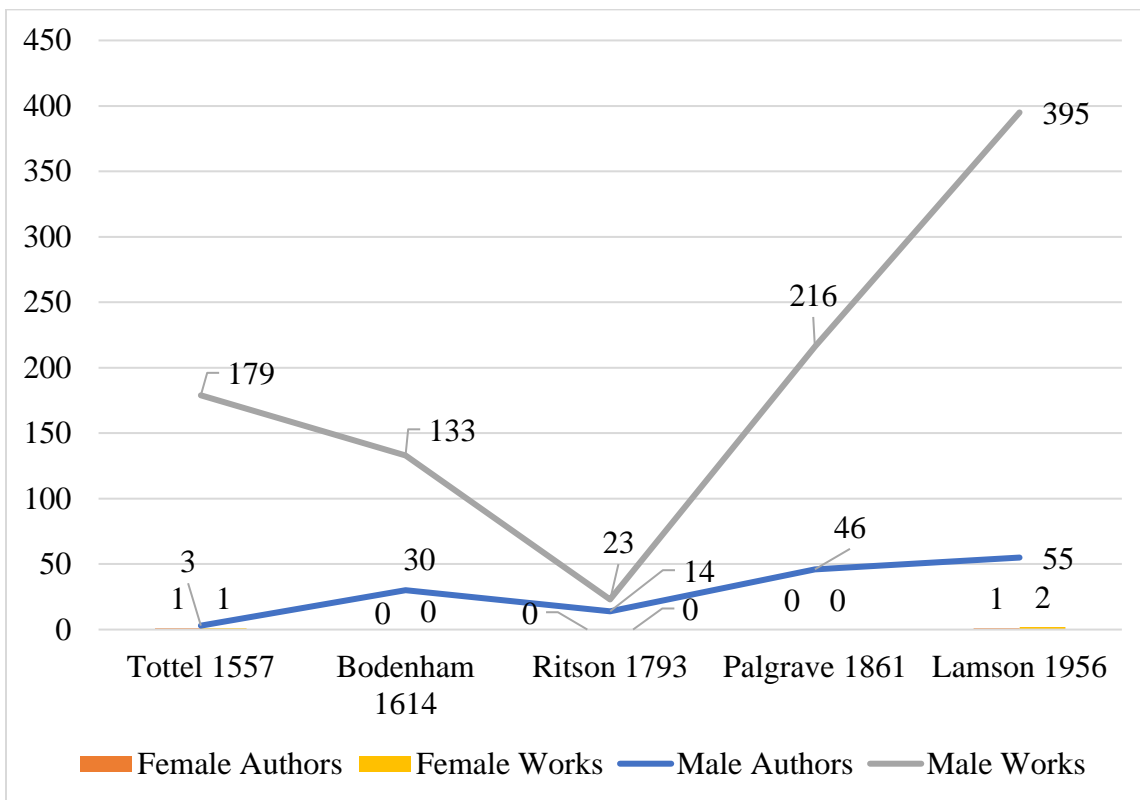
Fig. 16: *Female and Male Authors and Works across Middlemen Anthologies*

In conclusion, Figure 16 depicts the exclusion of female authors from the Renaissance anthology prior to the second half of the 20th century. While only two anthologies include one female each (Tottel's and Lamson's anthologies), on the one hand, Tottel's female author is an uncertain author who is identified as a named female author in a footnote. On the other hand, the named female author in Lamson and Smith's anthology is placed under "Minor Lyrics." In addition, the two poems presented by the same authoress in Lamson and Smith's anthology is accompanied by a footnote that claims that the poems could have been written by someone other than one female author who is presented (Queen Elizabeth). This inclusion of the female author

is argued here as proof of the exclusion of the female author from the Renaissance anthology prior the second half of the 20th century. Although included, female authors and their works are either labeled uncertain or minor; and as a result, the female author remains excluded even when she is included.

CHAPTER THREE

TOWARD DIVERSITY MAINSTREAMING: MARQUEE

3.1: <u>Reception and Anthologies</u>

Anthologies are popular tools used in teaching and presenting literature. The amount of their readership and reception goes hand in hand with their usage and popularity amongst other users. Many anthologies have represented the English Renaissance, but only a few have enjoyed a reputation that has been allowed by their users to be used and accepted as exclusive tools. Anthologies are practical; they help the users save their effort and time in looking up literature or supporting material on an era such as the Renaissance era. An anthology is an all-inclusive seemingly-trustworthy source for teachers, students, and scholars; it is also cheaper for buying it is cheaper than buying all the material needed from it by themselves. Nevertheless, even with its many advantages, every anthology has many disadvantages. No matter how representative an anthology claims to be, and no matter how widely accepted it is, or even widely sold, taught, or positively reviewed, an anthology remains a means that controls literature and its readership.

From the 1950s towards the beginnings of the twenty-first century, many scholars have questioned anthologies. In 1964, John Simmons published his "Anthologies: Do We Get out of Them What We Want?" The article questioned the need for anthologies and how they affect their users; especially in a classroom setting. Simmons views anthologies as limiting to the learning process; he highlights that they are made to convey the taste of the editor. His distrust of the editor's taste is caused by the wide-spreading audience that anthologies are receiving. Some anthologies gained more popularity than others because of many reasons; such as their publisher, targeted users, and even price. He states: "It is important to know which anthologies are more popular than others and for what reasons these texts have maintained such popularity. Also

relevant here would be the *duration* of a particular anthology's presence in a program" (370). Those anthologies that gained such popularity are the marquee anthologies that I have examined in this chapter; anthologies that have survived years of publishing and re-publishing, editing and re-editing, and yet still find a way to be in a classroom today.

In 1971, Frank Hook published his "The Anthology: To Be or Not to Be" where he studied the need for anthologies. Hook states: "Even when an anthology is clearly desirable, it may have attendant disadvantages. An anthology leaves the teacher at the mercy of the anthologist's taste - a condition which may be an advantage or a disadvantage, depending upon the anthologist" (Hook 107). Although anthology is a popular tool in teaching literature, Hook's discussion of its importance to the teacher could lead, on the one hand, to it being used as a tool that benefits the classroom and aid in the construction of the material befitted. Yet, on the other hand, dependency on anthologies as the only source for literary texts could leave both the teacher and the student at the mercy of the editors' *taste*. "Anthology making depends sometimes upon matters irrelevant to taste (or at least aesthetic taste)" (Hook 107). Copyright, publishers, space, and availability of the textual material are some of the many factors that limit anthologies and affect their construction. Although Hook exposes anthologies in the 1960s-1970s, he could not refrain from showing their positive aspects as well. He shines some light on the fact that anthologies simplify the process of teaching and that not every all editors are the same; he emphasized that some anthologies suffered from their editors' acclaimed objectification in their choices and taste; and yet, some editors although have enforced their taste, their taste is claimed to be universal. Thus, for me, although Hook managed to expose some of the disadvantages of the anthologization process and the anthologies, his views remain harmless or changeable to this process because his language would never discourage the use of anthologies and always asserts their advantages (evidence of this is seen in his word choices on pages 106-109).

In his 1984 published article, the author of "Teaching the New, Ideal Anthology," Victor Doyno, hoped for an anthology that is not biased towards one gender, race, or ethnicity. Doyno reminisced on an anthology that would include more authors of color and of the female sex. He states: "The basic idea is to expand the notion of what is literature to make it more inclusive, less exclusive, less the sole province of English males, more the shared realm of human" (66). Aiming at redefining the borders of literature and literary history, Doyno sought to question the values of literature rather than question the anthology or anthologist. Thus, inclusivity and exclusivity are related to the hierarchy in which the canon of literature exists. The anthology, then, is just a vessel to the canon, and in return, the exclusions that happen in the anthology are not the fault of the anthologists but fault of the canon itself. Although his article sought the "New, Ideal Anthology" as the title indicates, the anthology is never criticized as a shortcoming, but all the blame is set on the anthologization process that is limited by a closed canon.

In her 1992 "(De)constructing the Canon," Lucia Re urges the reader to reconsider the use of anthologies or at least to question their rationality behind their selections and omission. Re declares:

> The anthology is a phenomenon determined to a large extent by the logic of the publishing industry and of the literary marketplace. … In constructing a more or less hierarchical order for literature, the anthology constitutes and reproduces a system of values within literary studies, while simultaneously contributing to the hegemonic orientation of cultural codes in the wider field of social, discursive practices. The anthology can therefore never be a disinterested or non-ideological instrument for the dissemination of literary course. Indeed, the anthology is one of the textual places where the ideological appropriation of literature becomes most readily visible. (585)

Her critique of anthologies and their exclusion of many authors, and mainly female authors, is based on many factors, as Re explains. The publisher and marketplace are the main reasons behind some of the exclusions in the anthology, and thus, by default, they control the anthologist. Not only is the anthology restrained by the anthologist, the publisher, and marketplace's tastes, but also it is restrained by the canon that sets literature in a hierarchal order. The anthology then can never be representative of literature or even a canon of literature.

Seth Lerer's (2003) "Medieval English Literature and the Idea of the Anthology" visits the idea that Simmons and Hook questions: the idea that the anthology controls the user. Lerer announces: "Our current ways of reading are so controlled by the anthology that we should rehistoricize the traditions of the anthology itself" (1255). Dependency on anthologies has lead Lerer to emphasize criticism of the anthology history, need, and format. In 2008, Michael Berube's ""Canons and Contexts" in Context" investigates the history behind anthologization since the midst of the 20th century. He explains that in the 1960s and 1970s many political movements, such as Feminism and Marxism, have fought against the rigidity of cultural institutions and fought for equality and economic expansion has affected anthologies and the anthologization process (Berube 458). In the 1980s, anthologies who called for representation of literature were criticized for their lack of the marginalized works and authors. Berube explains: "[T]he field of scholarly inquiry had become ridiculously narrow and predictable by 1980, and surely -not to be reductive- it was no coincidence that a largely white male professoriate had sustained such a largely white male canon for a generation" (461). Similar to Lerer and Berube, Sean Shegreen's (2009) "Canonizing the Canonizer: A Short History of *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*" stresses the re-examination of marquee anthologies. Shegreen views marquee anthologies as the canon-makers since they provide literature "physical appearance;" and thus, provide "life" (317-18).

In his (2014) "English Literary Studies: Origins and Nature," Robert Irvine historicizes the English literary profession and examines the rationality behind the shifts in canons and anthologies at the university level. Irvine explains that "mass civilization" has led to marquee anthologies as it has caused anthologists to repackage literature into a neat, accessible production (20). This is a "threat" because dependency on anthologies limits their users to the taste of the anthologists and their publishers (20). Anthologies' wide reception has led many universities and publishers towards constructing, reconstructing, and promoting the use of their product (i.e., their anthology) while dismissing or masking the fact that an anthology is an exploitive biased tool. The publisher's and editors' advertisement of their anthology (whether in the preface, dedication, acknowledgment, or introduction; and whether on the anthology's front cover, back cover, or within its pages) is visible to those who investigate its language. Besides, the more the anthology gains reception, the more its editors' language tends to become omniscient. Marquee anthologies' editors; anthologies that have wide-reaching, even worldwide, reception, have burdened themselves with the heavyweight of claiming a complete representation of the literary heritage and canon. Parallel to the opening of the closed canon, criticism of this omniscient role of anthologists and marquee quality of their anthologies and edition is an issue that has been tackled by the scholars mentioned. Therefore, the exclusion of female authors from marquee anthologies is justified by the dependency on such anthologies.

3.2: Two Marquee Anthologies

From neglect to exclusion to an imaginary Judith, the Renaissance literary anthology prior to the second half of the 20th century has been leaning toward male mainstreaming. Prioritizing male-authored literature over female-authored ones has been addressed in many anthologies published in the second half of the 20th century. This shift in anthologization was raised because of the many scholarships that have been devoted to incorporating gender

awareness in their anthologies. Thus, the second half of the 20th century conveyed a shift in anthologizing Renaissance women literature. Women's presence became gradually evident. Female authors who were published in print gained wider recognition and inclusion, while manuscripts' inclusion has been aided by feminist attempts to open the once closed Renaissance canon and anthology. Noticeable in the marquee anthologies of this chapter; such as Abrams and Greenblatt's *Norton Anthology of English Literature*, this shift to include Renaissance women's literature from exclusion to inclusion and from print to manuscript and print texts is visible and could be traced in the nine editions of the anthology (1962-2012). Starting with sprinkling women in the third edition, an evolution is traced here to pinpoint how the impact of the historical movements of opening the canon during the second half of the 20th century has played a role to include marginalized Renaissance female authors.

The descendants of the publishing company Norton's *The Golden Hind*, "marquee" anthologies are anthologies that are widely used in teaching the canon. They are very familiar to anyone interested in or associated with the literary field. The English Renaissance within those anthologies has been presented with authors who are thereby implied to be most important for the age. Studying those anthologies constructs in readers an identifiable and unified, if unspoken, border around the English Renaissance canon contained therein. This chapter examines the selective proportions and editorial representation of female-authored literary texts in marquee English Renaissance anthologies. Specifically, I survey the history of women's inclusion in each volume devoted to the English Renaissance of each edition for two major anthologies, *Norton* and *Longman*, illustrating diachronically the very gradual speed and the quite limited extent to which ideals of social inclusion have been upheld by their editors.

The previous chapter has shown examples of how the English Renaissance has been anthologized prior to the second half of the 20th century. In this chapter, the Renaissance

anthology is not specific to a particular timeline (like the previous chapter) but is specific to anthologies that have been widely accepted to be representative enough to be used to know what Renaissance age and literature is. Literature and sections included in such anthologies are seen as the most significant texts that scholars who want to know more about the Renaissance age should study and should know. The choices are based on specialists in their fields. The editors acquired great fame, and their anthologies are sold worldwide. Their names are popularized and well-known.

3.2.1: <u>Abrams and Greenblatt's *Norton* (1962-2018)</u>

The first anthology series that is analyzed here is M. H. Abrams' and Stephen Greenblatt's editions of *The Norton Anthology of English Literature.* To date, nine editions of this best-selling anthology have been published over the course of six decades (1962-2012). The tenth edition will be published in June 2018, but the table of content is posted online on the publisher's website.[43] Therefore, I reference the table of content of the tenth edition but do not delve deeper into analyzing it due to the unavailability of the edition. The Renaissance was included in volume 1 of the 2-volume editions, or, from the 8th edition of 2000, as the second volume (vol. B or 1B) of the 6-volume expansions. This series thus forms an ideal historical sequence for charting how the 1970s-recent feminist ideology has affected a literary anthology series that was initially conceived and executed entirely by men.

Scrutinizing the modifications done on the English Renaissance literature in the *Norton Anthology* will depict the shifts in the Renaissance canon. The English Renaissance, in this anthology, is presented in two sections "The Sixteenth Century (1485-1603)" and "The Seventeenth Century (1603-1660)." According to George Landow, "To appear in the *Norton* or

---

[43] Greenblatt, Stephen. "The Norton Anthology of English Literature." *Norton and Company Inc.*, Norton, 2018, books.wwnorton.com/books/webad.aspx?id.

Oxford anthology is to have achieved, not exactly greatness but what is more important, certainly -- status and accessibility to a reading public."[44] Thus, the importance of an anthology such as *Norton Anthology* lays in its capability of reaching readers and educators; this anthology is a literary canon that is very significant and shapes what is taught in the literary field for many educational institutes across the world.

The *Norton Anthology of English Literature* is a collection of literary works written by literary canonized English authors. The idea of viewing this anthology as a literary canon is discussed without negation in most prefaces of the editions:

> It is sometimes claimed that the editor of the anthology reproduces merely, or even help establish, the traditional "canon" of English literature. The facts are, however, that the writers and works in this collection have selected, and then winnowed, by a running consensus of its users, and that the continuing desirability of these texts is attested by the number of teachers who choose to assign them, year after year, to their students. (Ed. 6 xxxv)

The thought of this anthology being a reproduction of the *traditional canon* is not denied. Promoting a canonistic hierarchy that separates the authors and texts chosen here as a canon is seen as positive. One could avoid sensing that there is a sense of pride overclouding this quotation in the fact that this anthology is seen by many book promoters and readers as a literary canon.[45] However, being a canon means that this work should be incorporating into every literary text or at least every author in the centuries the anthology presents.

---

[44] Landow, George P. "The Literary Canon." The Victorian Web. 3 Sept. 2004 <http://www.victorianweb.org/victorian/canon/ litcanon.html>.
[45] In their promotion for the 9th edition of the NAEL, GOODREADS promotes it by placing the Norton anthology as the "apparatus you trust." Also, Goodreads claims "Read by more than 8 million students, *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* sets the standard and remains an

Each edition claims that the anthology presented is the one that covers the main knowledge in the centuries they represent. The preface of the sixth edition declares: "The anthology fully represents English poetry in its major writers, forms, and genres. It also includes enough plays to provide a comprehensive overview of the evolution of English drama" (xxxv). One should highlight the words *fully*, *enough*, and *comprehensive* as they indicate that this anthology represents the extracted truth of English literature. The same preface continuously goes on dictating that it is created "to avoid leaving the student too much at sea" as the anthology is all-knowing and well-informing to the point that all dependency could be left to it; leaving the consumer of this product with no reason to question anything about the knowledge provided (xxxvi).

The *Norton Anthology of English Literature* constitutes of two volumes; the first is the part of the anthology that is analyzed. The first volume has many sections in it the two sections that I address are the section on English Renaissance Literature: the "Sixteenth Century (1485-1603)" and the "Seventeenth Century (1603-1660)." There are ten editions of *Norton Anthology of English Literature* published respectively in 1962, 1968, 1974, 1979, 1986, 1993, 2000, 2006, 2012, and 2018.

These editions of the anthology are designed to introduce students, scholars, and users to English literature. There are many words that consistently describe this anthology and are continuously repeated precisely the same in most the preface to editions or reworded in others. Such words are "indispensable," "unparalleled excellence," "feasible complete," "self-sufficient," "assist precise," "maintain continuity," "grounded," and "sustained collaboration" (Ed. 1-7 xxxv-xxxvi). The criteria of every edition are the same from the first edition to the

---

unmatched value." https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/33558900-the-norton-anthology-of-english-literature-ninth-edition-vol-1?ac=1&from_search=true

seventh; they are many, but the main criteria are studying "in-depth" the works and "achievements by major writers", providing students with the "most reliable texts available", and providing introductions, glosses, and other informative materials "to free the student from dependence on reference books" (xxxvii). These quoted words are literally taken from the first six editions and reworded in the seventh to the ninth editions.

In the eighth edition, the concept of canonicity and canonizing is revisited. Awareness of language that clearly indicates supremacy of selections and a hierarchal indication is carefully deducted from the preface. Greenblatt carefully states:

> Certain literary works, arousing enduring admiration, have achieved sufficient prominence to serve as widespread models for other writers and thus to constitute something approximating a canon. … [T]here has never been firmly settled guidelines for canonizing particular texts. Any individual text's claim to attention is subject to constant debate and revision; established texts are jostled both by new arrivals and by previously neglected claimants, and the boundaries between the literary and whatever is thought to be "nonliterary" are constantly challenged and redrawn. (xxxiii)

With attention to any word that suggests that the texts chosen are canonical, the editor takes into consideration first the "ongoing historical transformations" that have fought against selecting only a closed group of male authors, and second that a "vital literary culture is always on the move," and therefore these selections are temporary and changeable (xxxiii, xxxiv). Shifting the basis of selection to the readers and reviewers of the anthology, Greenblatt embraces the minimalization of the language of oppressive power. He also insists that this process of selecting the anthologized texts has gone through many *debates* and *revisions*. Thus, instead of defining (and by default confining) the reader of this anthology, he provides the characteristics of the editors of this anthology. He says that the anthologist should have "insight, diplomacy, and

humor" (xxxiv). However even with this mindset, the editor could not escape setting boundaries to his openness in selection, he contradicts his previous statements by stating: **"**With each edition, *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* has offered a broadened canon without sacrificing major writers and a selection of complete longer texts in which readers can immerse themselves" (xxxv). The selections, in the eighth and ninth edition, have imported literature that has not been presented before, but also, has "retained the works that have traditionally been identified and taught as the principal glories of English literature" (xxxv).

The main reason for creating the *Norton Anthology* is to have a reference for introductory courses in English literature. According to Harold Bloom, "The power of literary canons resides in pedagogy." Choosing this anthology as the main reference for introductory courses is not arbitrary as they do claim that they are cohesive and representative of the literature depicted in each century. In the second edition of the anthology, the response for the first edition is shown as a "justified" reason to create a second edition that "eliminated" and added many works and authors who are not used in teaching, as teachers and students have expressed the need for such an "immediately accessible" anthology (ed. 2) (xxv).

In the third edition, the validation that the editors give for their "grounded" anthology is stated; it is "not on a priori views of what might be taught in such [an introductory] course, but on long experience in actually teaching it [by the editors]" (ed. 3) (xxxvii). The editors test the anthology in their classrooms. The preface of the third edition declares that the "changes in this edition are in line with recent scholarly discoveries and important shifts in critical interests" (ed. 3) (xxxvii); yet those interests up till the third edition have not shifted to include female authors. In the third edition, one of John Donne's literary works that existed in the first two editions is omitted. From his *Paradoxes and Problems*: "Paradox VI: That It is Possible to Find Some Virtue in Women" and "Problem VI: Why hath the Common Opinion Afforded Women Souls?"

84

are deleted as they were not taught; thus, the only works that specifically concentrate on women's rights are absent in the name of unworthiness. This omission continues throughout the last five editions of the anthology.

In the fourth edition, the anthology is explicitly set as a means to "maintain continuity" and thus is recognized as a literary canon because this canon's "continuing aim is to provide" the demanded popularized "accurate and readable texts" (ed. 4) (xxix). Though "teachers and students want fresh materials that invite experimentation in the way literature is to presented and studied," this edition still did not allow the entrance of female authors as "fresh materials" (ed. 4) (xxix). In this edition, the anthology is emphasized as "grounded" and "sustained" through pedagogy (ed. 4) (xxix).

The fifth, sixth, and seventh editions of the *Norton Anthology* gradually brought the female voice to life. The preface of the sixth edition explains that "each editor, while subject to agreed-upon guidelines, [are] allowed to keep his or her distinctive voice" (ed. 6). Bringing these editions to a seemingly new truth that female authors and editors are worthy of being involved in the making of such a canon. In the first volume of the first three editions of the *Norton Anthology of English Literature*, the names of each person who edited each section of the anthology are mentioned in points before the anthology starts, this changed in the rest of the editions; it is not specified which editor/s edited which section. Also, an addition of other editors to the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh editions shows how the anthology needed new editors; this signifies the demand for the entrance of new authors and works.

The eighth and ninth editions took the same steps as the fifth to the seventh editions but have ensured to show that this inclusion has rationality for the increase in numbers of female authors. In the eighth edition, Greenblatt rationalizes the reason behind women's literary inclusion is because of "[t]he sustained work of scholars in recent years [which] has recovered

85

dozens of significant authors who had been marginalized or neglected by a male-dominated literary tradition and has deepened our understanding of those women writers who had managed, against considerable odds, to claim a place in that tradition" (xxxv). This inclusion, although claimed to be significantly larger than the preceding editions, is in fact not as noticeable as the seventh edition. Nevertheless, Greenblatt takes pride in the growth of the female inclusion in the whole eighth edition (including all the volumes); he says: "The First Edition of the Norton Anthology included 6 women writers; this Eighth Edition includes 67, of whom 16 are newly added and 15 are reselected or expanded" (xxxv).

The editors of the first volume of the first three editions are M. H. Abrams, E. Talbot Donaldson, Hallett Smith, Robert M. Adams, Samuel Holt Monk, George H. Ford, and David Daiches. The names of the editors are not presented randomly, the editors' names are sorted according to the section they are editing; for example, the preface is written by Abrams, then the first section is edited and introduced by Donaldson. In the first three editions, Hallett Smith solely edited "The Sixteenth Century (1485-1603)," while Robert M. Adams solely edited "The Seventeenth Century (1603-1660)." The editors of the first volume of the fourth edition are M. H. Abrams, E. Talbot Donaldson, Hallett Smith, Robert M. Adams, Samuel Holt Monk, Lawrence Lipking, George H. Ford, and David Daiches. Though the editors are more, due to the same arrangement their names, I believe that Smith is the editor of the second section "The Sixteenth Century (1485-1603), and Adams the third section "The Seventeenth Century (1603-1660)." However, the editors of the first volume of the fifth and sixth editions are M. H. Abrams, E. Talbot Donaldson, Alfred David, Hallett Smith, Barbara K. Lewalski, Robert M. Adams, George M. Logan, Samuel Holt Monk, Lawrence Lipking, Jack Stillinger, George H. Ford, Carol T. Christ, David Daiches, and Jon Stallworthy. One of the main addition to this volume is the entrance of female editors and also female authors, the previous four editions of the first volume

never had a female editor, and that the two sections I am addressing, "The Sixteenth Century" and "The Seventeenth Century," had no female authors.

One should question if the entrance of the female author in those two sections is related to or a consequence of the entrance of female editors to the anthology? If so, the exclusion of the female sex that was presented in those two sections is caused by the previous editors who canonized male authors and highlighted the demand on them while marginalizing the female voice (Although the use of the word 'marginalizing' does not fit the female voice, the harsh reality is that the word 'exiled' should be used here; female voices were exiled from the first four editions of the first volume). I believe that though not clarified by the fifth and the sixth editions, due to the pattern present in the previous editions "The Sixteenth Century" was edited by both Smith and Lewalski, and "The Seventh Century" was edited by Adams and Logan. And finally, the first volume of the seventh edition is edited by M. H. Abrams, E. Talbot Donaldson, George M. Logan, Hallett Smith, Barbara K. Lewalski, Robert M. Adams, Lawrence Lipking, Samuel Holt Monk, Jack Stillinger, Carol T. Christ, George H. Ford, Jon Stallworthy, and David Daiches. Those editors' inclusion of the female voice is definitely related to the scholarship that demanded women's literature.

The third edition (1974) deviates from the first two editions by including one female, Anne Finch, under the category "Restoration and Eighteenth Century," as an example of poetry written in the Augustan mode. With the addition of one more female author, the 4th edition (1979) categorizes Mary Montagu and Finch under the same period and genre. Mary Sidney, Mary Wroth, Aemilia Lanyer, Anne Halket, Dorothy Osborne, Mary Astell, Anne Finch, and Mary Montagu all appear in the 5th edition (1986). This sudden jump in the number of female authors in this edition tracks a feminist shift now underway the 1980s, one that would more slowly be reflected in the genders of the anthology's editorial committee. The 1986 leap was

probably primarily due to reader feedback. *Norton* anthology series are re-edited based on extensive and detailed questionnaires gathered from scholars who use the anthologies in their classrooms, so it can be surmised that professors across the United States had started demanding, more and more vociferously, that more women authors be included.
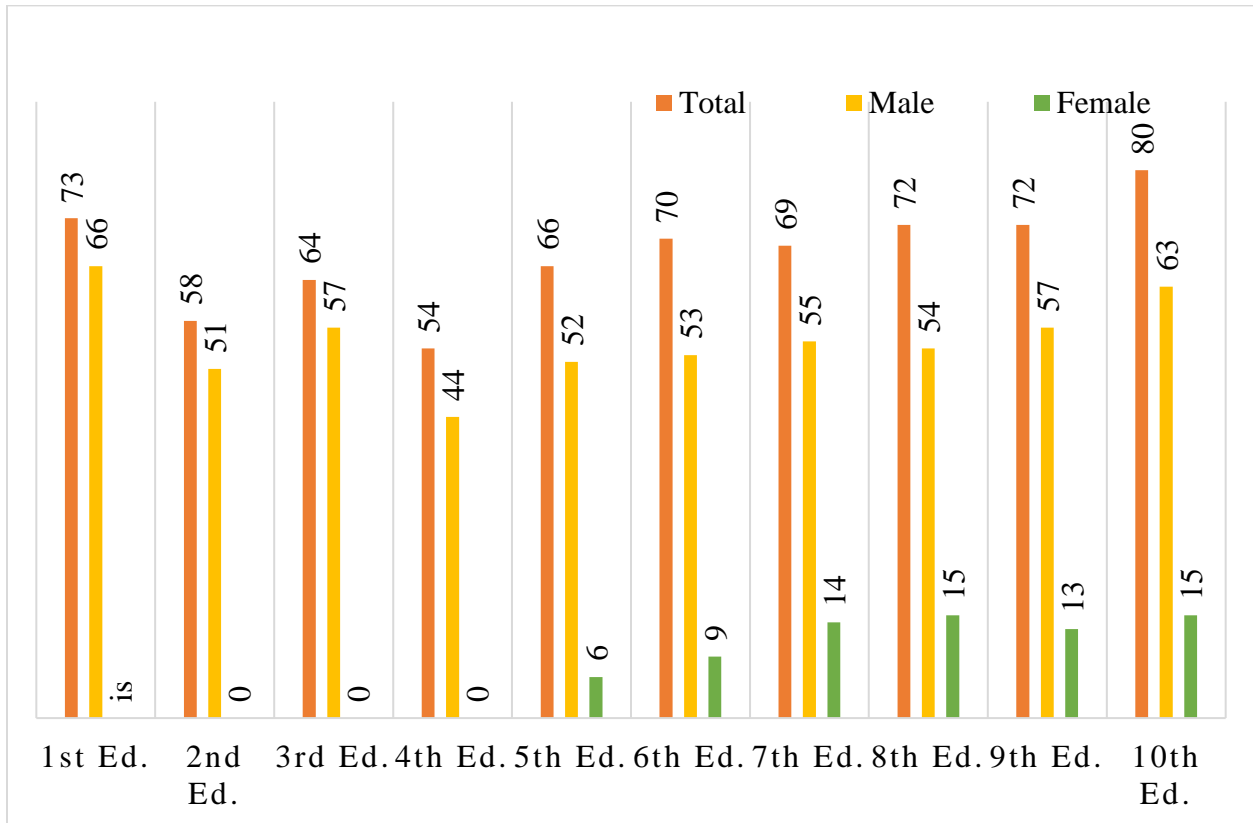
Fig. 17: *Norton's Percentage of Authors by Gender*

Figure 17 contrasts the number of female authors to male authors in the 16th and 17th centuries in the Norton anthologies from the first edition to the tenth. Women's inclusion in those two centuries does not start until the 1986 edition where 6 female authors are included while 52 male counterparts are given elaborate voice in the edition. The 1993 edition shows an increase in female authors, and likewise, male authors are increased with nine female authors and 53 male ones. The seventh edition (2000) shows a considerable increase in female-authored texts as well as an increase of male authors to bring the 14 female voices and 55 male ones. The eighth

edition (2006) brought more females in the all the volumes of the anthology, but the six-year absence of editions only gave one more female added to the total of females from 2000 along with a decrease in the number of male authors to one author. The ninth edition showed a decrease with 13 female authors and an increase of the male authors to 57. And finally, the tenth edition (2018), on the one hand, will add two more females bringing with that the total to 15, but on the other side, the male authors get a great edition of 63 in total.

Fig. 18: *Norton's Percentage of Authors by Gender*

The percentages of female additions across editions, as Figure 18 shows, increases then decreases again. Starting with their exiled status from the first four editions, women make an entrance to the all-male (some anonymous) anthology in the 5th edition. From 9.09% in the 5th edition, to 12.85% in the 6th edition, to 20.28% in the 7th edition, and finally to 20.83% in the 8th edition, the increase of the female voice is accompanied with a high percentage of male

authors varying from 75%-79.71% although the female percentages of inclusion seem to exist in a gradual rising status the 9th and 10th editions drop. From the 20.83% of the 8th edition to 18.05% in the 9th edition and 18.75% in the 10th edition, the female voice descents to make space for more male authors.

In spite of the inclusion of the female author, this did not mean that this rapid addition of women (and the concomitant growth of the number of texts written by them) from the 5th edition onwards went hand in hand with any substantive omissions of male voices or texts by males who had previously been considered essential to the age. In actuality, this feminist ascendance was still blunted. Because the available space in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* also grew significantly over this timeframe (with ever more pages, and also larger page dimensions, over successive editions), Renaissance men had to surrender little or no room to Renaissance women.
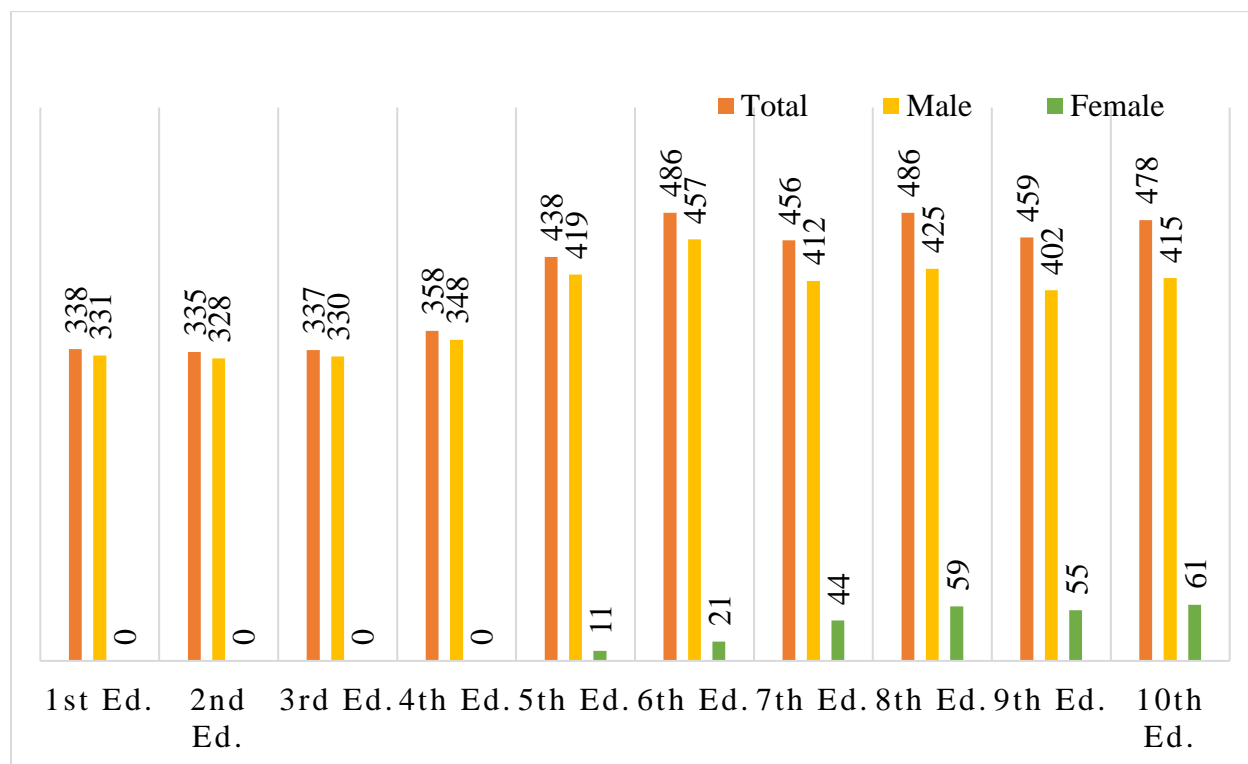
Fig. 19: *Norton's Works by Gender*

90

Figure 19 compares and contrasts the amount of female-authored works to male-authored ones. From the 1st edition to the 4th the male-authored works are in a slow increase, 331 works in 1962, 328 in 1968, 330 in 1974, and 348 in 1979. When women's works are included their existence in the anthology brought a dramatical increase in the male-authored works with 11 female works and in contrast 419 male works in 1986. In 1993, female-authored works nearly doubled to 21, but male-authored ones also increased to 457. In 2000 and 2006, female works reached 44 and 59 works, respectively, with a decrease of male-authored works from 1993 457 to 412 in 2000 and increase from 412 to 425 in 2006. In 2012, and 2018, the decrease of female works is accompanied with the decrease of the male works with 55 and 61 female-authored works; respectively, and 402 to 415 male-authored ones; respectively, too.
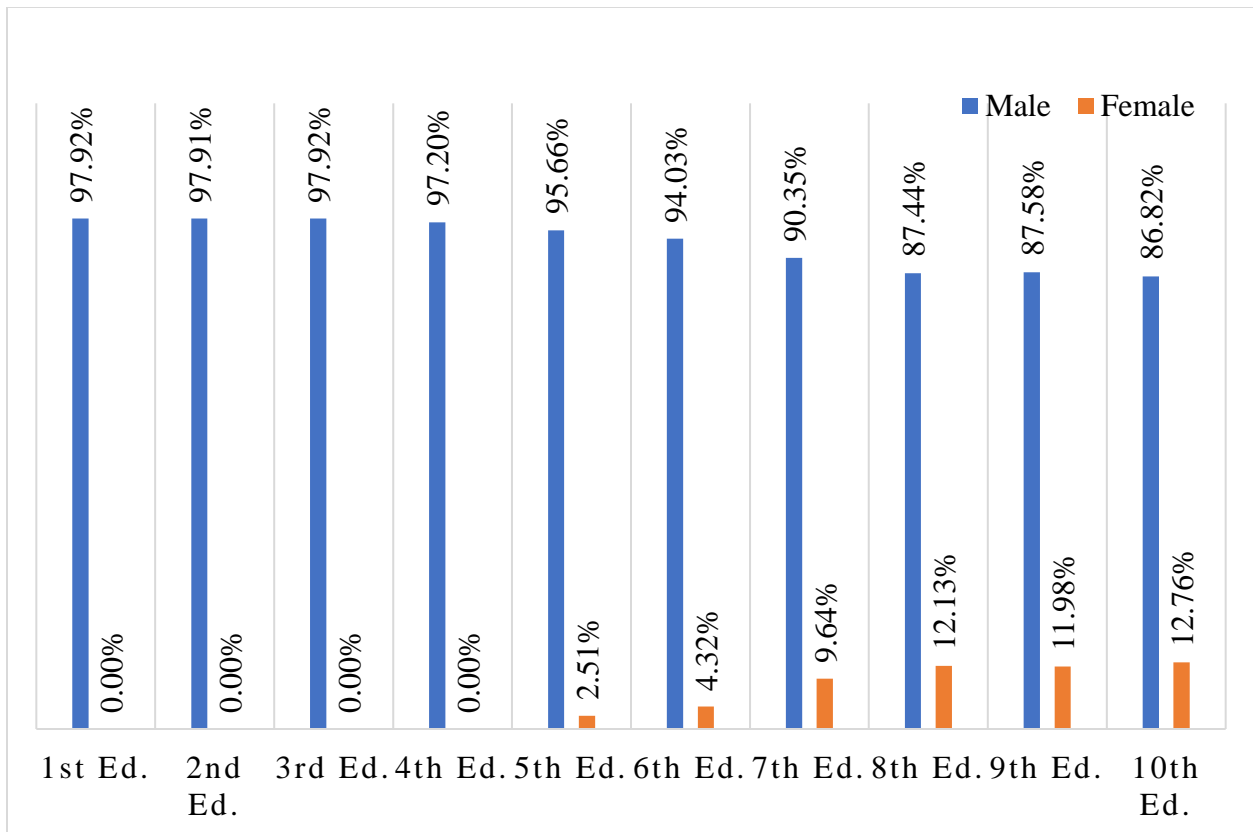
Fig. 20: *Norton's Percentage of Works by Gender*

As reflected in Figure 20, the percentage of male-authored works are contrasted with the female-authored works across the ten editions of *Norton*. With an almost equal percentage in the first four editions, *Norton* maintains an almost steady rounded 98% percentage of male-authored works. In the 5th edition, 2.51% is given to female representation, in contrast with the 95.66% given to male works. While the 6th and 7th editions display an increase in female works with 4.32% and 9.64%; respectively, male works decrease to fit the female inclusion with the percentages of 94.03% and 90.35%; also, respectively. The 8th to the 10th editions are close with 12.13%, 11.98%, and 12.76% female-authored works. Likewise, the male-authored works are close in their percentages with 87.44%, 87.58%, and 86.82%, respectively from the 8th to 10th editions.
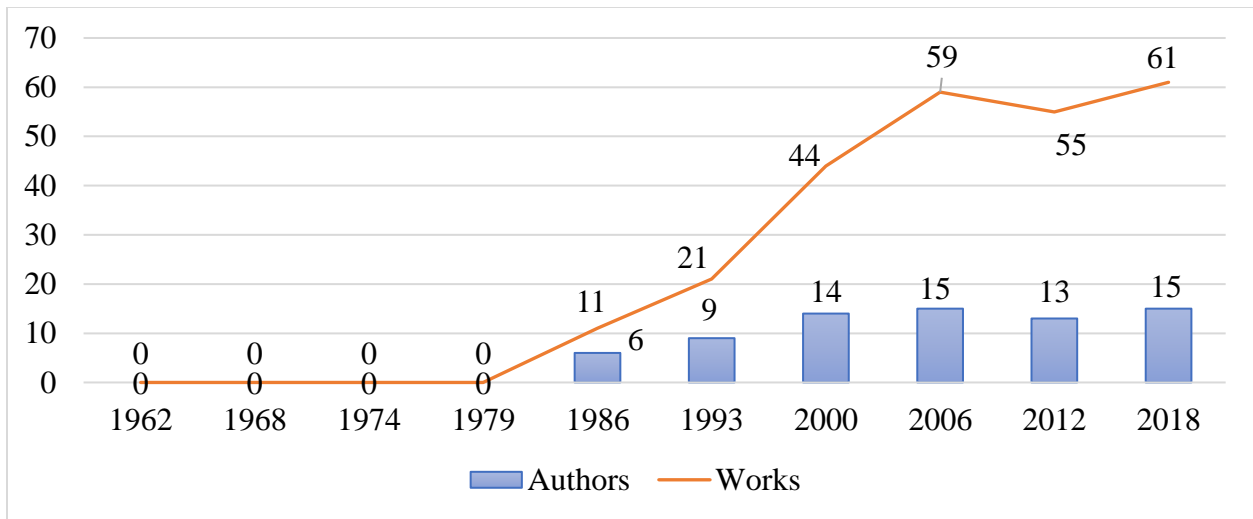
Fig. 21: *Norton's Female Authors and Their Works*
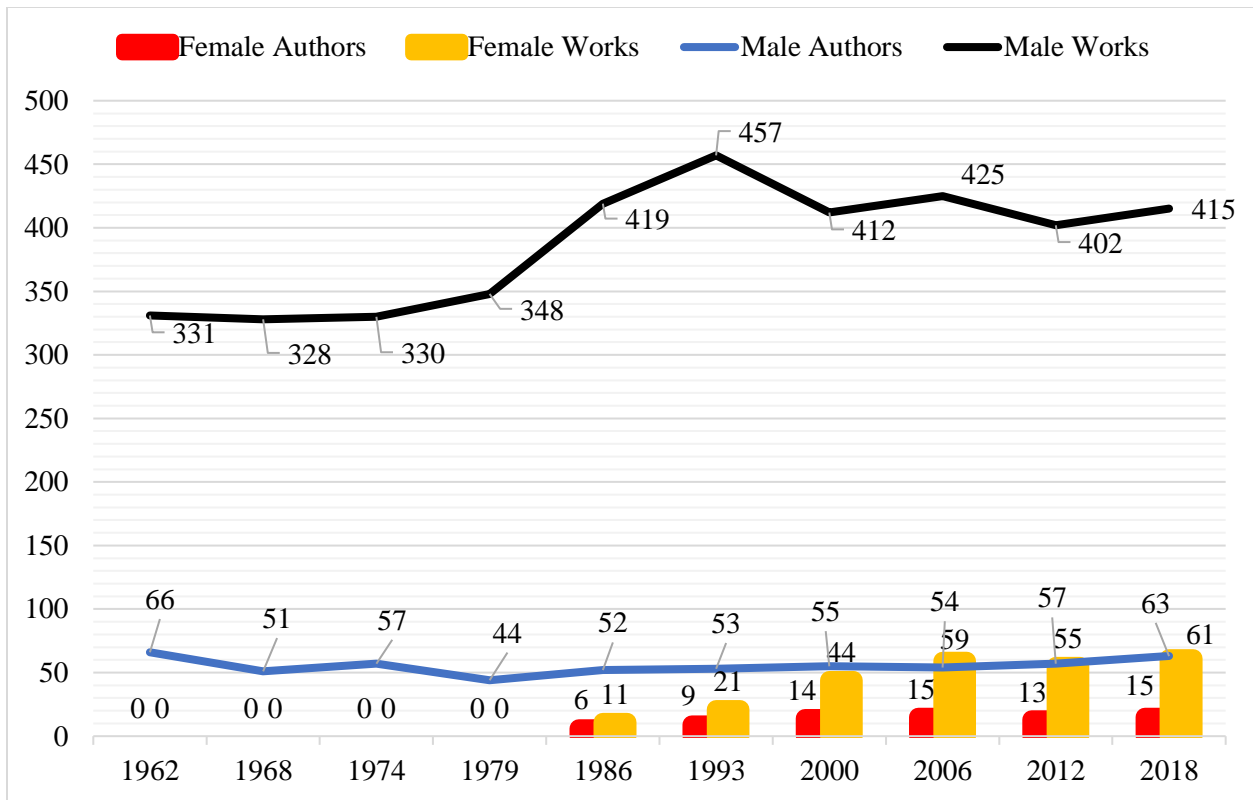
Fig. 22: *Norton's Authors and Works by Gender*

Figure 21 demonstrates the contrast between the number of female authors to their works across the editions of *Norton* and Figure22 depicts the great difference between male and female authors and the amounts of their works. The limited number of female authors in the first figure shows how the process of finding female authors is hard for the editors of the anthology. Their texts are better represented in some editions, but still, their inclusion is always belittled when compared to their male counterparts. To every female work, there are almost 38 male works in the 5th edition, 22 in the 6th edition, 9 in the 7th, and 7 in the 8th – 10th editions. As for the authors, to every female author, there are almost nine male authors in the 5th edition, 6 in the 6th edition, and 4 in the 7th – 10th editions. Nonetheless, this decrease has not meant that more female authors are added, the same female authors are either omitted or republished across the editions.

Table 1: *Norton's List of Female Authors and Their Works*

	N 1986	N 1993	N 2000	N 2006	N 2012	N 2018
Askew	0	0	1	1	1	1
Cary	0	0	4	2	0	0
Cavendish	0	1	4	4	4	4
Elizabeth I	2	3	6	13	13	13
Grey	0	0	0	6	6	6
Halkett	1	1	1	1	1	1
Herbert	1	1	3	2	2	3
Hutchinson	0	1	1	1	1	1
Lanyer	1	2	5	5	0	5
Locke	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mary Tudor	0	0	0	3	3	3
Moulsworth	0	0	1	0	0	0
Osborne	2	2	0	1	1	1
Philips	0	2	5	5	5	5
Queen Mary	0	0	0	3	3	3
Speght	0	0	1	1	1	1
Trapnel	0	0	1	0	0	0
Whitney	0	0	1	0	0	0
Wroth	4	8	10	11	14	13

Table 1 presents the female authors and their number of works/ selections of works that have been added across the editions of this anthology. The authors selected in the 5th edition are mostly repeated across the editions with either the same works/ selections or with an addition of some more texts with two exceptions of (1) Osborne is omitted from the 7th edition and (2) Lanyer's omission from the 9th edition. The 6th edition added three new authors that were not in the previous one: Philips, Cavendish, and Hutchinson. Askew, Whitney, Cary, Moulsworth, Speght, and Trapnel are added to the 7th edition. The 8th edition although brought new authors to light, it omitted previously included ones to make room for the new. With the addition of Mary Tudor, Grey, and Queen Mary of Scots, the 8th edition excluded Whitney, Moulsworth, and Trapnel. In the 9th edition, the same exclusions from the 8th edition occur along with the exclusion of the only female dramatist Cary and the additions that happened in the 8th edition is

also used in this edition. The latest edition shares the omissions and inclusions of the 8th and 9th editions with an addition of one more author, Anne Locke.

The *Norton Anthology of English Literature* underwent a great number of changes, but the fact still remains that this anthology is widespread yet still limitedly include female authors in the 16th and 17th centuries. This might lead its readership to question the worthiness of teaching/ studying/ reading female authors in this period when the abundance of male representation directs the reader towards one gender and makes them overlook the other. Thus, the shift from exclusion to inclusion did not mean that female authors have been represented and incorporated well in the anthology, but one could argue that even when included the female author remains marginalized when compared with her male counterpart. While *Norton Anthology* has aimed at moving from male mainstreaming to female inclusion and diversity mainstreaming, one cannot place this anthology as an example of diversity mainstreaming. However, due to the gradual (yet, slow) addition of female authors and their works, one can argue that *Norton* is working towards diversity mainstreaming.

3.2.2: <u>Damrosch's *Longman* (1999-2010)</u>

The second anthology series that is studied is David Damrosch, Christopher Baswell, and Anne Howland Schotter's *The Longman Anthology of British Literature: Volume 1* (4 editions: 1999, 2003, 2006, and 2010). Under "The Early Modern Period," this anthology includes many female authors. This list of included authors forms an ideal data set for studying canon formation in the context of *Longman*'s more recent history. The *Longman* anthology's first edition has distinguished itself from any other marquee anthology of that period by its inclusion of more female authors than that of anthologies like the *Norton* anthology. When it was first published in 1999, *Longman* was preceded by *Norton*'s first 6 editions which presented 9 female authors. *Longman*'s first edition, however, with 5 more female authors and only one anonymous

literary work, with a title that suggests that women wrote the text, unlike the plenty of anonymous authors in *Norton*.

On January 30, 1999, Joyce Jensen published in the *New York Times* an article titled "Think Tank; As Anthologies Duel, Women Gain Ground." Jensen expresses the challenges that *Longman* brought on *Norton* to become the "literary anthology of choice in colleges and universities."[46] The *Longman* anthology was viewed as the new challenger for the *Norton* anthology. Jensen's article demonstrated that, unlike *Norton*, the female author is given voice in *Longman*. On January 8, 2006, Rachel Donadio's article, "Keeper of the Canon," quoted Juilia Reidhead who stated that *Norton* was directly affected by *Longman*'s editorial choices. Donadio states:

> The seventh edition, which was published in 1999 and was the first Greenblatt worked on, was "an important shift," said Julia Reidhead, a vice president and editor at Norton. Because "tastes in the classroom were shifting," she said, Norton chose to "open up the canon" and include more postcolonial writers and women, as its main competitor, "The Longman Anthology of British Literature," published by Pearson, had done.[47]

Although Donadio has named *Norton* as the *keeper of the canon*, she refrained from diminishing *Longman*'s contribution and shift-making of the *Norton*. Without *Longman*'s efforts to have an anthology that has a place for women and minorities, no one knows how *Norton* could have survived to the tenth edition. *Longman* opened the closed canon that *Norton* preserved. Woman's

---

[46] Jensen, Joyce. "THINK TANK; As Anthologies Duel, Women Gain Ground." *The New York Times*, 30 Jan. 1999, www.nytimes.com/1999/01/30/books/think-tank-as-anthologies-duel-women-gain-ground.html.

[47] Donadio, Rachel. "Keeper of the Canon." *The New York Times*, 8 Jan. 2006, https://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/08/books/review/keeper-of-the-canon.html.

inclusion in a marquee anthology, like *Norton*, is caused by the competition that *Longman* brought. Here, I study the changes that *Longman* challenged the closed Renaissance canon with.
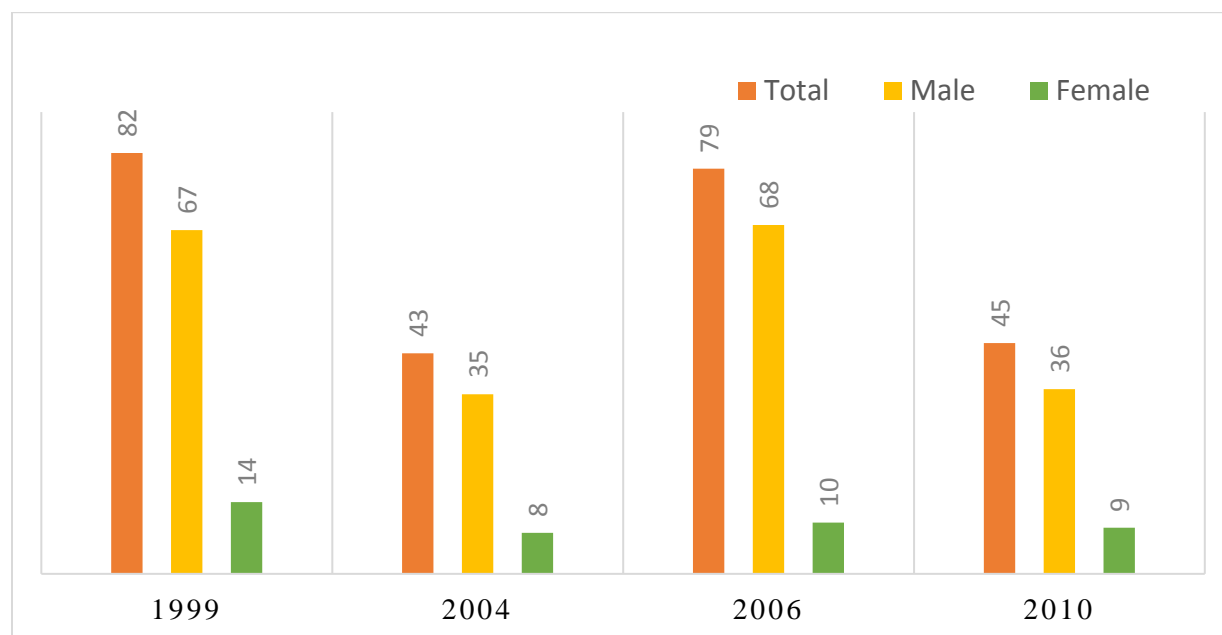
Fig. 23: *Longman's Authors by gender*

In the four *Longman* editions, female authors are included, but their inclusion varies from the first edition to the last. In Figure 23, the number of authors in each edition is displayed. In the first edition (1999), out of the 82 authors 67 are male authors, 14 are female authors, and 1 is anonymous. The one anonymous text is written by a group of female authors as the title indicates. The second edition (2004) showed a lot of omissions in both female and male authors with 43 authors in total 35 of which are male authors, 8 females, and no anonymous texts. The number of female authors has dramatically dropped in this edition. As for the third edition (2006), the total amount of authors is 79 with 68 male authors, 10 female authors, and one anonymous-authored text. Although the number of female authors has increased from the second edition, the number of female authors remains lower than the first edition. Like the second edition, the last edition, the fourth one (2010), the number of authors drops to 45 in total with 36

male authors and 9 female authors. The decrease of female authors from the first to the last edition is unexplained in the anthology editions.
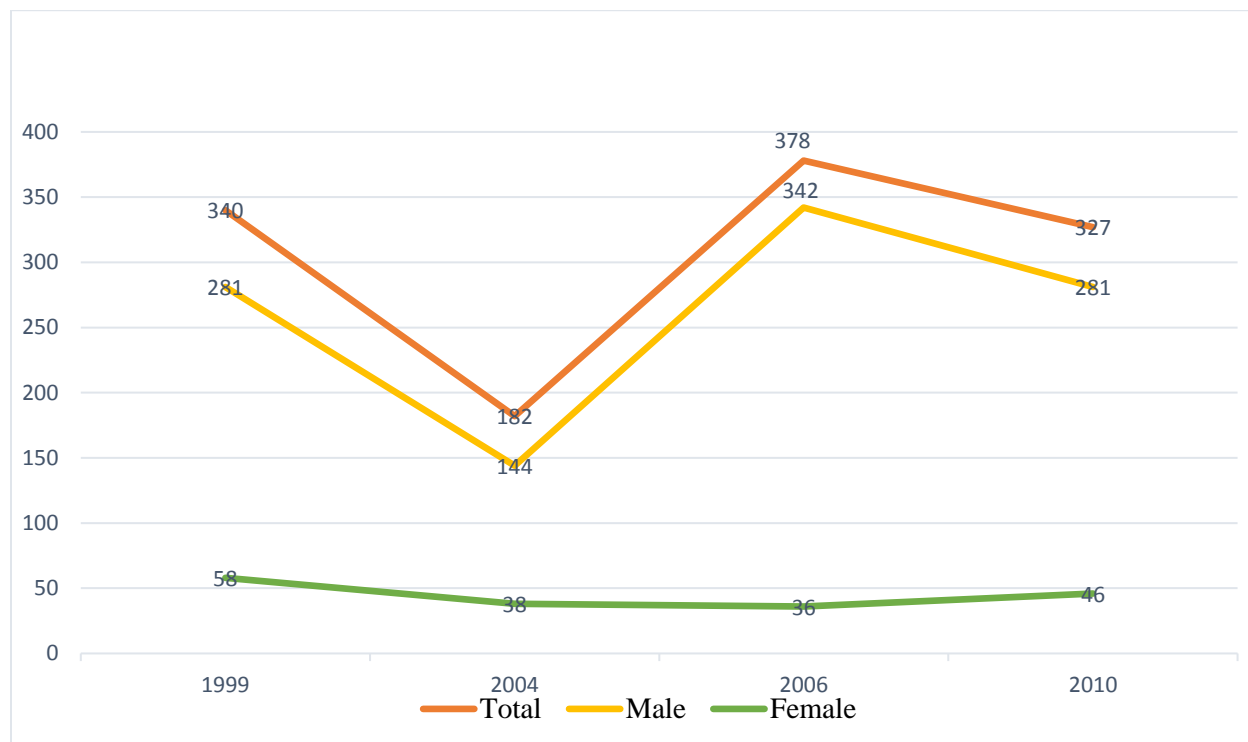
Fig. 24: *Longman's Works by Gender*

As shown in Figure 24, the amounts of works vary as well from the first to the fourth edition. The 1999 edition has a total of 340 literary works; out of which 281 are male-authored and 58 are female-authored. In comparison with the 2004 edition, the anthology's first edition had much more works by both genders. With 182 works in total, the second edition has 144 male-authored works and 38 female-authored ones. Following the first edition, the third edition presented a large number of works bringing the total to 378 works. Although the number of works increased, when compared with the first two editions, the majority of additions are given to male authors. With 342 male-authored works and 36 female-authored ones, the 2006 edition dropped the number of female-authored works in comparison with the first two editions. The 2010 edition followed the 2004 edition with regards to space. 327 works are included in the anthology; 281 of the works are male-authored and 46 are female-authored. The increase of

female-authored works is still less than the first edition; however, the last edition has given more space to the female authors who are represented in it.
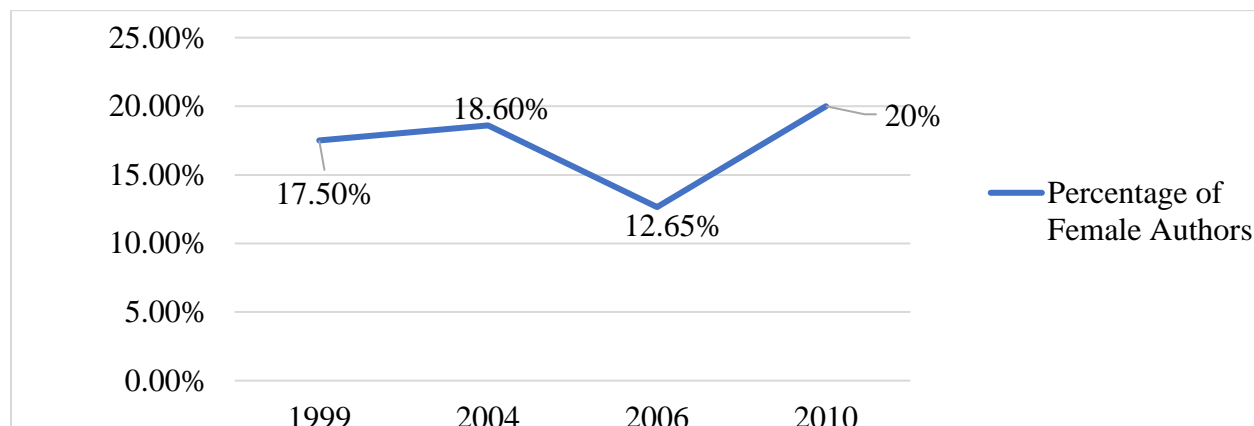
Fig. 25: *Longman's Percentage of Female Authors*
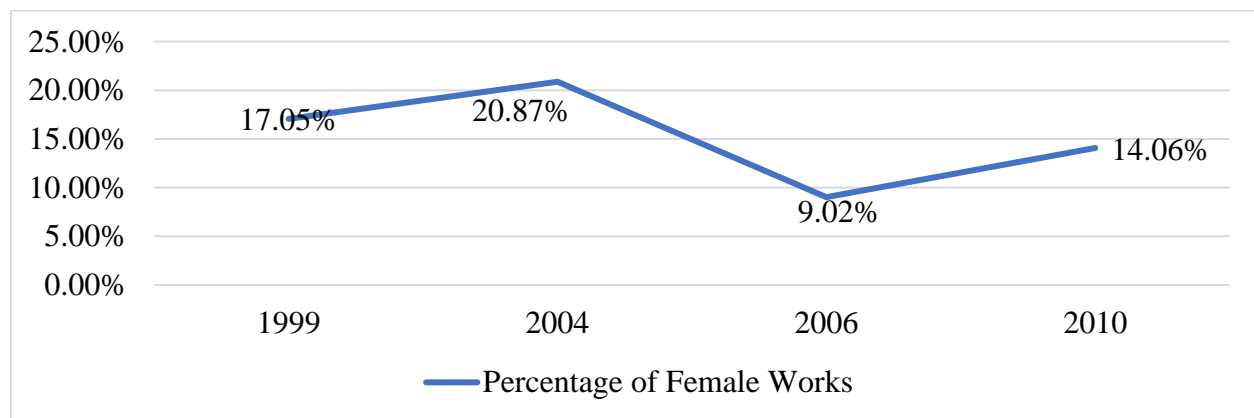
Fig. 26: *Longman's Percentage of Female Works*

The percentages of female authors and female-authored works are presented in Figures 25 and 26, respectively. Although the number of female authors decreases across the editions of the anthology, *Longman*'s percentage of female authors included has shown an increase when comparing the first edition with the last. From 17.5% in the first edition to 20% in the last edition, the increase is subtle but exists. In contrast, the percentage of the female-authored works in both editions has declined from 17.05% in 1999 to 14.06% in 2010. Likewise, the female-authored works from the second to the third edition has drastically declined from 20.87% in 2004 to 9.02% in 2006. Giving space to more male-authored works is the reason behind this dwarfing

of space given to female-authored works. Similarly, the percentage of female authors in the second and third editions is undersized from 18.6% to 12.65%, in that order. With the 2006 edition being the lowest percentage for women's literary inclusion, female authors' representation is insignificant when they are compared with their male counterparts.

	1e/1999:	2e/2004:	3e/2006:	4e/2010:
Cary	1	0	0	0
Elizabeth I	13	12	13	10
Falkland	1	0	0	0
Herbert	5	0	3	3
Hic Mulier/ Haec Vir	2	2	2	2
Lanyer	6	6	6	1
Philips	7	5	7	7
Sowernam	1	1	1	1
Speght	1	0	1	1
Thornton	1	0	0	0
Trapnel	1	0	0	0
Tyler	1	1	1	0
Whitney	4	2	3	3
Wroth	14	9	19	18
TOTALS	14 authors, 58 works	8 authors, 29 works	9 authors, 55 works	8 authors, 46 works

Table 2: *Longman's List of Female Authors and Their Works*

As shown in Table 2, the female authors that have been presented in each edition and the numbers of works included are offered here. Across all the editions of *Longman*, only 14 female authors are given space in the anthology. While Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland, Alice Thornton, and Anna Trapnel are only included in the first edition of the anthology and are omitted from the three other editions. Mary Herbert (Sidney) and Rachel Speght are dropped from the second

edition and are added to the last two editions. Margaret Tyler is included in all editions except the last edition of 2010. Esther Sowernam and Hic Mulier and Hae-Vir are the only female authors who maintained an unaffected inclusion across all editions. As for the most represented female authors, Queen Elizabeth I and Mary Wroth enjoyed a more representative selection of their works. Aemilia Lanyer, Katherine Philips, and Isabella Whitney had mixed reception in each edition, once they are fairly represented and in other editions, they are unfairly slimmed down.

3.3: <u>Comparison and Conclusion</u>

This chapter argued that the editors of marquee anthologies have undertaken the impossible task of creating a selection that is still representative. In what Barthes might call "the death of the editor," anthologists of popular textbooks have claimed a level of detachment from the selective process to create their cohesive, monolithic productions. This conflicted view of a supposedly passive, yet personally selective, role of the editor paves the way to the next chapters. While female authors are represented in the *Norton* and *Longman* anthologies, their inclusion is limited when compared to male authors. Leaning towards not exclusion rather than inclusion, the female voice remains under-presented in those two anthologies. Whereas Norton has limited omissions of male authors and their works, *Longman* has aimed at providing women with the necessary space and thus have limited the male voice to a selection of authors. But still, in spite of *Longman*'s prominent female voice, males over-shadow them in all of its editions. Even with marquee anthologies' movement towards an acceptance of the open canon and diversity mainstreaming, their embrace of this diversity has been stiffened by appropriating a selective group of female authors. Therefore, marquee anthologies have demonstrated a shift towards diversity mainstreaming due to the partial coverage of the female voice.

Norton (N) and Longman (L)										
Women & no. of works in:	N6e 1986	N7e 1993	L1e 1999	N8e 2000	L2e 2004	L3e 2006	N9e 2006	L4e 2010	N10e 2012	N11e 2018
Askew	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1
Cary	0	0	1	4	0	0	2	0	0	0
Cavendish	0	1	0	4	0	0	4	0	4	4
Elizabeth I	2	3	13	6	12	13	13	10	13	13
Falkland	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grey	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	6	6
Halkett	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1
Herbert	1	1	5	3	0	3	2	3	2	3
Hic Mulier Haec Vir	0	0	2	0	2	2	0	2	0	0
Hutchinson	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1
Lanyer	1	2	6	5	6	6	5	1	0	5
Locke	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mary Tudor	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	3
Moulsworth	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Osborne	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
Philips	0	2	7	5	5	7	5	7	5	5
Queen Mary	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	3
Sowernam	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
Speght	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
Thornton	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trapnel	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tyler	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Whitney	0	0	4	1	2	3	0	3	0	0
Wroth	4	8	14	10	9	19	11	18	14	13

Table 3: *Norton and Longman's List of Female Authors and Their Works*

Table 3.3.A juxtaposes all of the editions of the two anthologies that include women, *Norton*'s editions are initiated with the letter 'N' then the publishing date of each edition and *Longman*'s editions with 'L' as well as the publishing date. 24 female authors are given a voice

in those anthologies (I counted Hic Mulier and Haec-Vir as one author). On the one hand, the majority gave more weight to Queen Elizabeth and Lady Mary Wroth's voices. On the other hand, the majority excluded the voices of Lady Falkland, Anne Locke, Martha Moulsworth, and Alice Thornton. Mary Herbert (Sidney), Katherine Philips, and Aemilia Lanyer have had a steady entrance in those anthologies with only one omission across all editions. Margaret Cavendish, Rachel Speght, and Isabella Whitney have also been fairly represented in the anthologies. Stability in marquee anthologies highlights the authors and establishes a value for them that differentiates them from authors the limitedly included or once included then excluded female voice. Finally, while 5 female authors (Lady Falkland, Hic Mulier and Haec-Vir, Margaret Tyler, and Esther Sowernam) are solely incorporated in the *Longman* editions, 10 female authors are brought in the *Norton* editions (Anne Askew, Margaret Cavendish, Jane Grey, Anne Halkett, Lucy Hutchinson, Anne Locke, Mary Tudor, Martha Moulsworth, Dorothy Osborne, and Queen Mary of Scots).[48]

Finally, another difference between *Norton* and *Longman* is the periodization. While *Norton* has achieved the sectioning of Renaissance literature under the title "Sixteenth Century" and "Seventeenth Century," it has included literature from the fifteenth century and excluded literature from the late seventeenth century. Although their sectioning seems chronological, and thus they have refrained from titling this section as Renaissance, Elizabethan, or early modern literature, they still have maintained the divisions of Renaissance literature (late fifteenth century to early seventeenth century) in their anthology under misleading headings. As for *Longman*, their periodization has grasped a wider range of authors with their heading "The Early Modern," but still could not escape limiting the period to literature before what they called "The

---

[48] *Longman* included some of those authors under other sections of their anthology. For example, under "The Restoration and the Eighteenth Century," Cavendish is represented.

Restoration and the Eighteenth Century). Early modern refers to literature written before the Eighteenth century; however, *Longman* restricted it to literature written in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. With this periodized control over literature, and even with their carefulness towards using the term Renaissance to refer to the period, both anthologies could not free themselves from the chronological confines of Renaissance literature.

Norton and *Longman* are both seen as representative of literature and can be solely chosen as the primary source from which introductory courses can be taught with. Sole dependency on them would affect the student and by default his/her future encounters with literature. For example, due to the minimal inclusion of female authors and their low percentage compared to their male counterparts, I have been taught and have taught the English Renaissance little to no inclusions of female authors. Because the age is associated with "great" male authors highlighting their works became a priority. Male authors take the majority of the anthology and as a result the take the majority of the syllabus, and if women are included in the syllabus they are pushed back to the end of the semester. Most times they are even omitted to allow more time to present the male Renaissance. While Queen Elizabeth I and a few other females who are mentioned because of their association with other male authors, for example Mary Herbert Sidney who is taught because she continued her brother's, Philip Sidney's, work, are taught, other female authors are barely mentioned.

Prioritizing male Renaissance authors has been one of the main reasons behind my limited knowledge of the Renaissance female author during my studies in Jordan. Not to generalize, but in a Jordanian English Renaissance classroom the marquee anthology is widely accepted as the carrier of Literature because of its global reception and readership. In this chapter, I have shown how this could be rationalized by the anthologization processes of creating and advertising marquee anthologies. Language is power, and marquee anthologies have shown

mainly in their prefaces that their vocabulary that describes their content is reason enough to call them marquee anthologies. The next two chapters will delve deeper into how anthologists who sought women inclusion into the Renaissance have created utopias where male authors are excluded, as well as how anthologists have hit a reset button on the anthologization process to incorporate female authors alongside their male counterparts to secure their active inclusion in the classroom though the passaggio method. Such anthologies strive for a break from male mainstreaming.

CHAPTER FOUR

FEMALE MAINSTREAMING: FEMALE UTOPIA

4.1: <u>Renaissance versus Early Modern</u>

Confining the English Renaissance to a unified periodized definition is a mission avoided by most contemporary scholars, such as Hattaway, Bruce, etc. Unlike Elizabethan literature (1544-1603), the English Renaissance is wider in range and given, by scholars who use this periodizing concept, deeper value. Periodizing the Renaissance has been a source of major conflict between Renaissance anthologies and scholars. Most anthologies, such as *Norton*, confine it to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature in England although the European Renaissance started as early as the fourteenth century. Even with the inclusion of some literary works that date before the sixteenth century, the English Renaissance is mainly agreed upon by marquee anthologies as dating from around the middle of the fifteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth century.[49] The 1980s introduced the term early modern to refer to literature that is written in the period 1450-1700. This term came as a response to the word Renaissance, a problematic dogma that is claimed to characterize one gender, the male gender, and thrust aside the female gender's works by many anthologists.[50] This definition of the Renaissance age limited the Renaissance canon to almost only include male-authors and their texts. The Renaissance anthology's exclusion of women has limited the definition of the Renaissance in the eyes of many scholars.

---

[49]   An example on this is *Norton*. Although this anthology's period that includes Renaissance literature is sectioned as "Sixteenth Century" and "Seventeenth Century," the literature that is presented is literature that dates before the Sixteenth century and ends at the midst of the seventeenth century.

[50]   Examples on such anthologies are presented in this chapter.

After Joan Kelly's "Did Women Have A Renaissance?" in 1977, the term Renaissance was judged as a purely male construct and became the reason behind women's exclusion from the Renaissance anthology. Kelly's argument is that there was "no renaissance for women, at least not during the Renaissance" (139). She is denoting the meaning of the term "renaissance" as a rebirth for the classical literature and culture. She argues that while men's literature is viewed as a rebirth when compared to the ages that came before the Renaissance, English women's literature is still forming its own identity and is just born.

The mid-twentieth century brought the study of marginalized literature into being; the study of 1450-1700 female-authored literature, in particular, began to be explored in the 1960s, grew faster in the 1970s, and flourished in the 1980s. In the 1960s, a revival of literature written by women was brought into light to fuel and empower a feminist logic that revolves around the marginalization of female authors when compared to the "male genius" literary legacy (Hattaway 5). Toward the 1970s and 1980s, a theory of feminism is formulated, the fame of women studies, and the reading of female-authored texts from previous ages thrived. As a result, many scholars argued that the Renaissance was the beginning of a movement towards feminism.

Because the study of Renaissance female authors is a modern movement, the terms and ideologies of modernism are imposed, whether consciously or unconsciously, on them. Many scholars read the existence of women in the English Renaissance as a phenomenon that is base for feminism. Servadio, for instance, explains in her *Renaissance Women* that: "The Renaissance also started when women became more learned, women were able to argue, to give their opinion, to rule. … it could even be argued that the Renaissance, a "feminine" movement, sprang from the new status of women" (Servadio 2). Servadio associates women's education and writing with the modern movement of femininity. Providing that a base for the need for women's inclusion

within the literary canon; and as a consequence, this called for their inclusion in literary anthologies.

Servadio addresses the Renaissance age as the age that brought women into being. She defines this age by identifying its characteristics stating:

> The Renaissance was characterized by observation, study, analysis, and an unwillingness to accept attitudes inherited from the past. Indeed, the key factor about the Renaissance was the new compulsion to research, to seek the root of everything. (Servadio 2).

She stresses the ages' individualistic ideology is the beginning of building up an English identity that is separate from the past. The search for roots, bases, and labels and not taking knowledge for granted generated the excellence of the age. Servadio's justification for the need of women inclusion in the Renaissance canon was based on the Renaissance's ideal origin of rebirth. Women need to enter into the canon because of the actual age's calling which is difference. Her reading of the English Renaissance and the necessity of women's inclusion is based on her reading of women's literature within the definitions of feminism and by default, she highlights the texts that call for similar ideals that fit under feminist labels. Thus, the inclusion of female-authored texts within the Renaissance canon was still being limited to those that meet proto-feminist readings, dismissing by that, a great variety of women who did not fit under any feminist or Renaissance labels.

Servadio's reading of feminism in the English Renaissance female-authored texts limited women. She identifies the amount of literature written by women in this period; she declares:

> But women read and women wrote. Over fifty English women published manuscripts between 1524 and 1640, producing eighty-five books, but the large majority created religious works - not poetry in a Renaissance vein. Only Jane Anger used her gifts to answer men's attacks by writing *Protection of Women*. (Servadio 193)

Servadio's statement defies the feminine tradition; she confirms that women did write and read, and it was not an act for only a few women. She provides an actual number for the female works that are written during the English Renaissance. Even though this statement is proven wrong by many contemporary anthologies, her understatement of the amount of literature written and published shows that there is a set window through which women were looked upon. Women authors during the English Renaissance published and wrote many manuscripts and literary works. Those texts could not all fit into anthologies maybe because of their diversity.

Rackin's "Misogyny Is Everywhere" uncovers a truth about the existence of female authors in the English Renaissance. He says that:

> *Women* were everywhere in Shakespeare's England, but the variety of their roles in life and in the scripts of plays too often "goes without saying." If we wanted to look for it, I think we could find "an interpretive embarrassment of riches "for revitalized feminist criticism. (Rackin 71)

Rackin views the relativeness of the female author during the English Renaissance is only through tying her to the feminist tradition rather than the Renaissance that is centered on Shakespeare. Hence, the Renaissance canon, as Rackin views it, is too strict to include women and the only way for women's inclusion in a canon is through the feminist canon. His preventive tone is based on a Renaissance canon that excludes women on the base that they cannot compete with their male counterparts. This shows that there is a sign of progress through which the Renaissance has went through in order to open up for women.

Winders's *Gender, Theory, and the Canon* discusses the literary canons and the idea that greatness is associated with man; and therefore, women are viewed within the borders of the feminist canon; a canon that solves the idea that females are excluded by males. Women then would bring their own gendered identity under a new canon that is not affected by the greatness

and excellence of the male canon, but works in parallel with it. Accordingly, Winders questions "Educational "excellence" (that dreadful, heavily coded word)" (4). Winder questions the restrains of what should be taught and how. She says that canons should be questioned and be held with "accountability" in order for the advertising of certain privileged ways of thought and suppressing other (Winders 4). Then, canons should be scrutinized and politicized by questioning the intellectual history. She expresses that: "The entire field of intellectual history has traditionally been structured by its relation to a canon of "great" texts" (Winders 7). Thus, a new Renaissance canon was desired for women to bloom under the age they wrote in.

Fraser's essay "On the Political and the symbolic: Against the Metaphysics of Textuality," addresses the idea of the exclusion of women from intellectual history and characterizes it as dangerous as it has led to a deviation of literature under the label women's studies. The phrase "Women's Studies" is the pitfall of women writers because they become included in the canon of Women's Studies, not in intellectual history (Fraser 12). Women, with Women's Studies, become excluded not only from writing and publishing but knowledge influence and history of knowledge. Female works are not seen as part of the literary canon, but as part of gender canons and under gender studies; therefore, minimally included in literary canons[51].

This brought about what is known as Early Modern anthologies for female Renaissance authors. It is supposed to be a means to uncover, incorporate, and include the female authors into the Renaissance canon but instead the early modern drove the wedge deeper between them and their male counterparts. With this implementation, women fall further and further away from being studied as part of the English Renaissance and are instead looked upon as women who

---

[51] See Chapter Four on Otten's anthology.

wrote during that period. Although the subject of Early Modern was supposed to be a link

between the canon and discoveries of the canon (i.e. women writers) female-authored texts

became isolated and studied seperately. Some anthologists see a threat that women's texts cannot

compete with the hierarchy of literary canons but taken as a marginalized separate entity[52]. So

instead of being included in the a new and improved canon, anthologists and scholars have

created a new anthology in a new, early modern, period.

Replaced with term early modern, the Renaissance anthology is redefined as the early

modern anthology. Due to this shift, the period 1450-1700's emphasis shifted from a tradition

that embraces male authorship and targets a certain taste of *best* to a historical shifted that

embraced women's writings in print and manuscript. The influence of the male Renaissance

canon led to a response to prove the value of the othered Renaissance female. Consequently,

Hattaway addresses the greatness that is associated with specific male authors in the Renaissance

age:

> A cliché in cultural history is the emergence of 'men of genius' as a sub-species of that
>
> epistemological monstrosity 'Renaissance Man'. However, in this sense, 'genius' is
>
> another anachronism: the notion derives from the middle of the eighteenth century.
>
> Moreover, not only has it occluded the power if material forms and pressures in the
>
> production of talent but it is a masculine construction that has excluded the writings of
>
> women. (Hattaway 5)

As a result of this marginalization, women are forgotten when it comes to the teaching of the

literary canons such as the English Renaissance literary canon. Sullivan's *Memory and*

Forgetting has reflected on the idea that literary canons have been highlighting the memory of

---

[52] See Chapter Four on Hodgson-Wrights's anthology.

certain authors over others and those who have been moved out of those canons to make space to more authoritative texts has led to the forgetting of those texts. This means that canons create and allow memory and that memory brings authority and influence. Though memory and recollection are individualistic, canons made memory social by equaling it to remembering. This is related to the idea that women writers in the English Renaissance need to be recognized through faming and remembering of their memory in the English Renaissance canon.

Ravitch's *The English Reader* confirms that female authors in the English Renaissance need recognition "by the larger culture" of the literary canon. Acknowledgment in the Renaissance canon is it the solution for female authors during that age. This process of calling for inclusion in the Renaissance canon brings to light how the canon was shifting and still is to properly insert women. Even after the inclusion of women in the English Renaissance canon, this has not built a solid understanding of how to include women in Renaissance anthologies. Just like Shakespeare, the need for elegies and continuous buildup of vocabulary that maintained his heritage since Ben Jonson and John Donne, English Renaissance canons and anthologies require new vocabulary and labels to fit both women and men within it.

Reading female authors within shared collective literary goals that are separate from the domain of only their gender and that does not separate them from their male counterparts would allow women to be involved in English Renaissance canons. Reading women as individuals who wrote separately from other females and males and in isolation from each other is not fruitful when it comes to canonical studies. Legitimizing authority needs an intellectual influence and form to survive and prosper; here, the study of the history of women's anthologization would allow an authorial location for women within the borders of the English Renaissance canons.

To answer the questions how and where women are (re-) located in the Renaissance canon after the influence of the feminist movement. The feminist opening of the Renaissance

canon has led many anthologists (themselves nearly all women) to form a new canonical

foundation where male authors are simply not invited, and their anthologies are self-fashioned as

new-canonical utopias where women are securely detached their male counterparts, and perhaps

from their age. Consequently, under the first method, feminist ideologies, when imposed on the

English Renaissance, rejected any women authors who did not fulfill more modernist ideals. This

was a lapse that the second method of anthologization has tried to remedy. Nevertheless, the

following analysis demonstrates how both feminist canonization strategies have left the resulting

anthologies with only a limited foundation for locating women (and feminists) within the English

Renaissance.

4.2: <u>Utopian Anthologies</u>

      Anthologizing the once-silenced female voice has flourished from the second half of the

twentieth century. Feminist scholars inducted a female utopian ideology that led to the

publishing of many English Renaissance anthologies with only female-authored texts. There are

two main categories into which such feminist-inspired anthologies typically fall. The first are

anthologies that are keen on depicting a line of influence, joining women from all ages together

into a "great chain of feminism." Often, a major early female author is seen as a linchpin that

connects the premodern with the modern, thus favoring those female authors who seem to have

influenced others or to have received others' influence in their respective works. The second

category is a more focused yet more exhaustive collection, where as many extant female-

authored works as possible are included by the editors. Such anthologies should thus limit their

content in other ways, and do so around a certain time-frame, genre, or topic. Thus, Chapter Four

explores these contrasting feminist strategies opening of the Renaissance.

4.2.1: <u>Chain of Influence</u>

The first method of anthologization, finding a great chain of influence[53] between female authors, which was developed through the magisterial female-centered anthology of Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women: The Tradition in English* (1985). Right at the center of this anthology is Virginia Woolf, who thus mandates not just "a room of one's own" in which a woman can write, but an anthology *of their own* in which women can be represented. Gilbert and Gubar's modernist-driven anthology found only three Renaissance female authors who intertwine within this chain: Queen Elizabeth I, Mary Sidney Herbert, and Amelia Lanyer. The editors limit "the Renaissance" to literature written before the seventeenth century. Consequently, although other anthologists welcome Anne Bradstreet, Margaret Cavendish, Katherine Philips, Mary Rowlandson, Aphra Behn, Mary Chudleigh, Anne Killigrew, and Anne Finch as part of "Renaissance" literature, Gilbert and Gubar chose to label their works as merely "seventeenth-century literature." The total of authors in the first volume of the anthology is 85. This brings the percentage of Renaissance female authors to 10.58%.

Because the anthologists focused on supporting Virginia Woolf's chain of influence, the ghost of Judith Shakespeare haunted the anthology. The Renaissance female author is underrepresented to uphold Woolf's chain that starts with the "Seventeenth Century" Aphra Behn (xxvii). As a consequence of this, the method of sectioning literature differs from before and after the seventeenth century. Gilbert and Guber state

> To begin with, we believe that, though conventional literary periodization does not suit
> women's literary history, women's history does have significant phases of its own. Thus,
> we have omitted references to the usual literary "ages" … (xxviii)

---

[53] Using Harold Bloom's theory.

There omission of *conventional* literary periods only occurs for seventeenth century literature and that which came after it, as for the Middle Ages and the Renaissance literature the conventional literary periods are kept. Other than those two ages, they have adopted a chronological periodization method by referring to the century the literature is written in. Their format came to "suggest the contours of the canon" which would allow any future discovered female author to easily be added to the anthology (xxx). Therefore, the initial purpose behind the anthology would remain feasible, this anthology is "[d]esigned to serve as a "core-curriculum" text for the many courses in literature by women" just like the other *Norton* anthologies of British and American literature where the "course in a book" tradition is carried on (xxvii).

This method of organization is counter-productive as it detaches the Renaissance female literary text from its context and history while framing it under a modern context. This is almost an exact reflection of the criticized male-authored Renaissance anthologies in the way it focuses on a grand narrative and grand influence like Shakespeare and Milton then includes texts that revolve and reflect their works. In this sense, the female author can only be included based on how compatible they are to Virginia Woolf. Hence, many female authors are excluded as they do not support the central focus. Not only is this unfairly marginalizing, but it also cannot truly depict female authors as the topics they would vary too much.

This centered anthology would thus eliminate a majority of women because the further they are from the center the less valid they are in relation to the center. Therefore, this anthologization method would be the female version of the multi-marginalized canon that scholars are arguing that it does not truly reflect the Renaissance age based on its high exclusiveness. Gilbert and Gubar's anthology claims to decenter the traditional male canon but ends up with a creation of an anthology that marginalizes male authors, female authors, and the included texts by the anthologized female authors. Men would be marginalized because the

116

anthology only depicts female authors, and women are marginalized because they are not strongly linked to the center because their inclusiveness is based on solely their relation to the center. Lastly, the text is marginalized because it is forced into a context that is not its own. The text's context would be forced to frame around the context of the center and would ignore the context in which it was written in.

The second and third editions of the *Norton Anthology of Literature By Women: The Traditions in English* (1996, 2007) have had some changes done on its content. Gilbert and Gubar have made changes to the title it, to begin with. Whereas the first edition had a subtitle of "The Tradition in English," the second and third editions change the subtitle to "The Traditions in English." The plural "Traditions" indicates that the adoption of seeking one chain of influence among women is not the aim of these two editions instead there are chains of influence (ed. 2) (xxix). Like the first edition, both editions maintain the unperiodized anthology that only periodizes and cramming together two literary eras, "Literature of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance." The second edition adds to the three authors from the first edition three more authors brining the total to six authors. Elizabeth I, Herbert, Whitney, Lanyer, Cary, and Wroth are presented in the anthology and are represented with 27 works. As for the third, and latest, edition, nine authors are given voice. Those authors are Askew, Elizabeth I, Whitney, Herbert, Lanyer, Moulsworth, Cary, Wroth, and Speght. Their total of works and/or selections chosen in the anthology are 34.

This limited inclusion of the Renaissance female author has reflected on its mother anthology *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*. The same female authors and their texts are presented in both anthologies with a wider selection in the Abram's and Greenblatt's anthology. The limitations placed on the anthology by its editors, Gilbert and Gubar, has reflected negatively on the Renaissance female author. The periodization although is titled as

"Literature of the … Renaissance" some of the literature and authors in this section fit the second periodized section "Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." Likewise, literature from the second section could be argued to suit being referred to as "Renaissance" literature. The editors' avoidance of any confrontation regarding this manner have focused the majority of their anthology on literature after the 18th century.

4.2.2: All-Inclusiveness

Chain(s) of influence limit women from being included in the anthology because they do not fit the anthology's centered author(s) as well as women included in the anthology because their represented literature is limited to the texts that support the chain. Women are conditionally represented and modeled to fit under a form that does not exclude women but also does not fully include them. Therefore, this method of anthologizing the female voice has been avoided by the next group of female mainstreaming anthologists. The second method of female-utopian-anthologization is gathering as many female authors as possible but organizing and limiting them by three types: time-frame, genre, and theme or topic.

4.2.2.1: Chronology

The first subtype is the chronological form of limitation. Here, Stephanie Hodgson-Wright's *Women's Writing of the Early Modern Period* (2002) stands as an example. This anthology categorizes women's literature historically, based on the texts' date publication and/or composition. The beginning date for the anthology is 1588 and the end date is 1688. The significance of this choice of limitation differs from any other anthology that usually sorts its content through an ascendance from oldest to newest. With 21 works in total the English Renaissance is represented by 17 female authors: Elizabeth I, Jane Anger, Herbert, Lanyer, Cary, Speght, Wroth, Diana Primrose, Anne Stagg, Elizabeth Poole, Trapnel, Mary Carelton, Philips, Cavendish, Bathsua Makin, Anne Bradstreet, and Aphra Behn.

The reason behind such a selection of authors, according to the editor, is because literature of the represented 100 years has been written and/or published in a period that "saw massive political and social change in England and in its relationship with the rest of the world" (Hodgson-Wright viii). Consequently, the texts represented in the anthology highlight the way through which women engaged with those historical changes in England. The advantage of such an anthology is the emphasis on the context through which women have written their literary works. Therefore, their literature is not forced into being studied and identified under modern concepts rather female-authored texts are presented through the timeline through which they were written. Another advantage for this method of organization is the ability to contrast texts with the chronology of events happening in England in that period. Each decade from the century 1588-1688 is represented by at least one literary texts to show the process through which women's literature has evolved. However, one disadvantage that comes from this type of organizing for an anthology is the limiting of the text to its historical, political, and social context rather than its merit. This means that one meaning is imposed upon the text limiting by that the meanings of the text and reasons why the author wrote the text.

4.2.2.2: <u>Genre</u>

The second subtype of limiting Renaissance women's literary anthology is genre. This organizational subtype is represented by Marion Wynne-Davies's *Women Poets of the Renaissance* (1999) and Jane Stevenson and Peter Davidson's *Early Modern Women Poets: An Anthology* (2001). Both anthologies collect poems from the Renaissance and the late seventeenth century. While Wynne-Davies anthologizes thirteen female poets, Stevenson and Davidson's massive anthology a vast number of poems written by women, identified or anonymous, between 1520-1700. *Early Modern Women Poets* anthologizes the verse of women who wrote in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland between the years 1520 and 1700. It presents literature that is in

print, manuscript, and epigraph formats. While *Women's Poets of the Renaissance* highlights the familiar more anthologized female authors, *Early Modern Women Poets* brings not only to the Renaissance new names and texts but also the genre of verse new subgenres such as chants and spells.

Wynne-Davies's anthology has gathered most of the literary works of its thirteen authors (two of which have joint authorship of the works included). Whitney, Elizabeth I, Anne Cecil De Vere, Anne Dowriche, Sidney (Herbert), Lanyer, Speght, Wroth, Diana Primrose, Alice Sutcliffe, Jane and Elizabeth Cavendish, and Anne Bradstreet are the female authors included here. The fact that they wrote poetry is the reason behind those selections in specific. Whole works rather than selections are present in this anthology, this could be the reason behind the relatively small number of female authors in the anthology. The chronology of the anthology starts as early as 1485 and ends on 1685. Unlike Hodgson-Wright's anthology, this wide chronology has not been consistent with the textual representation in the anthology.

In contrast with Wynne-Davies, Davidson and Stevenson have collected 284 poems for 187 authors. Many of the female authors presented have not been included in any anthology before. Female authors from all ages, classes, backgrounds, professions, sexual orientations, and contents are included in this anthology. The level of diversity that is achieved here is the aim behind creating this anthology. Representing literature between 1520 and 1700, and from Whitney to Behn, the anthology remains the most diverse in quantity of literary texts published in an anthology of only Early modern and Renaissance female authors. Davidson and Stevenson state "One thing which this anthology illustrates is that a substantial number of the early modern women who wrote verse did so from a standpoint of engagement with political or religious events" (xxxviii). This large collection has not been filtered to fit a certain context but rather gathers literature to create a canon of verse written between 1520-1700. Not only did Stevenson

and Davidson arrange their anthology through the genre of verse, but also, they used the chronological listing of authors and their texts when possible. Each woman's verse is headed with a biographical and contextual note. The Appendix lists the printed and manuscript sources which is very helpfully detailed.

One of the disadvantages of creating an all-inclusive anthology is that the texts included should be well-studied and confirmed to belong to the female authors mentioned and the anonymous authors who are acclaimed to belong to female authors. The inclusion of many anonymously-authored texts makes scholars question their genderization of such texts to fit the female gender. While this process of giving an anonymously-authored text a gender or researching the name of the author has been a reason behind anthologizing to begin with (i.e. Tottel's *Miscellany*). The anthologizers, here, have sought the inclusion of anonymous texts that have "a woman speaker" or the content reflects a concern that a woman would write a poem on (Davidson and Stevenson xxxiv, xxxv).

Although disadvantages exist, advantages of this method of anthologization remains very important to the establishing of female canon through which women are anthologized. This method has allowed the renaissance female author to fit women into a shared literary genre that allows the reader to focus their attention on the development of the genre and compare and contrast how the genre evolved. This shifts the focus of the anthology from being a purely female anthology to an anthology that collects texts that share the same features. This would prove useful in the sense that texts would no longer be excluded based on gender or context but instead style.

4.2.2.3: <u>Topic or Theme</u>

The third subtype uses a topic-based approach, of which I examine three anthologies: Moira Ferguson's *First Feminists: British Women Writers, 1578-1799* (1985), Charlotte Otten's

English Women's Voices, 1540-1700 (1992), and Michelle M. Dowd and Thomas Festa's *Early Modern Women on the Fall: An Anthology* (2012). Ferguson has used feminism itself as the topic approach to constructing her anthology. Crucially, she does not claim a chain of influence back to one or a few central authors but attempts to highlight the diverse origins of feminism in the early modern age as a kind of chorus. Margaret Tyler, Anger, Ester Sowernam, Joane Sharpe, Cavendish, Philips, Margaret Fox, Makin, and Behn as well as 19 more female authors from after 1700 are the authors included in this anthology. Bringing the total of female authors to 28, Ferguson establishes an anthology that brings together works that she claimed to be the texts that have assisted in the formation of the feminist theory. 12 works are considered early modern, the whole anthology consists of 40 literary works which brings the percentage of early modern female-authored texts to 30%. Tracing the "evolution and growth of feminist ideas and connections between and among women" is the goal of this anthology (Ferguson xi). From the "mild protest" of early modern women's literature to the "attack on male usurpation," (xi) the anthology follows the formation of the "consciousness of the inferior status ascribed to women" that feminist ideology has sought to expose and eliminate (1).

Similar to Ferguson, Otten highlights a break from the genre- and chronology-centered anthologies, having devised eight topics with a selection of female-authored texts to suit each. "Women Testifying to Abuse," "Women Describing Persecution and Life in Prison," "Women Making Political Statements and Petitioning," "Women Writing about Love and Marriage," "Women Taking Charge of Health Care," "Women Describing Childbirth, Sickness, and Death," "Women Meditating and Praying," and "Women Defending Their Right to Preach" are the eight topics. With 46 literary works and 44 authors (including 2 anonymous texts and one text that has two authors), the anthology groups literary works to suit each topic. Otten describes her selection of authors as "new to anthologies" prior to 1992 (xiv). Women who were included in anthologies

before this one, according to Otten, are not included in this anthology (i.e. Lanyer, Elizabeth I, Cavendish, etc.). Otten writes

> The women who appear in this anthology are those who were published in their own day but whose works, after the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were buried under a heap of male writing. A few of the writers were not published until the nineteenth century, when their writing was discovered by their families or by friends of their families. (xiv)

She details the anthologization process of women since 1977 stating that during 1977-1992 attempts "to enlarge the canon of male-only anthologies" to include female authors (Otten xiii). However, this enlargement came with "resistance on the part of male anthologists," and thus, "women scholars have compiled female-only anthologies" (Otten xiii). Otten justifies her anthology's exclusion of male authors by the Renaissance anthology's exclusion of the female author.

4.2.2.4: Comparison and Conclusion

Dowd and Festa's anthology, *Early Modern Women on the Fall: An Anthology* (2012), is centered on a deeply canonical female character, one who was often subject to rabidly misogynistic readings by male theologians: the biblical figure Eve, and her impact on women during the Renaissance and the early modern ages. The anthology has eighteen early modern female authors who addressed Eve and her impact on their lives as women. From Aemilia Lanyer (1611) to Mary Chudliegh (1711), the anthology spans the seventeenth century. Interpretation of the biblical Eve are collected to depict how a topic like this had a popular audience and was a shared conscious issue that women addressed. Although the anthology uses the chronological format to organize its content, the anthology is not genre-specific. With domestic manuals, educational treatises, devotional poems, polemical pamphlets, and even rewritings of the biblical Genesis, the anthology represents a wide range of texts that allow the

topic to cohesively be studied. The anthology does not include women for the purpose of highlighting that they wrote but for providing evidence that women contributed to the early modern age.

Ferguson, Otten, and Dowd and Festa have anthologized the Renaissance female work not just by listing that her work exists but have sought an active interaction between the text, age, and the reader. Otten confirms

> Breaking away from genre and chronology … [t]he focus of this anthology is not on females writing "literature" but on the actual lives of women, as women describe them and lived them. This approach to female writing cuts across genres and rearranges chronology. (xiii)

Therefore, to escape women's exclusion or limited inclusion, these types of anthologies have employed a topic or theme to ensure women's active inclusion into the Renaissance canon and future anthology. Active inclusion of women in anthologies enforces a functioning study of their works.

However, having only female-authored anthologies is contradictory and does not help solve the issue of having women excluded from the Renaissance canon. The female only utopian anthology has split the renaissance into a renaissance that is male and an early modern that is female. This created a rupture that did not resolve the female exclusion but add to it. Attempts to include the female author, here, has resulted in (1) the exclusion male author, (2) the movement towards decentering the male canon through rejecting the Renaissance, (3) the depiction of the English Renaissance as a mono-Renaissance, (4) the inclusion of women under an early modern context, (5) the limiting of the early modern to the context of the modern rather than the Renaissance, and (6) the exclusion of female who does not fit the early modern. The early

modern comes to meet the context of the modern age which has no effect on the Renaissance age and yet molds and shapes it as it wants.

Finally, switching the word "Renaissance" with the "early modern" reflects on the anthologists' stand against male mainstreaming. Creating a new terminology to ensure women's inclusion in a new fresh canon is the aim behind such an action. But, adopting this new periodization goes hand in hand with isolation because the English literary female between 1450-1650 remains apart from her whole context. The reality of the context of their writings is that they wrote alongside their male counterparts. Their generation, publication act, and textual context does not escape man the way the early modern utopian anthology draws. This form of

anthologization is not limited to the discussed anthologies but extends to include the majority of

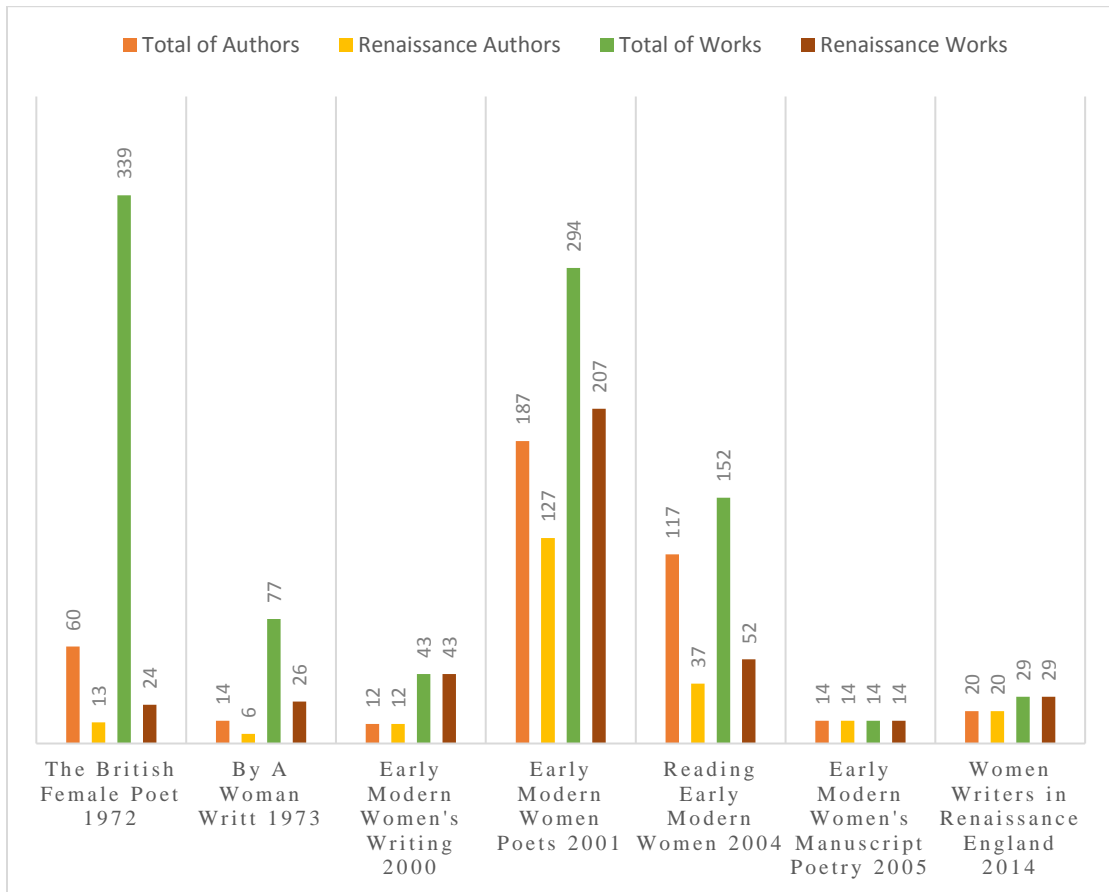anthologies that have included women's literature.

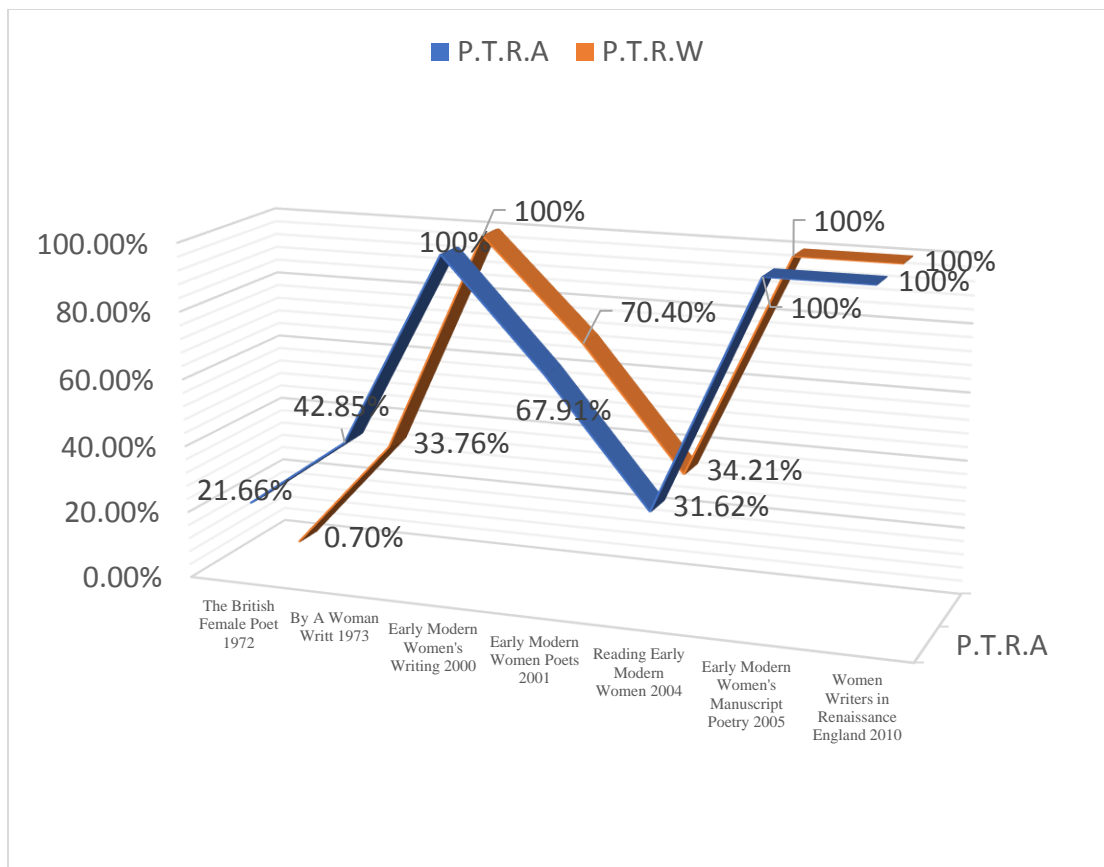Fig. 27: *Utopian Anthologies' Number of Authors and Works*

Fig. 28: *Utopia Anthologies' Percentages of Renaissance Authors and Their Works*

Figures 27 and 28 contrasts one of this chapters' anthologies (Davidson and Stevenson's

2001 anthology) with other ones that have followed the same structural schemes and shared the

same utopian ideal. George Bethune's *The British Female Poets* (1972) has included thirteen

Renaissance female authors out of the 60 authors in total and represented them with 24 literary

works out of the 339 works included in the whole anthology. A year later, Joan Goulianos's *by a*

Woman writt: Literature from Six Centuries By and About Women represented 14 female

authors, six of which are Renaissance, with 77 works, 26 of which are written by the six

Renaissance authors. Paul Salzman's *Early Modern Women's Writing* (2000) includes only

Renaissance authors and their texts with twelve authors and their 43 works. Melissa Smith's

Reading Early Modern Women: An Anthology of Texts in Manuscript and Print, 1550-1700

(2004) with 117 authors in total 37 published between 1550 and 1650, their works total to 152

and 52 of them belong to the 37 authors. Jill Millman and Gillian Wrigth's *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Poetry* (2005) has 14 authors who are given one text each in the anthology. Randall Martin's *Women Writers in Renaissance England* (2014) has 20 authors, all of which are Renaissance authors with 29 works to represent them.

CHAPTER FIVE

DIVERSITY MAINSTREAMING: PASSAGGIO

5.1: <u>Single Sex Mainstreaming and the Passaggio Anthology</u>

The exclusion of women in anthologies collected in the centuries before the 1950s and the sprinkling of women in marquee anthologies has shown that anthologists have upheld male mainstreaming rather than adopting diversity mainstreaming. In consequence, a new mainstream formed after the 1970s, female mainstreaming, where anthologies have reacted to the exclusion of women with the exclusion of men from Renaissance and early modern anthologies. Feminist ideologies that expose patriarchal structures that lead to excluding women from canons and anthologies have occupied a greater impact on recovering Renaissance women's literature. Manuscripts, here, and lost literature has come to light through anthologies that are devoted to only female authors in this era. To illustrate this, Ferguson's *First Feminists* (1985), which presents Englishwomen's literature from 1578 to 1799, could stand as a representative for anthologies impacted by feminism. Here, not only are Renaissance women included, but also influential to the present modern age through their historical importance in providing context to feminism's existence. One could claim that Renaissance women's existence in this anthology is part of a performance of posing a modern feminist context on the Renaissance female author. Detaching Renaissance women from their historical era and providing a proto-feminist ideological connection between them has played a role in detaching female authors who did not fit under general feminist ideals. This causes a dilemma; women become neglected not for their textual value or publication method but for their unsuitability to modern values.

Methods of recovering Renaissance women's literature underwent another shift due to this opening yet limiting feminist approach. Anthologists such as Davidson and Stevenson, in their *Early Modern Women Poets* (2002), have devoted their anthology to any type of verse

written or said to be written by women during the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Although Davidson and Stevenson include text that are not yet published (collecting verse by named and anonymous female literature from manuscripts, prints, charms, epitaphs … etc.), their seemingly all-inclusive anthology of verse could not escape limitations. This "near silence" of anthologists in appropriating women within their periodical histories, have recreated the detachment of women from their histories, (Benson and Kirkhram 11). The anthologists' avoidance of enforcing a modern feminist reading to the included Renaissance verse has led to collecting the texts with no joining method of organization but chronology which could not aid in historicizing women to be included under labels that their male counterparts fit under (specifically Renaissance Literature).

Such anthologies, which created a female utopia where men are excluded in order for women to be given equal anthologizing opportunities as their male counterparts, have isolated women from the Renaissance age. Benson and Kirkham state: "With this embarrassment of riches, the present has come to resemble the past; it is a moment of canon formation like the Renaissance, when authors and their sponsors jostled to gain a place for their works," (11). Pleading women's inclusion, female literature during the Renaissance need to be located within the Renaissance anthology not the Renaissance canon. Passaggio anthologies has devoted its space to creating this bridging between the flood of the contemporary opened Renaissance canon (that included female and male literature) and the contemporary seemingly opened Renaissance anthology yet actively closed (by either excluding male-authored literature or including few female-authored literature alongside of largely represented male-authored literature).

5.2: *Passaggio*

Invoking the word *passaggio* from early modern music pedagogy, here, I argue that the final group of anthologies may promote gender equity, diversity mainstreaming, and feminist ideologies most constructively. *Passaggio* is an Italian word that literally translates as "passage," and is a musical term that refers to the movement over a singer's "break" between the voice's two "registers," commonly called "chest voice" and "head voice" (also known as "falsetto voice"). For trained singers, *passaggio* is so smooth as to be nearly undetectable. Consequently, as it is equally experienced (with subtle differentiations) by both male and female singers, and being a central concept of voice training and choral performance, *passaggio* suggests a basic commonality of the female and male "voices" of English Renaissance literature.

Rather than presenting a gender's voice and mainstreaming that gender in an anthology, the *passaggio* anthology presents the age while depicting both genders' view point on a certain topic or a historical event. According to Bacchi and Eveline examining the impact of gendered assumptions on the maintenance of hierarchical social relations *beyond those between men and women*," gives the female and male authors equitable representation (316). Then gender is not removed from the anthology but highlighted to emphasize gender analysis and allows compare and contrast between authors regardless of their gender. Accomplishing gender equity in anthologies and through them to their users means equitable outcomes both genders. The outcomes would be redefining the characteristics and values of the Renaissance, and by default the early modern, age. Women's exclusion among anthologies and users, which is caused by sexual discrimination, would be reduced to the minimum with diversity mainstreaming anthologies (Klein, Ortman, et al. 13).

This chapter thus analyzes anthologies that manage to include women as part of a Renaissance canon that is not necessarily limited by the apparent feminist capital granted by

those women. These *passaggio* anthologies present new classifications for women in the English Renaissance by joining both sexes as compeers, i.e., a straightforward comparative, juxtapositional approach, or by grouping both female and male authors under an appropriate genre or topic. Like *passaggio*, the following three anthologies have aimed at creating a kind of bridge for the male and female literary voices of the Renaissance to express themselves jointly and severally, without one dominating the other.

5.2.1: Woudhuysen's *Penguin Book* (1993)

The first anthology that has aimed at bringing *passaggio* to the literature of the age is H. R. Woudhuysen's *The Penguin Book of Renaissance Verse 1509-1659* (1992, reprinted in 1993 and 2005). This anthology demonstrates the social progression of the English Renaissance under eight topics: (1) "The Public World," (2) "Images of Love," (3) "Topographies," (4) "Friends, Patrons and the Good Life," (5) "Church, State and Belief," (6) "Elegy and Epitaph," (7) "Translation," and (8) "Writer, Language and Public" (2005). Women are presented in every section of this anthology. Woudhuysen's approach is chronological and avoids any overt attempts at claiming literary value. Arguing that this approach is appropriately post-modern, the editor groups Renaissance literature under his own selected subjects that he nonetheless believes are common to the age.

From 1509 to 1659, the texts that are included confine the Renaissance to the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries. Woudhuysen believes that anthologies should not cram as many works as possible in them. He asserts "the more one includes [in an anthology], the more one draws attention to omissions" (25). Therefore, in order to revalue the closed Renaissance canon, smaller groupings of literary texts would open the canon gradually (25). Then, the anthology becomes "a democratizing force" that includes both sexes without overshadowing any of them (27). Woudhuysen revealed that his adoption of this method of

topics and representation of both the excluded and the popularly included is based on postmodern theories. He states: "The newer readings of Renaissance culture run parallel to developments in 'post-modern' writing" (Woudhuysen 30).
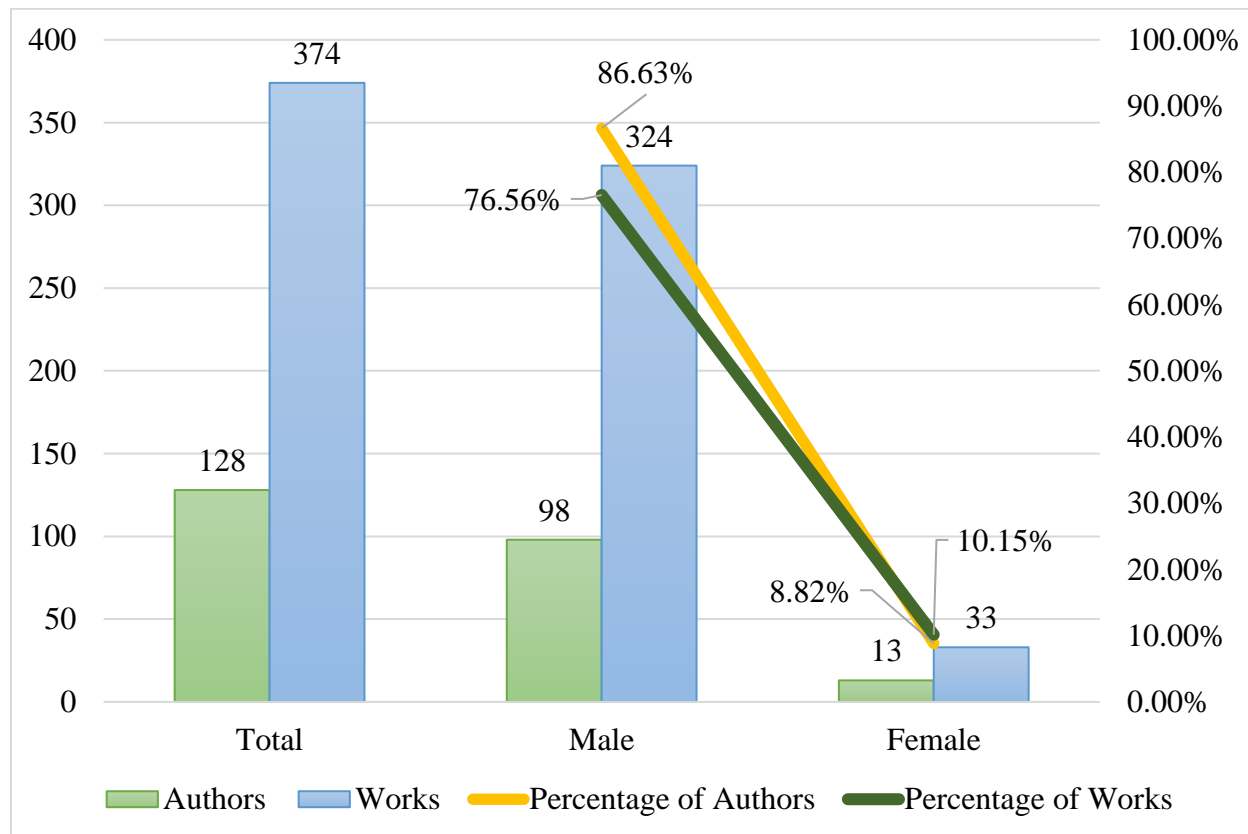

Fig. 29: *Penguin Book's Authors and Works by Gender*

In the 2005 reprint, the anthology has a total of 374 works. As Figure 29 shows, 33 works are female-authored, 17 are anonymous, and 324 are male-authored works. As for the total of authors, thirteen female authors and 98 male authors are included in the anthology, bringing the total of authors with the seventeen anonymous authors to 128 authors. Although the number of female authors and their works is significantly less than their male counterparts, female authors are present in each section of the anthology. Also, many male authors who are present in the anthology are authors who have not been included in any marquee anthology. While female authors occupy 10.15% of the anthology's content, their works dominate 8.82%.

The difference between the contents of the 1992 anthology and the 2005 reprint occurs in the additions to the preface, introductions, indexes, and other minor additions. Therefore, the list of authors and their works has not changed. While Woudhuysen has aimed at providing an anthology that is not clustered with large amounts of literature, the anthology did not have any editions that showed a difference in content or growth in women's inclusion. However, before this anthology works such as Speght's *Dream* and Eliza's "To My Husband" were not given a voice in the anthologies that were published before 1992 and were studied in the previous chapters of this study. Thus, including new authors and works, a goal of this anthology, is fulfilled. In addition, while women's inclusion is lesser than men's, the anthology has engaged those female voices with the topics and authors of their age. Women's not exclusion from the anthology is accompanied by their inclusion in the Renaissance age. Women are active in the *Penguin Book*, this is why *passaggio* and diversity mainstreaming exists in this anthology.

5.2.2: Aughterson's *Renaissance Woman* (2003)

The second *passaggio* anthology analyzed is Kate Aughterson's 2nd edition of *Renaissance Woman: A Sourcebook: Constructions of Femininity in England* (2003, first published 1995). Using a more focused theme-based approach to the English Renaissance, this anthology presents female and male voices on the contemporary topic of femininity. The nine sections of this anthology are: The first is "Theology" which branches out to three subsections "Bible," "Sermons," and "Women Preaching." The second, with the subsections "Aristotle" and "Gynacea," is "Physiology." Third, under "Conduct," there are three subsections; "The Debate on Dress," "Marital Conduct Books," and "Bride's Duties." The fourth, fifth, sixth, eighth, and ninth sections do not have subsections; "Sexuality and Motherhood," "Politics and Law," "Education," "Writing and Speaking," and "Proto-Feminisms," respectively. Finally, the seventh section is "Work," here the subsection is "Preaching Work."

As the era's own term, "femininity," rather than our modern term "feminism," more effectively binds the historical gap between the sexes and defines this age as "Renaissance" rather than "early modern." Allowing contemporary gender biases to speak for themselves—whether male bias against female, or female bias against female—Aughterson's nine topics of the "Renaissance" has conveyed the period's own cultural sense of femininity. The anthology exists to raise "awareness that Renaissance categories of gender, while hierarchical, are self-consciously constructed" (8). Therefore, the anthologist adopts the notion of confronting those constructs and allowing the Renaissance age and its authors, from both sexes, to define them. Here, femininity is "described, inscribed, circumscribed and prescribed" through literature (6). Calling this anthology a "discourse," Aughterson employs literature and its socio-economic, political, and theological context to display the interchange between sexes (6).

Aughterson encourages its "new readers" to cross read the included work without confining them to the sections she has provided (8). She states:

> Compartmentalisation is always a problem with anthologies, and this one is no exception. The allocation of a text to a chapter is occasionally arbitrary: often a text crosses discursive boundaries and relates to texts apparently in other fields. (Aughterson 7)

Femininity exists in all the sections put together; thus, divisions within the anthology are not meant to reduce the texts to one topic but to suggest a method of reading the texts of both sexes alongside. Like the openness of the anthology's sections, she opens the Renaissance to include women. She uses the term Renaissance to propose a counter argument to Joan Kelly's "Did Women have a Renaissance?" Contradictory to Kelly, Aughterson insists on the notion that like men, women have had a Renaissance. She affirms that "the proliferation of discourses, the discoveries, the economic, political and religious changes in which Renaissance man was

involved, also embedded and constructed woman" (7).[54] In order for her anthology to "challenge dominant masculine models of literary and political history," the term "renaissance" should not be exclusive to women, likewise, the term "early modern" should not be a position for women (7).
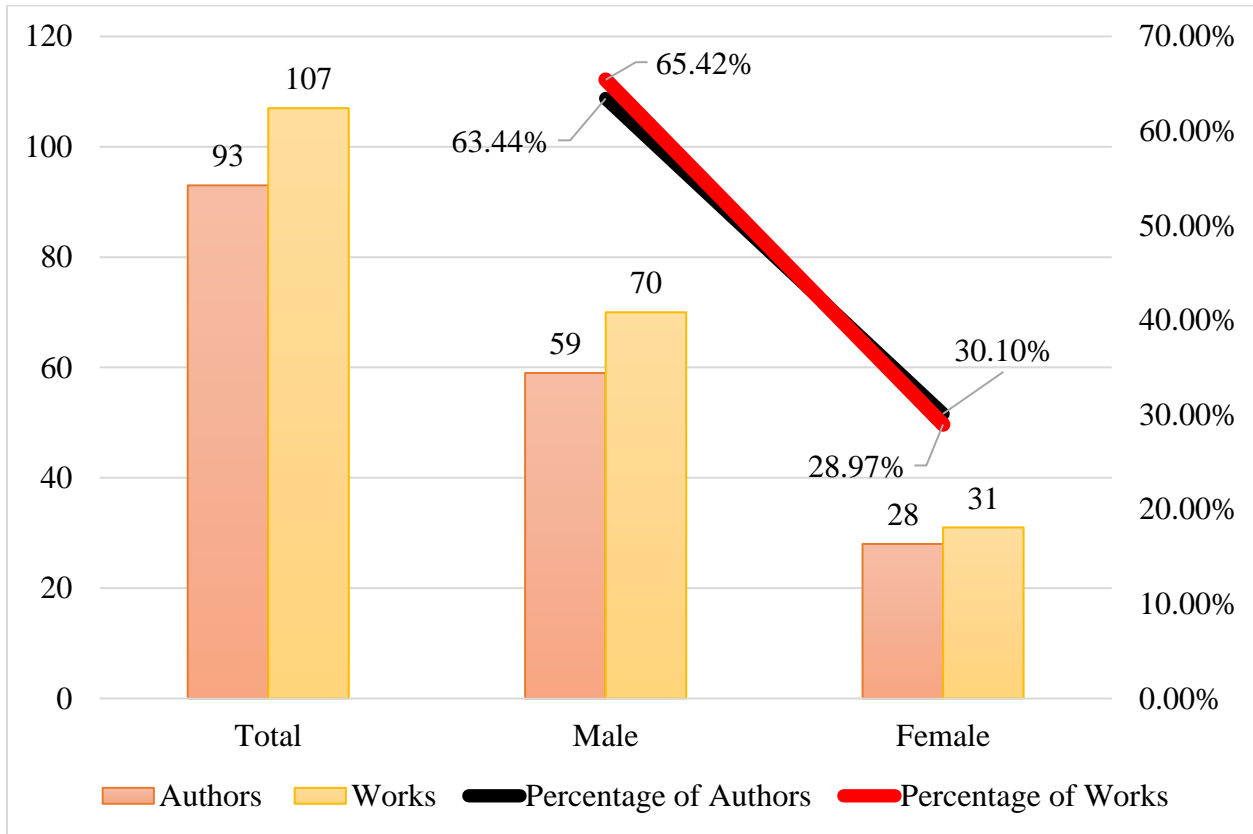

Fig. 30: *Renaissance Woman's Authors and Works by Gender*

As Figure 30 demonstrations the total number of authors in Aughterson's anthology is 93 and their works come to the total of 107. The authors' total is split into 59 male authors, 28 female authors, and six anonymous. The percentage of female authors to male authors is 63.44%

---

[54] Aughterson claims that the term "early modern" is not as popular as the term "Renaissance" in educational institutions: "[A]lthough the material represented here is commonly termed 'early modern' by scholars, it is a term which is not widely recognised outside the higher education academy. It is for these reasons that I have decided to use the title *Renaissance Woman*" (7). She refuses to acknowledge that the term Renaissance is the reason behind women's exclusion from anthologies or that it is a term that is self-fashioned to men (7).

to 28.97%. As for the 107 works, it is divided to 70 male-authored works and 31 female-authored ones. The percentage of the works is 65.42% male-authored works and 30.10% female-authored ones. Although the anthologist does not equally represent female and male authors, the anthology is considered equitable because voices from both genders is considered in every topic of the anthology. The title suggests female mainstreaming, however, the anthology proved that even with focusing on only "woman" as the general topic of it still the anthology represented male authors and by that represented diversity mainstreaming.

5.2.3: <u>Travisky and Prescott's *Female and Male Voices* (2000)</u>

Betty S. Travisky and Anne Lake Prescott's *Female and Male Voices in Early Modern England: An Anthology of Renaissance Writing* (2000) has major differences from the anthologies discussed in this chapter. Unlike Woudhuysen and Aughterson, Travisky and Prescott achieved higher levels of equity almost to a near equality status. The anthology is sectioned into four divisions: "Domestic Affairs," "Religion," "Political Life and Social Structures," and "Love and Sexuality." Each section is divided into groups of female and male authors who are presented as complementing each other or to suggest a connection between the text where the user of the anthology can compare and contrast the texts together. The groups are 30 with nine groups in the first section, six in the second, 10 in the third, and five in the last one. Only one female is present in two different sections (Mary Wroth) while three male authors are repeating in the groups of the anthology with different texts (Philip Sidney, William Shakespeare, and Thomas Howard are each present in two different sections). The groups, here, revolve around sometimes these three topics: religion, love, and politics, and sometimes texts are brought together to emphasize the shared genre of the texts or the class of the authors.

The anthology remains distinguished from any other for many reasons. First, it acknowledges the rigidity of the Renaissance anthology and the openness of the early modern

one, and yet, the anthology uses both to refer to its content but with a change in the range of it

borders to include literature between 1500 and 1750. This reconstruction of the periodization

processes is rationalized by the anthologists' seeking for a true open canon that has space for any

shifts. Second, it focuses on the users of the anthology being students or teachers; and therefore,

simplifying the process of addressing gender in the classroom is the purpose behind the way this

anthology groups authors. Travisky and Prescott express that

> This volume was born of the realization that it is still difficult for scholars to teach
>
> gender-aware courses on the early modern period, since many traditional anthologies—
>
> even fairly recent ones—have almost no selections by women, offering only slight
>
> evidence to show that, so to speak, Judith Shakespeare *did* exist in early modern England.
>
> (ix)

There rationality for "traditional" anthologies' limited inclusion of women is that Renaissance

women need to be engaged in the anthology rather than just being placed there cornered by

authors who the anthologists gave more space and spot light. Such anthologies, then, would

"unavoidably risk ghettoizing women's voices," according to Travisky and Prescott (ix). Third, it

juxtaposes literature written by both sexes to aid in the efforts to recover women's literature and

to actively engage them in the canon (x). Placing texts together rather than just listing them in the

anthology allows the users, aided by the anthologists', to rethink the way in which male- and

female-authored literature was read. The anthology groups literature together "to show authors of

both sexes writing in the same generic tradition or dealing with similar topics" (x)

Travisky and Prescott use the terms "early modern" and "Renaissance" as synonyms for

the literary span they cover. The editors differentiate between the two terms by stating that "early

modern" refers to the literature that aided in the evolution towards modern literature. They use

both terms to refer to literature and yet in the preface of the anthology, the anthologists clearly

lean towards the early modern because it stresses "continuity, rather than rupture, between the middle ages and modern times" (xi). This rupture that the term "Renaissance" causes is seen as negative; in spite of that, the anthologists do not refrain from using the word "Renaissance" to refer to the material in the anthology. Nevertheless, the editors distinguish between the *traditional renaissance*, the revival of classical culture which poorly represented women, and the *Renaissance*, the transition between medieval literature and modern literature.[55] The transitional early modern is used less than the renaissance to refer to literature of this age even though its continuum should complement the anthology's grouping of male and female authors which purposely exists to resume a connection and by default a continuum among their texts.

One of the most important qualities that an anthology like this could bring to the process of anthologizing the Renaissance female author is the editors' embracing of their subjectivity. Travisky and Prescott stand by their reading of the texts and thus provide a group for each that connect them to other texts. In comparison with marquee anthologists who claim a grand hierarchy, and by default they claim an omniscient objective stand against personally affecting the selection process of their texts, that privileged them with the mission of providing their users with texts that are most representative of English literature, this *passaggio* anthology delivers a subjective selective anthology that humbles the editor and brings her/his product to a true representation of the open canon. The anthologists in *Female and Male Voices* refer to the anthology's grouping system as "arbitrary" (xvi). To encourage their users to bring their own juxtapositions to the texts, the anthologists' imposed structure can even be opened to include the users' own understanding of the texts and bringing together the literature of the age.

---

[55]   Yet, contradictory to the preface, the anthology alternates between both terms with disregard to the distinction the editors set initially.
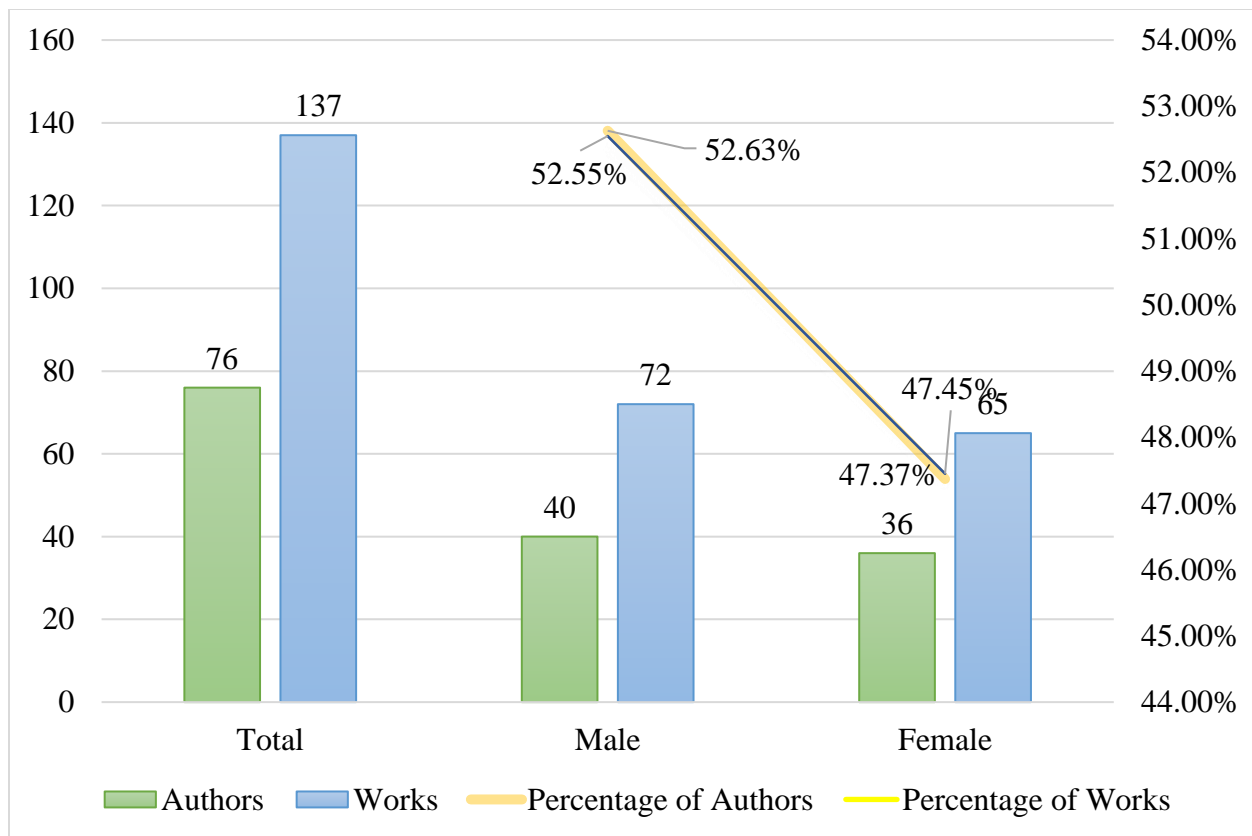
Fig. 31: *Female and Male Voices' Authors and Works by Gender*

In dividing the anthology into four thematic subcategories, the editors give deliberately equalized amounts of space to male and female authors that is achieved by pairing each female author with a male author. Figure 31 displays that the *Female and Male Voice* anthology has 137 works and 76 authors in total. Out of the 137 works 65 are female-authored and 72 are male-authored. 36 female authors and 40 male authors are represented in the anthology. The close totals of authors from both genders reflects on the differences between the percentages of the works and authors. Travisky and Prescott have aimed at equally representing both sexes' literature and they have achieved it more than any other anthology collected on the Renaissance and the early modern. The percentage of female authors, here, is 47.37%; leaving, by that, 52.63% to male authors. The percentage of female-authored works is 47.45% and the male-authored one is 52.55%. This result is singular to this anthology. No other anthology published

on the Renaissance verse or multi-genre anthology of the English Renaissance. In the spirit of *passaggio,* and echoing Renaissance literary forms of debate and reply, this parallel dialogue between males and females helps fairly represent the period's various core ideas and the relevant historical-cultural contexts.

5.3: Conclusion

Unlike the male mainstreaming *middlemen* anthologies, female authors are as important as male authors. Unlike female mainstreaming anthologies that create a *female utopia*, male authors are allowed a measure of space to represent Renaissance literature. Finally, unlike their marquee counterparts, who falsely try to elide their own anthological presence, *passaggio* editors embrace their roles as selectors, and they come to life by "customizing" the Renaissance canon to fit the choices that limit their anthologies. This chapter has highlighted anthologies which deliberately selected authors of both sexes. The role of anthologies and editors in *passaggio* allows a seemingly natural, yet still subjective, environment for female and male authors to play equal yet differentiated roles in representing the English Renaissance. They are natural because male and female authors are presented in the setting that they first wrote and published in (i.e. alongside to their male counterparts) and subjective because their editors do not withhold a seemingly coated omniscient role over their anthologies and the selected texts.

As most anthologies discussed, they exist for the subsequent process of syllabus-making, the editors of these three *passaggio* anthologies have taken a step beyond being mere maintainers of the Renaissance or the early modern age, to becoming its facilitating readers, and of course facilitators for subsequent readers. The anthology becomes the self-conscious product of their honestly contingent understanding of the English Renaissance. This does not merely invite further questioning (in the subsequent course context or elsewhere), but in fact *mandates* the

vital need for further interpretations and selections that remake, re-narrow, and reform the Renaissance canon in the immediate future.

In conclusion, alluding to Woudshuysen's plea for an attempt to study the inclusions and exclusions in anthologies "whether they are drawn by explicit censorship or by conventional discourses," (38) this dissertation has explored how the nature of anthologies is to make contingent selections that lie in permanent tension with the entirety of literature in the cultural "field" of canonicity (Kuipers). When anthologies are further limited to selecting only from materials of an earlier era like the Renaissance, they can only be anachronistic. I believe that some anthologists grapple more reflectively with this textual dilemma than others, and that *passaggio* is a more engaging way to anthologize the Renaissance for the purposes of a "textbook canon," at least for the present. When duly documented, the conscious and/or unconscious decision-making of anthologists is functionally equivalent to canon formation today. Furthermore, I suggest that anthologies (pace Barthes "Death of the [anthologist]") should be considered not impersonally produced *text*books, but as anthologists' text*works*. Textbook anthologies represent a large degree of creative intervention in many matters of editorial selection and textual presentation. This is evidenced by the fact that various anthology editors have accused each other of plagiarism.[56] As personalized embodiments of the tradition meant for other persons to read, anthologies in this light are vital to providing voice to not only "the canon," or to the canonized authors therein, but above all to the scholars who critique them, to the educators who teach them, and to the students that read them.

---

[56]   For example, *Longman*'s editors have accused *Norton*'s of using their first edition's list of female inclusions (1999) in *Norton*'s 2000 edition.

Works Cited

Abrams, M. H., editor. *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, 1st ed., vol. 1. W. W.

> Norton, 1962.

---. ---, 2nd ed., vol. 1. W. W. Norton, 1968.

---. ---, 3rd ed., vol. 1. Norton, 1974.

---. ---, 4th ed., vol. 1. Norton, 1979.

---. ---, 5th ed., vol. 1. Norton, 1986.

---. ---, 6th ed., vol. 1. Norton, 1993.

Alexander, Michael. *A History of English Literature*. Macmillan, 2000.

Aughterson, Kate, editor. *Renaissance Woman: A Sourcebook: Constructions of Femininity in*

> *England*. London: Routledge, 2003.

Barthes, Ronald. "Death of the Author." *Image, Music, Text*, Translated by: Stephen Heath,

> HarperCollins, 2010, pp.142-47.

Bennett, William J. *To Reclaim a Legacy: A Report on the Humanities in Higher Education*.

> National Endowment for the Humanities, 1984.

Benson, Pamela, and Victoria Kirkham. *Strong Voices, Weak History: Early Women Writers and*

> *Canons in England, France and Italy*. U of Michigan P, 2005.

Bérubé, Michael. "'Canons and Contexts' in Context." Review of *Canons and Context*.

> *American Literary History*, vol. 20, no. 3, 2008, pp. 457-64. *JSTOR*,

> www.jstor.org/stable/20492240.

Binhammer, Katherine, and Jeanne Wood, editors. *Women and Literary History: "For There She*

> *Was."* U of Delaware P, 2003.

Bishop, Wendy, and David Starkey. "Anthology." *Keywords in Creative Writing*. UP of

> Colorado, 2006, pp. 11-13. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt4cgr61.6.

Bloom, Harold. *The Western Canon: The Books and School of the Ages*. Riverhead Books, 1995.

Bodenham, John. *England's Helicon, or, The Muses Harmony*. 1614. *Internet Archive*, The
  Library Shelf, 1970, archive.org/details/englandshelicono00bode.

Bond, Garth. "Expanding the Canon of Lady Mary Wroth's Poetry." *Notes and Queries*, vol. 55,
  no. 3, 2008, pp. 283-86.

Brian Doherty. "The Center Cannot Hold: The Development of World Literature
  Anthologies." *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics*, no. 34, 2014, pp. 100-24. *JSTOR*,
  www.jstor.org/stable/24392132.

Brickner, Rachel K. "Feminist Activism, Union Democracy and Gender Equity Rights in
  Mexico." *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 42, no. 4, 2010, pp. 749–77. *JSTOR*,
  www.jstor.org/stable/40984957.

Bruce, Susan, and Rebecca Steinberger, editors. *The Renaissance Literature Handbook*.
  Continuum, 2010.

Callaghan, Dympna. *The Impact of Feminism in English Renaissance Studies*. Palgrave
  Macmillan, 2007.

Chaney, Christine. "Editor's Introduction." *Pedagogy*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2001, pp. 191-94.
  https://read.dukeupress.edu/pedagogy/article-abstract/1/1/191/86054/Editor-s-
  Introduction?redirectedFrom=fulltext.

Cheney, Lynne. *50 Hours: A Core Curriculum for College*. National Endowment for the
  Humanities, 1989.

---. *Humanities in America*. National Endowment for the Humanities, 1988.

Collier, John Payne, editor. *Seven English Poetical Miscellanies Printed between 1557 and 1602*.
  7 volumes, J. P. Collier, 1867.

Creswell, John W. "Steps in Conducting a Scholarly Mixed Methods Study." *DBER*, 2013, pp. 1-

54.

https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.com/&ht

tpsredir=1&article=1047&context=dberspeakers

---. *A Concise Introduction to Mixed Methods Research*. SAGE, 2015.

Damrosch, David, editor. *The Longman Anthology of British Literature*. 1st ed. vol. 1. Pearson

Longman, 1999.

---. ---, 2nd ed. vol. 1. Pearson Longman, 2003.

---. ---, 3rd ed., vol. 1. Pearson Longman, 2006.

---. ---, 4th ed., vol. 1. Pearson Longman, 2010.

Damrosch, David. "The Mirror and the Window: Reflections on Anthology Construction."

Pedagogy, vol. 1, no. 1, 2001, pp. 207-14. https://muse.jhu.edu/article/26316/summary.

Damrosch, David, and Kevin J. H. Dettmar, editors. *The Longman Anthology of British*

Literature, 5th ed., vol. 1. Pearson Longman, 2012.

Davidson, Peter, and Jane Stevenson, editors. *Early Modern Women Poets: An Anthology*.

Oxford UP, 2000.

Di Leo, Jeffrey R. "Analyzing Anthologies." *On Anthologies: Politics and Pedagogy*. U

Nebraska P, 2004, pp. 1-30.

Donadio, Rachel. "Keeper of the Canon." *The New York Times*, 8 Jan. 2006.

https://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/08/books/review/keeper-of-the-canon.html.

Dowd, Michelle M., and Thomas Festa, editors. *Early Modern Women on the Fall: An*

Anthology. Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012.

Doyno, Victor. "Teaching the New, Ideal Anthology." *MELUS*, vol. 11, no. 1, 1984, pp. 65-

68. *JSTOR*, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/466939.

Drake, George. "Placing the Canon: Literary History and *The Longman Anthology of British Literature*." *Pedagogy,* vol. 1, no. 1, 2001, pp. 197-201.

Eardley, Alice. "Recreating the Canon: Women Writers and Anthologies of Early Modern Verse." *Women's Writing,* vol. 14, no. 2, 2007, pp. 270-89.

Edmonds, W. A., and Thomas D. Kennedy. *An Applied Guide to Research Designs: Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Methods*. SAGE, 2017.

Eveline, Joan, and Carol Bacchi. "Gender Mainstreaming or Diversity Mainstreaming?: The Politics of 'Doing.'" *Mainstreaming Politics: Gendering Practices and Feminist Theory*, University of Adelaide Press, South Australia, 2010, pp. 311-34. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/10.20851/j.ctt1t30564.21.

---. "Mainstreaming and Neoliberalism: A Contested Relationship." *Mainstreaming Politics: Gendering Practices and Feminist Theory*, University of Adelaide Press, South Australia, 2010, pp. 39-60. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/10.20851/j.ctt1t30564.10.

---. "Obeying Organisational 'Rules of Relevance': Gender Analysis of Policy." *Mainstreaming Politics: Gendering Practices and Feminist Theory*, University of Adelaide Press, South Australia, 2010, pp. 283-310. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/10.20851/j.ctt1t30564.20.

Felperin, Howard. *The Uses of the Canon: Elizabethan Literature and Contemporary Theory*. Clarendon, 1990.

Fendler, Susanne, editor. *Feminist Contributions to the Literary Canon: Setting Standards of Taste*. Mellen, 1997.

Ferguson, Moira, editor. *First Feminists: British Women Writers, 1578-1799*. Indiana UP, 1985.

Ferguson, Ronald F. *Toward Excellence with Equity: An Emerging Vision for Closing the Achievement Gap.* Harvard Education, 2007.

Fetterley, Judith. "Nineteenth-Century American Women Writers and the Politics of Recovery."

> *American Literary History,* vol. 6, no. 3, 1994, pp. 600-11.

Fishelov, David. "Dialogues with/and Great Books: With Some Serious Reflections on *Robinson*

> *Crusoe*." *New Literary History*, vol. 39, no. 2, 2008, pp. 335-53. *JSTOR*,

> www.jstor.org/stable/20058073.

Fisher, Jerilyn, and Ellen S. Silber, editors. *Women in Literature: Reading through the Lens of*

> *Gender*. Greenwood, 2003.

Fox, Cora. "Isabella Whitney's Nosegay and the Smell of Women's Writing." *Senses and*

> *Society,* vol. 5 no. 1, 2010, pp. 131-43.

Fraser, Nancy. "On the Political and the Symbolic: Against the Metaphysics of

> Textuality." *Boundary 2*, vol. 14, no. 1/2, 1985, pp. 195-209. *JSTOR*,

> www.jstor.org/stable/303519.

Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. 30th anniversary ed. New York, Continuum, 2000.

Fuchs, Eckhardt, and Steffen Sammler. *Textbooks between Tradition and Innovation: A Journey*

> *through the History of the Georg Eckert Institute.* George Eckert, 2016.

Gardner, Catherine Villanueva. *Empowerment and Interconnectivity: Toward a Feminist History*

> *of Utilitarian Philosophy*. Pennsylvania State UP, 2013.

Gaskell, Philip. *Landmarks in English Literature*. Edinburgh UP, 1998.

Gilbert, Sandra M., and Susan Gubar, editors. *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women:*

> *The Tradition in English*. 1st ed. W.W. Norton, 1985.

Greenblatt, Stephen, and M. H. Abrams, editors. *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*. 7th

> ed., vol. 1. W. W. Norton, 2000.

---. ---, 8th ed., vol. 1. W. W. Norton, 2006.

---. ---, 9th ed., vol. 1. W. W. Norton, 2012.

---. ---, 10ᵗʰ ed., vol. 1. W. W. Norton, 2018.

Gregerson, Linda. "Life among Others." *Virginia Quarterly Review*, vol. 83, no. 1, 2007, pp.

    204-17.

Guillory, John. *Cultural Capital: The Problem of Literary Canon Formation*. Chicago UP, 1993.

Hadfield, Andrew. *The English Renaissance, 1500-1620*. Blackwell, 2001.

Hammons, Pamela S. "The Gendered Imagination of Property in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-

    Century English Women's Verse." *Clio*, vol. 34, no. 4, 2005, pp. 395-418.

---. *Gender, Sexuality, and Material Objects in English Renaissance Verse*. Ashgate, 2010.

Hart, Jeffrey. "Wimmin Against Literature." *National Review,* vol. 40, no. 19, 1988, pp. 43-61.

Haselkorn, Anne M., and Betty Travitsky, editors. *The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print:*

    Counterbalancing the Canon. U of Massachusetts P, 1990.

Hattaway, Michael, editor. *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*.

    Blackwell, 2003.

Heiselt, April and Carl Sheperis. "Mixed Methods Design." *Counseling Research: Quantitative,*

    Qualitative, and Mixed Method. Carl Sheperis, et al., 2010, pp. 525-59.

Hodgson-Wright, Stephanie, editor. *Women's Writing of the Early Modern Period, 1588-1688:*

    An Anthology. Columbia UP, 2002.

Hook, Frank. "The Anthology: To Be or Not to Be." *English Education*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1971, pp.

    105-09. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/40171971.

Irvine, Robert. "English Literary Studies: Origins and Nature." *The Edinburgh Introduction to*

    Studying English Literature, edited by Dermot Cavanagh et al., 2ⁿᵈ ed., Edinburgh

    University Press, Edinburgh, 2014, 16–24. *JSTOR*,

    www.jstor.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctt1g09vqj.5.

Jensen, Joyce. "As Anthologies Duel, Women Gain Ground." *The New York Times*, 30 Jan. 1999. www.nytimes.com/1999/01/30/books/think-tank-as-anthologies-duel-women-gain-ground.html.

Jordan, Constance. *Renaissance Feminism: Literary Texts and Political Models*. Cornell UP, 1990.

Keenan, Siobhan. *Renaissance Literature*. Edinburgh UP, 2008.

Kelly, Joan. "Did Women Have A Renaissance?" *Women, History, and Theory: The Essays of Joan Kelly*. U of Chicago P, 1986, pp. 19-50.

Kilcup, Karen L. *Soft Canons: American Women Writers*. U of Iowa P, 1999.

Kimball, Roger, and Hilton Kramer. *The New Criterion*. Foundation for Cultural Review, 1982.

Klein, Susan S., et al. "Continuing the Journey toward Gender Equity." *Educational Researcher*, vol. 23, no. 8, 1994, pp. 13-21. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/1176858.

Kolbas, E. Dean. *Critical Theory and the Literary Canon*. Westview, 2001.

Kuipers, Christopher M. "The Anthology/Corpus Dynamic: A Field Theory of the Canon." *College Literature*, vol. 30, no. 2, 2003, pp. 51-71.

---. "The Contemporizing Canon: A Cross-Edition Case Study of *The Norton Anthology of Modern Poetry*." *Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses*, vol. 52, 2006, pp. 81-104.

L'Amoreaux, Marion. "Anthologies and Workbooks." *The Reading Teacher*, vol. 17, no. 6, 1964, pp. 447-52. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/20197793.

Lamson, Roy, and Hallett Smith, editors. *The Golden Hind: An Anthology of Elizabethan Prose and Poetry*. 1942. Rev. ed. Norton, 1956.

Lange, Ann Margaret. *Writing the Way Out: Inheritance and Appropriation in Aemilia Lanyer, Isabella Whitney, Mary (Sidney) Herbert, and Mary Wroth.* Peter Lang, 2011.

Larkin, June, and Pat Staton. "Access, Inclusion, Climate, Empowerment (AICE): A Framework

     for Gender Equity in Market-Driven Education." *Canadian Journal of Education / Revue*

     Canadienne De L'éducation, vol. 26, no. 3, 2001, pp. 361-76. *JSTOR*,

     www.jstor.org/stable/1602213.

Lauter, Paul. *Canons and Contexts*. Oxford UP, 1991.

LeMoyne, Roger. "Promoting Gender Equality: An Equity-based Approach to

     Programming." *Operational Guidance Overview in Brief*, UNICEF, 2011.

     https://www.unicef.org/gender/files/Overarching_2Pager_Web.pdf.

Lerer, Seth. "Medieval English Literature and the Idea of the Anthology." *PMLA*, vol. 118, no. 5,

     2003, pp. 1251-67. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/1261463.

Lopez, Jeremy. *Constructing the Canon of Early Modern Drama*. Cambridge UP, 2014.

Morrissey, Lee, editor. *Debating the Canon: A Reader from Addison to Nafisi*. Palgrave

     Macmillan, 2005.

Morson, Gary Saul. "The Anthology as Literature." *The Words of Others: From Quotations to*

     Culture, Yale UP, London, 2011, pp. 221-56. *JSTOR*,

     www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vm2cs.16.

Neuman, W. Lawrence. "Surveying Research." *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and*

     Quantitative Approaches. Pearson, 2014, 315-365.

Nochlin, Linda. "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" *Woman in Sexist Society:*

     Studies in Power and Powerlessness. Edited by Vivian Gornick and Barbara Moran.

     Basic, 1971, pp. 1-26.

Orlin, Lena Cowen, and J. Leeds Barroll, editors. *Center or Margin: Revisions of the English*

     Renaissance in Honor of Leeds Barroll. Susquehanna UP, 2006.

Ostovich, Helen, Mary V. Silcox, and Graham Roebuck, editors. *Other Voices, Other Views:*

   Expanding the Canon in English Renaissance Studies. U of Delaware P, 1999.

Otten, Charlotte F., editor. *English Women's Voices, 1540-1700*. Florida International UP, 1992.

Owens, W. R. "The Canon and the Curriculum." *English Studies on This Side: Post-2007*

   Reckonings. Editor. Suman Gupta and Milena Katsarska. Plovdiv UP, 2009, pp. 47-59.

---, and Lizbeth Goodman. *Shakespeare, Aphra Behn, and the Canon*. Routledge, 1996.

Pace, Barbara G. "The Textbook Canon: Genre, Gender, and Race in US Literature

   Anthologies." *English Journal*, vol. 81, no. 5, 1992, pp. 33-38.

Palgrave, Francis Turner. *The Golden Treasury of the Best Songs and Lyrical Poems in the*

   English Language. 1861. John Press, ed. Oxford UP, 2002.

Palumbo-Liu, David, and Paulo Lemos Horta. "Teaching the Canon." *World Policy Journal,* vol.

   27, no. 3, 2010, pp. 11-14.

Papadima, Livi, David Damrosch, and Theo D'haen, editors. *The Canonical Debate Today:*

   Crossing Disciplinary and Cultural Boundaries. Rodopi, 2011.

Pelizzon, Sheila Margaret. *But Can She Spin? The Decline in the Social Standing of Women in*

   the Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism. SUNY P, 1999.

Pickard, Alison Jane. *Research Methods in Information*. Facet, 2007.

Rackin, Phyllis. "Misogyny is Everywhere." *A Feminist Companion to Shakespeare*, edited by

   Dympna Callaghan, Blackwell, 2016, pp. 42-56.

Ravitch, Michael and Diane Ravitch. *The English Reader: What Every Literate Person Needs to*

   Know. Oxford UP, 2006.

Re, Lucia. "(De)Constructing the Canon: The Agon of the Anthologies on the Scene of Modern

   Italian Poetry." *The Modern Language Review*, vol. 87, no. 3, 1992, pp. 585-602. *JSTOR*,

   www.jstor.org/stable/3732922.

Ritson, Joseph. *The English Anthology: Volume the First*. 1793. *Internet Archive*, The Library

    Landow, George P. "The Literary Canon." *Victorian Web*, 2004.

    http://www.victorianweb.org/victorian/canon/ litcanon.html.

Roberts, Sasha. "Women's Literary Capital in Early Modern England: Formal Composition and

    Rhetorical Display in Manuscript and Print." *Women's Writing*, vol. 14, no. 2, 2007, pp.

    246-69.

Robin, Diana Maury, Anne R. Larsen, and Carole Levin. *Encyclopedia of Women in the*

    Renaissance: Italy, France, and England. ABC-CLIO, 2007.

Robinson, Lillian S. "Treason Our Text: Feminist Challenges to the Literary Canon." *Tulsa*

    Studies in Women's Literature, vol. 2, no. 1, 1983, 83-98.

Ross, Sarah Gwyneth. *The Birth of Feminism: Woman as Intellect in Renaissance Italy and*

    England. Harvard UP, 2009.

Ross, Trevor Thornton. *The Making of the English Literary Canon: From the Middle Ages to the*

    Late Eighteenth Century. McGill-Queen UP, 1998.

Salzman, Paul, editor. *Expanding the Canon of Early Modern Women's Writing*. Cambridge

    Scholars, 2010.

Schippers, Birgit. "The Singularity of Genius." *Julia Kristeva and Feminist Thought*, Edinburgh

    University Press, 2011, pp. 115-44.

Servadio, Gaia. *Renaissance Women*. I. B. Tauris, 2005.

Shesgreen, Sean. "Canonizing the Canonizer: A Short History of *The Norton Anthology of*

    English Literature." *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 35, no. 2, 2009, pp. 293-318. *JSTOR*, JSTOR,

    www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/596644.

Shesgreen, Sean. "Anthologies and Sausages." *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 35, no. 4, 2009, pp. 1085-

    88. *JSTOR*, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/599603.

Simmons, John S. "Anthologies: Do We Get out of Them What We Want?" *The Clearing*

      House, vol. 38, no. 6, 1964, pp. 368-72. *JSTOR*, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/30187889.

Smith, Nigel. "The Rod and the Canon." *Women's Writing*, vol. 14, no. 2, 2007, pp. 232-45.

Snook, Edith. *Women, Beauty and Power in Early Modern England: A Feminist Literary*

      History. Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Stark, James. *Bel Canto: The History of Voice Pedagogy.* U of Toronto P, 1999.

Sullivan, Garrett A. *Memory and Forgetting in English Renaissance Drama: Shakespeare,*

      Marlowe, Webster. Cambridge UP, 2005.

Tottel, Richard. *Miscellany: Songs and Sonnets Written by the Right Honourable Lord Henry*

      Howard, Earl of Surrey Sir Thomas Wyatt, the Elder Nicholas Grimald and Uncertain

      Authors. 1557. Edward Arbor, ed. A. Constable, 1903.Bona, Mary Jo, and Irma Maini,

      editors. *Multiethnic Literature and Canon Debates*. SUNY P, 2006.

Travitsky, Betty S., editor. *Female and Male Voices in Early Modern England: An Anthology of*

      Renaissance Writing. Columbia UP, 2000.

Tyson, Sarah. "From the Exclusion of Women to the Transformation of Philosophy: Reclamation

      and Its Possibilities." *Metaphilosophy*, vol. 45, no. 1, 2014, pp. 1-19.

Wallace, David. "Periodizing Women: Mary Ward (1585-1645) and the Premodern Canon."

      Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies, vol. 36, no. 2, 2006, pp. 397-453.

Winders, James A. *Gender, Theory, and the Canon*. U of Wisconsin P, 1991.

Woolf, Virginia. *A Room of One's Own.* Harcourt, 1989.

Woudhuysen, H. R., editor. *The Penguin Book of Renaissance Verse, 1509-1659*. Penguin, 1993.

Wynne-Davies, Marion, editor. *Women Poets of the Renaissance*. Routledge, 1999.

Zagarell, Sandra A. "Conceptualizing Women's Literary History: Reflections on the *Norton*

      Anthology of Literature by Women." Review of *Norton Anthology of Literature by*

Women. Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature, vol. 5, no. 2, 1986, pp. 273-87. *JSTOR*,

www.jstor.org/stable/463998.

Appendix A

Anthologies Analyzed and Consulted

In a context where anthology and reliance on it to depict a literary canon is given weight, the anthology shifts its role from being a packaging tool that aids in learning literature to an actual text that needs to be studied by cultural and literary studies. This project has aimed at analyzing the anthology as a literary text with relations to the its sometimes inclusions and other times exclusions of female-authored literary texts written during the English Renaissance and early modern. The overall goals of this project are to, first, prove that an anthology is a text that can be analyzed politically, economically, and pedagogically. Because anthologies are choices of selections that anthologists make, the anthology should not only be measured by the texts it contains but rather the anthology itself becomes a grand text that can be analyzed as a whole with its content.

The project displays how some anthologies have masked the fact that the anthology is a physical interpretation of the literary canon while other have raised awareness of how the anthology is a place where the perceptive of the anthologist is the main influence on the literary canon. Awareness is raisin through the vocabulary and textual inclusions/exclusion chosen by the anthologist. My research led me to discover the many ways anthologies complicate our knowledge of the English Renaissance female author. Achieving gender equity through diversity mainstreaming the content of the anthology is viewed as one of the main types that allowed the anthologist to achieve this.

I found four types of English Renaissance anthologies that coincide with Bacchi and Eveline's gender mainstreaming and diversity mainstreaming. Male mainstreaming, Middlemen, analyzes five anthologies that capture the process of anthologization from the fifteenth century to

the middle of the twentieth century. Towards diversity mainstreaming, Marquee, analyzes two anthologies that are world widely seen as representative anthologies. Female mainstreaming, Female Utopia, analyzes seven anthologies to view the patterns through which anthologies that have included only female authors and have common qualities among them. Finally, diversity mainstreaming, Passaggio, analyzes four anthologies that have represented the inclusion of female authors in an equitable manner with their male counterparts.

Therefore, for ease of reference, this appendix lists the anthologies that are analyzed in each chapter. Other anthologies and consulted anthologies that fall under the same type of anthology as the anthologies studied in each chapter are also listed; they appear indented.

Chapter Two: The Middlemen Role

Bodenham, John. *England's Helicon, or, The Muses Harmony*. 1614. *Internet Archive*, The Library Shelf, 1970, archive.org/details/englandshelicono00bode.

Lamson, Roy, and Hallett Smith, editors. *The Golden Hind: An Anthology of Elizabethan Prose and Poetry*. 1942. Rev. ed. Norton, 1956.

Palgrave, Francis Turner. *The Golden Treasury of the Best Songs and Lyrical Poems in the English Language*. 1861. John Press, ed. Oxford UP, 2002.

Ritson, Joseph. *The English Anthology: Volume the First*. 1793. *Internet Archive*, The Library Shelf, 2007, archive.org/details/englishanthology01ritsuoft.

Tottel, Richard. *Miscellany: Songs and Sonnets Written by the Right Honourable Lord Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey Sir Thomas Wyatt, the Elder Nicholas Grimald and Uncertain Authors*. 1557. Edward Arbor, ed. A. Constable, 1903.

> Additional Male Mainstreaming Anthologies
>
> Chandler, Wayne, editor. *An Anthology of Commendatory Verse from the English Renaissance*. Mellen, 2005.

Collier, John Payne, editor. *Seven English Poetical Miscellanies Printed between*
1557 and 1602. 7 volumes, J. P. Collier, 1867.

Williams, John, editor. *English Renaissance Poetry: A Collection of Shorter*
Poems from Skelton to Jonson. New York Review, 2016.

Chapter Three: Marquee Anthologies

Abrams, M. H., editor. *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, 1st ed., vol. 1. W. W.
Norton, 1962.

---. ---, 2nd ed., vol. 1. W. W. Norton, 1968.

---. ---, 3rd ed., vol. 1. Norton, 1974.

---. ---, 4th ed., vol. 1. Norton, 1979.

---. ---, 5th ed., vol. 1. Norton, 1986.

---. ---, 6th ed., vol. 1. Norton, 1993.

Damrosch, David, editor. *The Longman Anthology of British Literature*. 1st ed. vol. 1. Pearson
Longman, 1999.

---. ---, 2nd ed. vol. 1. Pearson Longman, 2003.

---. ---, 3rd ed., vol. 1. Pearson Longman, 2006.

---. ---, 4th ed., vol. 1. Pearson Longman, 2010.

Damrosch, David, and Kevin J. H. Dettmar, editors. *The Longman Anthology of British*
Literature, 5th ed., vol. 1. Pearson Longman, 2012.

Greenblatt, Stephen, and M. H. Abrams, editors. *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*. 7th
ed., vol. 1. W. W. Norton, 2000.

---. ---, 8th ed., vol. 1. W. W. Norton, 2006.

---. ---, 9th ed., vol. 1. W. W. Norton, 2012.

---. ---, 10th ed., vol. 1. W. W. Norton, 2018.

Additional Toward Diversity Mainstreaming Anthologies:

Black, Joseph Laurence, editor. *The Broadview Anthology of British Literature*.
1st ed., vol. 1. Broadview, 2006.

---. ---, 2nd ed., vol. 1. Broadview, 2011.

---. ---, 3rd ed., vol. 1. Broadview, 2015.

Fowler, Alastair, editor. *The New Oxford Book of Seventeenth-Century Verse*,
Oxford UP, 1991.

Hunter, John C., editor. *Renaissance Literature: An Anthology of Poetry and
Prose*, 2nd ed. Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.

Kermode, Frank, and John Hollander, editors. *The Oxford Anthology of English
Literature*, Oxford UP, 1973.

Payne, Michael, and John C. Hunter, editors. *Renaissance Literature: An
Anthology*, 1st ed. Blackwell, 2003.

Chapter Four: Female Utopia

Davidson, Peter, and Jane Stevenson, editors. *Early Modern Women Poets: An Anthology*.
Oxford UP, 2000.

Dowd, Michelle M., and Thomas Festa, editors. *Early Modern Women on the Fall: An
Anthology*. Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012.

Ferguson, Moira, editor. *First Feminists: British Women Writers, 1578-1799*. Indiana UP, 1985.

Gilbert, Sandra M., and Susan Gubar, editors. *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women:
The Tradition in English*. 1st ed. W.W. Norton, 1985.

Hodgson-Wright, Stephanie, editor. *Women's Writing of the Early Modern Period, 1588-1688:
An Anthology*. Columbia UP, 2002.

Otten, Charlotte F., editor. *English Women's Voices, 1540-1700*. Florida International UP, 1992.

Wynne-Davies, Marion, editor. *Women Poets of the Renaissance*. Routledge, 1999.

Additional Female Mainstreaming Anthologies:

DeShazer, Mary K, editor. *The Longman Anthology of Women's Literature*.
Longman, 2001.

Fitzmaurice, James, and Josephine A. Roberts, editors. *Major Women Writers of
Seventeenth-Century England.* U of Michigan P, 1997.

Goulianos, Joan, editor. *By a Woman Writ: Literature from Six Centuries by and
about Women*. Penguin, 1974.

Greer, Germaine, editor. *Kissing the Rod: An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century
Women's Verse*. Virago Press, 1988.

Keeble, N. H., editor. *The Cultural Identity of Seventeenth-Century Woman: A
Reader*. Routledge, 1994.

Mahl, Mary R., and Helene Koon, editors. *The Female Spectator: English Women
Writers before 1800*. Indiana UP, 1977.

Martin, Randall, editor. *Women Writers in Renaissance England*. 1st ed.
Longman, 1997.

---. *Women Writers in Renaissance England: An Annotated Anthology*. 2nd ed.
Pearson, 2010.

Ostovich, Helen, Elizabeth Sauer, and Melissa Smith, editors. *Reading Early
Modern Women: An Anthology of Texts in Manuscript and Print, 1550-
1700*. Routledge, 2004.

Spender, Dale, and Janet Todd, editors. *Anthology of British Women Writers: An
Anthology from the Fourteenth Century to the Present*. Pandora, 1989.

Travitsky, Betty, editor. *The Paradise of Women: Writings by Englishwomen of the Renaissance.* Greenwood, 1981.

Trill, Suzanne, Kate Chedgzoy, and Melanie Osborne, editors. *Lay by Your Needles Ladies, Take the Pen: Writing Women in England, 1500-1700.* Arnold, 1997.

Wilson, Katharina M., and Frank J. Warnke, editors. *Women Writers of the Seventeenth Century*. University of Georgia Press, 1989.

Chapter Five: Passaggio

Aughterson, Kate, editor. *Renaissance Woman: A Sourcebook: Constructions of Femininity in England*. London: Routledge, 2003.

Travitsky, Betty S., editor. *Female and Male Voices in Early Modern England: An Anthology of Renaissance Writing*. Columbia UP, 2000.

Woudhuysen, H. R., editor. *The Penguin Book of Renaissance Verse, 1509-1659*. Penguin, 1993.

Additional Diversity Mainstreaming Anthology:

Dawson, Terence, and Robert Scott Dupree, editors. *Seventeenth-Century English Poetry: The Annotated Anthology.* Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994.