POET, INTERRUPTED
THE CURIOUS FAME OF LADY ANNE KILLGREW

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Series Announcement by ILAB. Title, above, inspired by Vermeer

Anne Killigrew’s Poems. London: Samuel Lowndes, 1686
Licensed, Roger L’Estrange, 30th September 1685. 4° (28cm). ESTC R6393. Wing K442. 100 numbered pages. With self-portrait frontis., mezzotint engraving by Isaac Beckett. Above, Brett-Smith Library copy. Sotheby’s 2004, Lot 311, £1440 (private buyer). With permission. In 2008, at Christie’s, the Currer copy brought £2375, Lot 69. Source: Bruce McKinney’s Rare Book Hub / Americana Exchange, San Francisco. Margaret Ezell’s Killigrew (2013), the third edition, to date, of the poet’s 1686 collection, raises the profile and prestige of Lady Anne Killigrew, thereby appreciating market valuations of all extant copies of this 1686 poetry-book preserved in libraries, special archives, and in private hands. (See also Gallery of Images, below; selections 1, 3, 4.)
Where in the grand design of things do we place Anne Killigrew? How best do we know this intriguing poet-painter of the 17th century? How do we assess what she left to history?

Lady Anne was not lost in time, but quite nearly. Her poetry, mostly juvenilia of the late 1670s and early 1680s, was collected by Anne’s father from her desk-drawer; the loose papers and drafts were hastily assembled, printed and brought to market by the respected London bookseller, Samuel Lowndes, Exeter Exchange, The Strand; all of this, within three months of Anne’s lamented death from smallpox on 16 June 1685, age twenty-five. Sadly, the book assembled in Lowndes’s busy shop was a book she never saw, though she may have requested it (and the frontispiece selection) when death was imminent. In the allied medium of the visual arts, Lady Anne’s paintings (portraiture; generic biblical and allegorical scenes) were politely acknowledged, some highly praised, but regarded today as talented apprenticeship work; fewer than five canvases have survived. Two of these, her Venus (Gallery of Images, below, Image 7) and her full-length of James Duke of York, valuably bear her signature and, thus, a small writing sample. In addition to her elegant book of 1686, history’s tribute to Anne Killigrew was not John Dryden’s effusive, if arguably ironic, Pindaric ode on her death, but rather Sir Peter Lely’s lustrous depiction of Killigrew in the act of artistic creation: a sweet harmony of a painter painting a painter (Image 2). And in Lely’s portrait, the sitter is boldly asserted: this is a rising star.

Yet for all of her obvious promise with quill and brush, Anne Killigrew remains somewhat unknowable, even as late as 2016, even after three editions of her poetry in 1967, 2003, and 2013. While these editions have been warmly welcomed — and it is encouraging that scholars return to Killigrew — these editions have not expanded or changed the Killigrew canon since its first printed representation in 1686. On the pages of her published book (a clutch of 33 poems), we hear her literary voices, we see her craft and subjects, and we see the names of kin and highly placed coterie; but off the page, who exactly was she? Scholars and readers know little more of Anne Killigrew in 2016 than they did in 1686. She was praised by contemporaries and literary chroniclers (Beckett, Wood, Ballard, et al.) with broad claims of genius and fame; yet that fame feels inauthentic, as Lady Anne did not earn, or win, fame in the usual way, with an achieved body of public work: fame was rather conferred upon her, posthumously, by family and close associates. It does seem that Anne Killigrew was famous for being famous, and that her ‘fame’ was entirely premature. It appears that scholars have continued to justify her fame with continuing editions, dating from the 1960s. The Killigrew narrative has come down to us as a case study in the construction of fame by external forces. And since scholars even yet (some 400 years after Killigrew’s death in 1685) have failed to locate her letters and personal papers, we know nothing of her own intentions as a serious ‘career’ writer and painter. This is a riveting, complex subject, and an instance, really, of arrested development, as the life and creative evolution of Anne Killigrew was interrupted — indeed, silenced -- by Destiny. Had she survived the dreaded smallpox and matured as a woman and poet-painter, Lady Anne could have competed favorably, we wager, with the fame of her extraordinary literary ‘sisters’: Katherine Philips, Aphra Behn, Anne Finch, Margaret Cavendish, ‘Ephelia’. Each of these, in their fashion, achieved fame, and fame was the prize they eyed: “I value Fame as much as if I had been born a Hero,” wrote Aphra Behn in 1687 (Preface, The Lucky Chance).
Lady Anne Killigrew (London, 1660-London, 1685),
a privileged and brief life

Lady Anne breathed the air of courts from infancy. She was born into an accomplished family, with direct access to the Stuart royals. Her immediate relatives were prominent figures in the Church of England and in the literary culture of the later 17th century. Owing to these connections, she was appointed one of six Maids of Honor to Mary of Modena, wife of James, Duke of York, the future James II. Such high status gave her considerable reach, both to the literary culture of the period and to the royal art collection. And such access was critical, as Lady Anne never truly left her father’s house; she remained in his domain, never marrying, and dying a virgin, reportedly, at the age of twenty-five (the “Mrs” on the title-page of her poetry-book was a courteous convention). Broadly praised for virtue and modesty, Lady Anne was often a stern moralist in her writings, and her reputation as the virgin darling of one of the most debauched courts in English history must have chafed. She evidently never left London to enjoy the cultural glories of Italy, France, and Holland; but to her credit, she wisely absorbed the literary and artistic vogues and opportunities of life in her immediate setting. A young lady of her class and connections would have been privately trained in the classics, as well as philosophy, art, music, and languages (Latin and French); and we imagine she was a frequent visitor to the King’s art galleries, the studio of Sir Peter Lely, and enjoyed topical chat with London’s premier writers and court visitors. But this was a small life, really, compared to the colorful (eventful!) lives of other literary women of her day. Yet Anne Killigrew was well aware of her talent, and quite possibly she had made plans for a public launch, as the preliminaries were already in place before her death in 1685: three likenesses of her were produced (one by Sir Peter Lely; two self-portraits, Berkeley Castle); she had also tested critical reception by circulating her writings among friends and court associates (not always with good results, as she frankly admits in an important poem); she evidently had found a trustworthy mentor and literary adviser in Henry Hare, Lord Coleraine (her “Cleanor”, an anagram for “Colrane”, Killigrew’s phonetic, variant spelling); and she had produced an original body of work, both paintings and poetry. As her father valuably mentions in Killigrew’s posthumous poetry-book of 1686, her desk contained many manuscripts ~ some in her own hand, others unattributed. After her sad and sudden death in 1685 from smallpox, her father collected those writings and left them at the busy bookshop of Samuel Lowndes, in The Strand. With the father’s specifications, Lowndes and his trade associates ‘manufactured’ an elegant memorial for a beloved young poet, fatally interrupted. In due course, that book would take on a life of its own; but for some time, the small quarto was overlooked (a few poems were anthologized, Poems by Eminent Ladies, 1755). In 1967, the book was saved from relative obscurity by Richard E. Morton. (A curious afterlife for so ‘famous’ a poet.)

As late as 2016, we still have much to explore about Lady Anne. Did she not, for example, pen an elegy on the death of her own mother, Lady Judith Killigrew (d. 1683)? And how did she get on with her four siblings (do we perhaps see them in her verse and paintings)? Did she have (documentable) interaction with other women painters of her day, such as Mary
Beale and Joan Carlisle, both respected commercial artists? And in view of Killigrew’s expressed admiration for poet Katherine Philips, in “Upon the saying that my Verses were made by another”, did she not maintain a sorority of special women friends? Incidentally, who was the seductive “Eudora”, appearing in two poems, she of the “soft and gentle motions”? Is she associated with Henry Killigrew’s Pallantus and Eudora (1653)? Did Anne’s circle of women friends possibly include actresses and dancers? And to what extent was this strongly woman-identified and twenty-five-year-old virgin active in lesbian circles? And, then, what of the Killigrew-Coleraine connection, its character and origin (Images 4, 5)? Finally, in view of the prominence of Killigrews on the London theatre circuit, might Anne have dabbled in play-writing? Was she often seen at the playhouse? We regret that Killigrew’s three recent editors have not wrangled with these matters. It is often said that all one truly needs to know about an author exists in the author’s work; but in this case, anyone writing on Lady Anne is not entirely sure-footed: the terrain remains unsteady.

Lady Anne’s Poetry-Book of 1686

Samuel Lowndes at the Exeter Exchange produced a lovely memorial poetry-book for the grieving Killigrews. He did this for them, he also did this for history. Lowndes was not only the first publisher of Anne’s collected verse, he was also Anne Killigrew’s first editor and commercial advocate. A decorative quarto volume, bound in the new Cambridge panel style with gilt spine lettering and handsome page designs and typography, the posthumous Killigrew was beautifully designed, though not without a few hasty production errors listed in the book’s errata slip included in some copies (see display image, [page 1]; also Image 4). And it was an attractively readable volume, offering London book-buyers of the 1680s a rich variety of verses in multiple genres and subjects, all penned by an interesting young lady of respected pedigree and reputation. Over 100 pages, the Killigrew offered odes, pastoral dialogues, elegies, lyrics, philosophical verse-essays, Ovidian imitations, panegyrics, a fragment (“Alexandreis”) from an (abandoned) epic poem on the Amazons, and the author’s own epitaph. The poems addressed royals, relatives, friends and literary associates, a few special women in Anne’s private circle, such as the delicious “Eudora”, and even detractors (“Upon the saying that my Verses were Made by Another”), a saucy favorite of modern anthologists and a splendid instance of Killigrew’s best poetic voice. The quality of many of the poems is not particularly high, and most of them were drafted when the poet was in her late teens and early twenties; but even if juvenilia, the range is appealing and the sheer display of youthful wit in so many genres is remarkable.

As for its value in the antiquarian book market, the Killigrew quarto of 1686 has been a favorite among collectors these many centuries, owing to its beauty, the high prestige of the Killigrew name, and its early date, especially for a woman author. With accelerated interest in early women writers in the last century, books such as Killigrew’s have held keen interest. They have created a new demographic of buyers and collectors; valuations have never higher in such material. Consulting transaction records for the Killigrew in Bruce McKinney’s database of sales, auctions, and trade articles (Rare Book Hub / Americana Exchange), we
see considerable appreciation of the book, coinciding with the rise of interest in early women writers. The book was most recently on the market in 2004 and 2008. At Sotheby’s auction of the distinguished Brett-Smith Library (2004), two copies of the *Killigrew* were on offer; the better copy (with author frontis.) brought £1440. A few years later, in 2008, the Frances Mary Richardson Currer copy sold for £2375. (And there are other documentable instances of such appreciation in Killigrew and many other early women writers.) The appeal of Anne’s book in the rarified world of antiquarian book-collecting has held steady, and with the publication (2013) of the third and newest edition of her poetry, edited by Margaret Ezell, all copies of the *Killigrew* gain additional historical luster and commercial value.


It was not until 1967 that the “famous” Anne Killigrew received a new, first-ever modern edition of her own 1686 book. And we are indebted to Richard E. Morton and publisher Harry R. Warfel (Scholars Facsimiles & Reprints, Gainesville, FL., Delmar, NY; cloth editions) for bringing Killigrew to the attention of scholars and literary historians. We are especially grateful to Morton for his first important editorial decision: photographic facsimile over modern (modernized) reprint. In choosing to produce a facsimile edition of Killigrew’s 1686 book, he wisely retained for a modern audience the book’s original ‘look’ (typography, book arts, page design). Morton selected the Turnbull Library copy, Wellington, NZ. (provenance: “Honor Reade her Book / 1688”; also, Philip Bliss); this was an excellent choice owing to the beauty and condition of the copy and its inclusion, on a front blank, of a manuscript poem (51 lines) on the death of Killigrew by “E.E.” (Edmond Elys). In a facsimile edition, the editor’s scholarly apparatus is critical, and Morton did not disappoint. In his introductory essay, he supplies reliable, closely sourced information on Killigrew’s life and writings, with particular attention to the quality of her verse and its stern “evangelical moral tone”. He also includes brief textual notes and his rationale for copy-text selection.

Patricia Hoffmann’s *Killigrew* appeared in 2003 as part of the successful Early Modern Englishwoman series from Ashgate Publishing Ltd (Hants UK; Burlington, VT; cloth editions), general editors Betty S. Travitsky and Anne Lake Prescott. (Ashgate is now under the Routledge imprint, as of 2015.) The Hoffmann *Killigrew* is also a facsimile edition, with copy text selection Folger Library (the Percy Dobell-Lord Coleraine copy). This was a smart choice, owing to Anne Killigrew’s literary connection to Coleraine. Hoffmann’s apparatus includes a responsible introduction, textual notes, and bibliography. While her editorial predecessor, Richard Morton, served as a general guide in a few instances, Hoffmann’s observations on Killigrew’s writing are original and interesting, particularly her emphasis on the poet’s “Englishness”, namely Killigrew’s expressed loyalty to nation, culture, and English literary traditions. This is a tasteful, responsibly assembled facsimile edition.

Of special interest here is the third and newest *Killigrew* (2013) edited by Margaret J.M. Ezell (165 pp; paperback, $27.95) for the popular Other Voice in Early Modern Europe series, editors Margaret L. King, Albert Rabil, Jr., and (English Texts) Elizabeth H. Hageman
(Toronto: Iter Inc. / Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies; paperback editions; Image 1, below). The goal of this recent series is the production of reliable, attractively designed “modern scholarly editions”, affordably priced and in softcover. Ezell, Distinguished Professor of English & Lindsey Chair of Liberal Arts, Texas A&M University, enjoyed an obvious advantage, as the subject of Anne Killigrew, both her corpus of poetry and her paintings, was (relatively) established in scholarly circles by 2013: the core of Killigrew’s work was known and mostly stabilized. Ezell also had the editorial example of two earlier scholars on the task: Morton and Hoffmann. But her clear advantage came with a price and posed loud challenges: we see that she rose to those challenges with confidence and intelligence. Her management of the Killigrew texts for a modern scholarly edition would be a first-ever re-representation of Killigrew’s verse for 21st-century readers, as well as an edition which would ‘perform’ differently, with (ideally) a far broader context on Killigrew if not an energetic reappraisal. The frame for Killigrew was suitably extended in this edition to include fresh attention on Anne Killigrew as Stuart courtier, Anne Killigrew as gifted cross-media talent in the sister-arts of poetry and painting, and Anne Killigrew as a subject of some underappreciated encomia by writers of her century. We observe in the Ezell Killigrew an alert editor working within a special dimension. Let us see what magic she has wrought:

The edition’s Introduction (41pp) is essential reading, especially for students and non-specialists. It places Killigrew in context, within the social, political, and courtier culture of her day. Readers of this introduction, for example, will never again wonder what a Maid-of-Honor at a 17th-century English court actually did. And the information on Killigrew’s family circle and the poet’s ‘painterly life’ will be appreciated by all readers of the edition. The footnotes are helpful, though not as uniformly contextual and satisfying as they could have been, especially for specialists; e.g., Killigrew’s philosophical verse-essay, “An Invective against Gold” (24 lines) bears comparison with other strong poems against greed and materialism by women poets of Killigrew’s time, such as “Wealth’s Power” in the extraordinary ‘Ephelia’ octavo of 1679. Ezell’s representation of Killigrew’s thirty-three poems is attractively arranged, faithfully following the original ordering of the material in Killigrew’s 1686 collection, though for a modern edition we wonder why Ezell did not adopt a more creative and appealing thematic, or generic, organization. Most substantive changes to the original text are justified in the Note on the Text (pp 39-41) and in footnotes; most of these are modernizations of accidentals (brevigraphs, old-style orthography, punctuation). Owing to the edition’s editorial care, most readers will have the faith that editorial changes to the original 1686 do not alter meaning.

The best of the edition, especially for specialists, are the editor’s four appendices: these editorial adjuncts to the book’s body-text are valuable supplements to the edition’s achievement, as they supply reliable context on some busy pens around the extended Killigrew family, as well as the critical reception of Lady Anne Killgrew by readers of her day. The appendices also offer, in some instances (Appendix 2), a new window onto Killigrew’s reading tastes (perhaps, models):

**Appendix I** gives readers selected encomia by a range of writers of varying prestige: John Dryden (his extravagant posthumous tribute, a familiar literary classic), as well as John Chatwin, Edmond Elys, and Edmund Wodehouse.
Appendix 2 serves up “poems by others, printed at the end of Killigrew’s Poems, but not by her … found among her papers”; these three odes, interesting and nicely crafted, merit attention from specialists in attribution studies, the most challenging field of literary research. For what purpose, we wonder, were these poems retained by Killigrew?

Appendix 3 gathers selected poems on the death of Anne Killigrew’s famous aunt, the courtier Anne Killigrew Kirke, who married into the colorful Kirke set, such as Mary ‘Moll’ Kirke, Lady Diana Kirke, and Cpt Percy Kirke who cut a formidable figure in Tangier (and had hoped to do a bit of personal cutting on Lord Mulgrave, but that sex-scandal duel was pre-empted by Charles II).

Appendix 4 is an amusing sampling of bawdy verse (unfit for modest ears!) by Restoration male courtiers, principally the period’s most colorful literary celebrity and libertine: John (Wilmot), Lord Rochester. This offering by the editor is a masterstroke, as the vulgarity of some court verse (see, e.g., Wilson’s classic, Court Satires of the Restoration [Ohio, 1976]) dramatically contrasts with the decorum and moral strain of Killigrew’s literary and personal aesthetic. The rough, misogynistic, even pornographic literary culture within which the white-gloved Lady Anne Killigrew was writing certainly affronted her sensibilities; and (yea!) she could rise up boldly, if needed, as in her response to accusations of plagiarism. But why is Rochester singled out? He surely had skilled compatriots in this sort of poetry (all good writers), notably his boon-companion George (Villiers), Duke of Buckingham.

Finally, readers are offered an anonymous poem (pp. 135-142), in the style of the ‘Julian’ session poems, possibly penned by Buckingham.

The publisher’s Other Voice series is identified in various advertisements and webpages as a collection of responsible “modern scholarly” editions; but some of these editions would benefit from more scholarly rigor and closer textual work (and the publisher should consider engaging consulting textual scholars and book historians on the more challenging projects). For example, in this case, the 2013 Killigrew would have been an even stronger, authoritative product had its editorial methodologies and infrastructure included closer textual work and more engagement with book history. What specialists will find missing in this edition are the following components and considerations (tendered here in a constructive spirit):

(1) A collation formula identifying the interior physical arrangement of the 1686 book (gatherings, leaves, signatures, production errors, etc.); may we suggest: < 4°: π1 [a]–4[b]1 [c]1 B–N4 O2; pp. [20] 1–100 [=98] [2]; one leaf of plates (frontispiece author portrait, lettered). Pages 68-69 misnumbered 60 and 61; pages 72–98 misnumbered 74–100. With final contents leaf and tipped-in errata slip. 28 cm > . (Our appreciation to Erin Blake, Folger Library, for her contribution to this collation.) As noted earlier, the 2013 Killigrew quarto was printed and collated in haste at Lowndes’s popular bookshop. This was a time-sensitive production: the grieving Killigrews felt some urgency, understandably, to get the book on the commercial market as a memorial tribute.

(2) A census of all extant copies of the 1686 Killigrew, institutional locations and, if possible, in private hands, with identification of provenance, as well as important physical marks (inscriptions) in all extant copies; this is foundational work in the assemblage of all responsible scholarly editions; and a survey of this nature supplies critical information to
informed readers, book historians, and textual specialists (see, e.g., the new Archaeology of Reading project; see also, as an early model of such a census, Appendix E, Poems by ‘Ephelia’, ed. Maureen E. Mulvihill [NY, 1992, 1993], pp 243-249, with image of Huth Library bookplate).

(3) Images of the original book. Although this is a modern representation of Killigrew’s 1686 poetry-book, most readers, let us hope, would like to ‘see’ what the book looked like in its original state. With the exception of its cover art, this edition fails to show readers representative pages from the 1686 Killigrew book. Surely, the editor could have included a few images from her edition’s copy-text at the Folger Library, certainly a full view of the book’s handsome title-page and facing frontispiece (see display page, above, [page 1]). Likewise, an image or two of selected (interior) pages, showing modern readers something of 17th-century book design and typography (see Images 5, 6, below). (In a “scholarly” edition, an omission of this magnitude will appear editorially irresponsible to most specialists.)

(4) A more complete Note on the Text (pp 39-41). A serious editorial decision was made in the 2013 Killigrew, but oddly not acknowledged nor discussed in the edition’s critical Note on the Text; namely, the first 18 pages in the 1686 Killigrew, being the book’s front matter, or preliminaries (The Publisher to the Reader, Dryden’s elegiac ode, and Killigrew’s epitaph), are summarily moved to the back of the edition and ‘repurposed’ as Appendix I. We understand, perhaps, why this was done (the new edition opens with explicit focus on the poems), but this alteration to the original structure of the book needed to be mentioned and explained. (Why wasn’t it?)

(5) The canon of Killigrew’s verse merited closer attention in the new edition, with commentary on possible new attributions and deattributions; e.g., the last three poems in the 1686 book raise serious authorship issues. As the publisher Samuel Lowndes tells us, in a note printed on page 84: “These Three following ODES being found among Mrs Killigrew’s Papers, I was willing to Print though none of hers.” This textual and canonical ‘situation’ required dedicated attention from the editor, not merely a brief footnote (p.113, note 179).

(6) Sometimes an editor must think and work creatively. The order of the poems in the 2013 Killigrew is much too conservative for a modern edition (it follows the original sequence in the 1686 edition). A more interesting grouping of the thirty-three verses, by theme or genre, would have been more appealing, especially for students and non-specialists. And had Ezell been reading creatively, the “Cleanor” gaffe (footnote 91, p.73) would not have occurred. (As mentioned, this pastoral pen-name is an anagram for “Colrone”, Killigrew’s literary associate Henry Hare, Baron Coleraine, or “Colrane”, Killigrew’s spelling; see Image 5.)

The book’s backmatter includes a pro forma bibliography, a first-line index of the verse, and a general index. Some readers will notice a few omissions in the bibliography, such as Jean Hagstrum’s classic on literary pictorialism, The Sister Arts (Chicago, 1958); also essential (recent) work by Sir Oliver Millar on London’s master-painters during the Stuart period, especially Van Dyck and Lely. (SIR Peter Lely, as Ezell mentions, was interested in the paintings of both Anne Killigrew and Mary Beale; he evidently permitted them visitor access to his studio, quite a special favor.) Also unlisted in the bibliography is important
commentary on Van Dyck’s intersection with the Killgrews; this subject received dedicated attention in Millar’s glorious catalogue of Van Dyck’s paintings (Yale, 2004; 692 pp; see Killigrew, pp 540-545). Finally, feminist scholars may notice the omission of the most extensive online source for women writers: The Orlando Project, compiled by Isobel Grundy and associates. Perhaps Ezell, as Killigrew’s most recent editor, will valuably update the Killigrew entry in Orlando. Finally, several important publications on textual editing might have been included, by G. Thomas Tanselle, David C. Greetham, W. Speed Hill, Michael Hunter, David L. Vander Meulen, et al. (see Image 8, below).

The delight of the new Killigrew, for some readers, is its inclusion of Killigrew’s ambitious painting, now at the Falmouth Art Gallery, Cornwall, Venus attired by the Graces (see Image 7, below); this is the only image in the entire edition, oddly. The Killigrew Venus is a generic mythological painting, in the style of (mostly) Poussin, with some bold mannerist touches (the elongated body of Venus). What might have been emphasized by Ezell is her poet’s versatility in the Venus, especially at a time when ‘face-painting’ (portraiture) was the dominant genre. Lady Anne stepped outside of that frame to engage with other subjects and non-English styles and techniques. We again see Anne Killigrew’s character and individuality when she displays herself, in her self-portrait (see Image 3, below), wisely selected as cover art for this new edition. We regret that Ezell did not explain the relative uniqueness of the Killigrew frontispiece, compared against other frontispieces in books by 17th-century English women writers, especially the extraordinary frontises of Margaret Cavendish, Katherine Philips, and ‘Ephelia.’ (How differently they work from the Killigrew.)

We are indebted to Margaret Ezell and the Other Voice series editors for the 2013 Killigrew. This new edition will be a welcome addition to all serious readers of 17th-century English poetry; and it is likely to be an affordable favorite in literary survey courses and perhaps some graduate seminars. But its primary audience will be students and non-specialists; scholars, especially book historians and textual specialists, will be surprised by the omissions mentioned above. Yet the edition’s principal strength is the fresh attention it brings to Anne Killigrew and now the implication that an authoritative Killigrew should be forthcoming from the scholarly community. After three editions, this seems perfectly in order and the logical next step in work on this poet. An authoritative edition, managed by a dedicated team of specialists (textual studies, book history, visual arts) would affirm and validate the poet’s ‘curious’ fame; and, perhaps, with continuing research on her family and circle, such an edition could respond to the many questions raised in this essay. With three editions now behind her, Lady Anne Killigrew has a promising future in the current century: an authoritative Killigrew edition, in due course, is what she finally deserves. (Now to find that team!)

A Gallery of Images follows.
(1) Margaret Ezell’s edition (2013) of Anne Killigrew’s *Poems* (1686)

Cover design, Maureen Morin, University of Toronto Libraries. Ezell’s is the third edition of Killigrew in recent years, following Richard E. Morton’s *Killigrew* (Scholars’ Facsimiles & Reprints, 1967) and Patricia Hoffmann’s *Killigrew* (Ashgate, 2003). The Morton and the Hoffmann *Killigrew* are facsimile editions, retaining the book’s original ‘look’ and design.
Presently held by Philip Mould & Co., London. Asking price, £95,000. Oil on canvas, carved wood frame. 48 1/8” x 38 5/8” (122.3 cm x 98 cm). To be included in the forthcoming catalogue raisonné of Lely’s work, compiled by Catharine MacLeod and Diana Dethloff. The sitter, a gifted poet and painter, is depicted in the act of painting, holding a porte-crayon and small portrait, possibly based on the drawing on the nearby table. For provenance and particulars, see Mould’s sale ad <here>. Photo © Philip Mould Ltd., London / Permission, Bridgeman Images, London. Of related interest, see Helen Draper on Mary Beale’s ‘paynting room’, Courtauld Institute of Art <here>. This recent information post-dates Margaret Ezell’s 2013 edition of Killigrew’s verse.
Gifted in the ‘sister-arts of poësie and painting,’ Lady Anne Killigrew (1660-1685) left to history this engaging image of herself, selected (evidently) by family as frontispiece to her posthumous poetry-book of 1686 (or did the poet herself suggest it?). Compared to Sir Peter’s Lely’s glamorous Killigrew (Image 2, above) and Lely’s portrait series of court ladies, his Windsor Beauties (1660s), Lady Anne’s self-representation (above) is decidedly unglamorous and naturalistic. Her direct gaze captures the viewer: it is nearly a challenge. According to Sotheby’s (scroll down to Catalogue Note), the original painting is in the possession of the Trustees of the will of the Eighth Earl of Berkeley.
(4) Poems by Anne Killigrew (1686), Coleraine-Dobell copy, Folger Library

Image above: View of spine and boards. Handsome Cambridge Panel binding, 5 raised bands, full calf skin binding with sprinkled (or mottled) decorative panels, decorative motif (gilt) on spine, dark red label with gold lettering: “Mrs KILLIGREW. POEMS”. This style of binding began to emerge around 1690, making the Killigrew an early such instance. Description, courtesy David H. Barry, Griffin Bookbinding, LLC, St Petersburg, FL, and Conservator, Mulvihill Collection; and for spine lettering and spine decoration, we thank Elizabeth DeBold, Folger Library. Detailed collation, courtesy Erin Blake, Folger Library: <4°: π1 [a]–[b]4 [c]1 B–N4 O2; pp. [20] 1–100 [=98] 2; one leaf of plates (frontispiece author portrait, lettered). Pages 68-69 misnumbered 60 and 61; pages 72–98 misnumbered 74–100. With final contents leaf and tipped-in errata slip. 28 cm >. With permission, Folger Shakespeare Library, Shelfmark K422 Cage. Image below: Bookplate (“1702”), Henry (Hare), Baron Coleraine (Folger, Killigrew); image from EEBO.
(5) The Killigrew – Coleraine Connection

As we know from Killigrew’s poetry-book of 1686, she and Lord Coleraine (1636-1708) exchanged verses. **Image left:** Addressing him as “Cleanor” (the poet’s, or possibly the addressee’s, anagram for “Colrane”, a variant, phonetic spelling), Lady Anne records their affectionate literary association in “To My Lord Colrane, In Answer to his Complemental Verses sent me under the Name of CLEANOR” (Killigrew, *Poems*, 1686, 49-50, 34 lines). If he is “Cleanor” in their relationship, what was Anne Killigrew’s pen-name? From Richard E. Morton, *Killigrew* (facsimile edition, 1967; Turnbull Library copy, NZ). **Image right:** Stipple engraving of Coleraine portrait, artist unlocated, early 19thC, 141 mm x 99 mm. National Portrait Gallery, London. NPG D29456. With permission, 27th September 2016 (academic license, Rights and Images, NPG).
The Loss of Original Book Arts in Modern Editions

Comparing printed presentations of Killigrew’s “Epitaph” (opening section). **Image left:** As printed in Killigrew’s 1686 *Poems*, with distinctive typographical effects, text formatting, and page design. **Image right:** As printed in Ezell’s 2013 *Killigrew*, page 104. While today’s students and non-specialists may find modern editions more readable, modernized treatments of older books do not retain the surface texture and beauty of the original text; typographical power and typeface selection, as well as page design, are utterly lost. Facsimile editions of early books, valued by Book Historians, retain these critical features. English poets and printers of the second half of the 17th century, wrote scholar Margaret Doody, “marked their stresses emphatically, drawing upon all of the resources of typography to make their stress clear on the [printed] page …. We are taught how to read every word, by its appearance on the page, and [we] are educated into looking for its stress and counterpart” (Doody, *The Daring Muse* [Cambridge UP, 1985], 223). See also James Thorpe, “The Aesthetics of Textual Criticism,” *Principles of Textual Criticism* (Huntington Library, 1972).
(7) Venus Attired by the Graces, by Anne Killigrew
(late 1670s-early 1680s), valuably bearing the signature of Anne Killigrew

Oil on canvas, 44” x 37 1/3” (112 cm x 95 cm). Killigrew signature (discernible with magnification), lower right, foreground, on the rock. A youthful Poussin derivative, yet the most achieved of Killigrew’s few surviving paintings. The depiction of Venus is an Italian, mannerist production. Falmouth Art Gallery, Cornwall UK. Formerly held by Philip Mould & Co., London; sold, 2012, £75,000. Photo © Philip Mould Ltd., London. Permission (2016), Bridgeman Images, NY. Provenance and particulars, Mould’s webpage <here>. Presented (unframed) in Ezell’s Killigrew, plate 1. Other paintings by Anne Killigrew, valuably mentioned in her verse, include two depictions of John the Baptist; another, of the goddess Diana’s nymphs. All three, to date, are lost to history, misattributed, or miscatalogued. Killigrew’s interest in the Baptist as a pictorial subject may have been inspired by contemporary depictions of other beheaded Biblical figures, such as Holofernes (Book of Judith), whose violent, gory death was painted by Caravaggio (d. 1610) and Artemisia Gentileschi (d. 1656). Artemisia, with her father, painter Orazio Gentileschi, was resident at the Stuart court c1638-1642. We imagine Lady Anne’s two (unlocated) depictions of the Baptist were less grisly and spectacular. Lady Anne had a personal connection to John the Baptist, as her mother was buried (1683) in the Baptist’s chapel, the Royal Savoy. Lady Anne would also rest there, 1685.

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This essay is dedicated to
Richard E. Morton,
one of Anne Killigrew’s earliest advocates
and my generous host, McMaster University, 1988
A Note On The Author

Maureen E. Mulvihill (Princeton Research Forum, Princeton, NJ; formerly, Associate Fellow, Institute for Research in History, NYC) is an established literary specialist and rare book collector. She studied at Wisconsin (PhD, 1982), with post-doctoral work at Columbia University Rare Book School, Yale Center for British Art, and (as NEH Fellow) Johns Hopkins University. She is profiled in the autumn 2016 issue of Fine Books & Collections magazine. Recent writing: “Old Books / New Editions”; Shaking Hands with Jonathan Swift?; The Painted Closet of Lady Anne Bacon Drury; Rare Emblem-Books; Margaret Cavendish Portfolio (2013); Bloody Sunday (1972, 2002). Book credits, to date: Poems by ‘Ephelia’ (NY, 1992, 1993); Thumbprints of ‘Ephelia’ (Pa., 2001; a multimedia monograph); ‘Ephelia’ (Ashgate, 2003); Poems by Mary Shackleton Leadbeater (Alexander Street Press, 2008); and, as Advisory Editor, Ireland And The Americas, 3 vols (ABC-Clio, 2008). Her essays, to date, in the Irish Literary Supplement (1996-) discuss the Dublin book trade, Jonathan Swift, Thomas Sheridan, Mary Tighe, Oscar Wilde, and Irish anthologies. Her essays on 17thC visual arts (Rubens, Veronese, Van Dyck) appear in Seventeenth-Century News. She was Vice President, Florida Bibliophile Society, 2012-2015. Dr Mulvihill will be a guest speaker, Selby Library, Sarasota, FL, April 2017. She is at work on Irishwomen’s political writings, c1660-1801. The conservator of the Mulvihill Collection is a respected bookman trained in Wales: David H. Barry, Griffin Bookbinding, LLC, St Petersburg, FL.