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Women Write the Past: Medieval Scholarship, Old English and New Literature

Clare A. Lees

This article explores the contributions of women scholars, writers and artists to our understanding of the medieval past: its history, literature and culture as well as its creative use in the modern and contemporary present. It is inspired by the work of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies (1984-2016) and by the annual Toller Lecture that the Centre supported.¹ Thomas Northcote Toller (1844-1930), best known for his revision of and supplements to Joseph Bosworth's *Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language*, gave his inaugural lecture as Smith Professor of English Language on Old English poetry in Manchester in 1880.² One particular Old English poem, *The Wife's Lament*, and its close reworking by modern poet, Eavan Boland, first published in 2011 and again in 2014, forms the basis of the final section of this article as a measure of the interest of contemporary poetry in Old English literature.³

Studying the medieval centuries is closely bound up with the places and institutions where that scholarship is conducted, and the history of the Toller Lectures is closely entwined with that of their host, the John Rylands Library.⁴ Accordingly, the middle section of this article takes up the friendship of the founder of the John Rylands Library, Enriqueta Rylands (1843-1908), with Manchester medieval historian, Alice Margaret Cooke (1867-1940). Manchester scholars and patrons such as Rylands and Cooke are connected to the wider circle of medieval women scholars and suffragists – including medieval historian

Mary Bateson (1865-1906) – working either side of 1900. The *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* was itself founded during these years, in 1903.

The network of medieval women scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries who can be associated with Manchester is one dimension of a broader history of women’s contributions to the study of the past.⁵ Examining the engagement of contemporary poets such as Eavan Boland with Old English poetry, as well as the scholarship and work of women like Cooke and Bateson, Helen Waddell and Eileen Power, and the worlds in which they lived, indicates how women’s writing of the past – creative, public, scholarly – forms one strand of the archive of women’s history that is still being put together. A contemporary artist’s book by Liz Mathews that uses a few lines of one of Boethius’s Latin lyrics from the *Consolation of Philosophy* as translated by Helen Waddell (1889-1965) makes the point.⁶ Helen Waddell is one of the best-known public medievalists of the twentieth century – another would be her contemporary, Eileen Power (1889-1940), who died in the same year as Alice Margaret Cooke. Women’s creative work and poetry, just like women’s work as historians and literary scholars, this article argues, are important dimensions of the study of the early medieval period and its reception.

1. ‘The flowering year’, by Liz Mathews, or, Medieval Scholars and Contemporary Creative Practice

In a conscious allusion to medieval book production, Liz Mathews describes ‘The flowering year’ (2010), 18 x 23 x 2cms, a modern artist’s book, as one of her contemporary illuminated manuscripts. **[Illustration 1]** The book illuminates a

few lines of one of Boethius's lyrics in the *Consolatio philosophiae* (Book IV, chapter 6) as translated by Helen Waddell in *More Latin Lyrics*. Waddell had begun work on this second collection of Latin Lyrics in 1938; it was published posthumously in 1976 (her first collection was *Mediaeval Latin Lyrics* of 1929).⁷ Four lines of the Latin poem are included in the credits on the back cover of Mathew's modern reworking of this late antique Boethian lyric. **[Illustration 2]**

Liz Mathews studied art history as a student. Waddell's *More Latin Lyrics* came to her via family connections rather than her formal education – her copy was previously owned by the Scottish biographer and historian, Caroline Bingham, her mother-in-law.⁸ The family connections illustrate the many ways that artists and writers might access the resources of the medieval centuries for their work. Indeed, a surprising number of modern and contemporary artists – Caroline Bergvall, Michael Landy and Elizabeth Price included – work with medieval materials in their practice.⁹ A lettering artist and studio potter, Mathews often uses – 'sets' is her phrase – women's writing, although not exclusively as 'The flowering year' demonstrates. Her *Dunkirk Project*, an online installation begun in 2009, sets accounts by Virginia Woolf (from *The Waves* and her diary) and by the lesser-known war poet, B. G. Bonallack (1907-2003) alongside other eye-witness stories and accounts of Dunkirk in 1940.¹⁰ Another iteration of *The Dunkirk Project* is the monumental free-standing book (one metre high and seventeen metres long, open) entitled *Thames to Dunkirk* (2009), which is now in the British Library. *Thames to Dunkirk* was the largest exhibit in the British Library's 'Writing Britain' exhibition of 2012.

Like Virginia Woolf – another important figure in this article – Helen Waddell's writerly mind was very much on the war in the late 1930s and early

1940s. Her preface to *More Latin Lyrics* makes the connection explicit, drawing parallels between the turmoil of the early medieval period and the modern European crisis in the examples of Boethius's imprisonment in Pavia in the sixth century when he wrote the *Consolatio philosophiae*, and the Viking raids in Northumbria in the eighth, memorialized in Alcuin's 'De clade Lindisfarnensis monasterii' (translated by Waddell as 'On the Killing at Lindisfarne').¹¹ In her W. P. Ker Memorial Lecture of 1947, *Poetry in the Dark Ages*, which refers to one of Ker's most famous books, *The Dark Ages* (1904), Waddell returned to similar themes, associating early medieval Rome and its Troy story with London – a new Troy – in the war years.¹² Boethius, she also noted, looking back on her first encounter with the *Consolatio*, read very differently in the early 1920s than it had in 1938.¹³

The 1930s and early 1940s were important for medieval studies and women's scholarship more generally. *The Book of Margery Kempe* was first identified in 1934 by Hope Emily Allen and its publication in 1940 had much to do with the efforts of Mabel Day, for example. Kempe was, to quote David Wallace 'huge' in this period, and the discovery of her *Book* merited far greater public comment than the discovery of the Sutton Hoo ship burial in 1939, thereafter associated with *Beowulf*.¹⁴ For Waddell, however much medieval poetry was a product of a 'dark ages', it also offered consolation in later, equally dark times of crisis and war. *Poetry in the Dark Ages* was Waddell's last published work; she died after a long and debilitating illness in 1965.

Helen Waddell was a remarkable champion of medieval Latin poetry in the twentieth century and one of that century's enduring public medievalists.¹⁵ Another was her exact contemporary, the historian Eileen Power (1889-1940).¹⁶

In their work, Waddell and Power encouraged new audiences to be interested in the medieval past. Although their academic training, disciplines and writerly styles were very different, both were active in the public sphere, committed to writing accessible history, social, cultural, transnational and literary in its focus. Both lived in London and moved in its various circles, although they were not closely connected. Virginia Woolf and Power knew one another as acquaintances, however, and Woolf was an admirer of Waddell.¹⁷ Power's *Medieval English Nunneries* was first published in 1922 and the hugely successful *Medieval People* followed in 1924.¹⁸ A few years later, Power praised Waddell's *The Wandering Scholars* (1927, republished three times in its first year) as the work of a scholar-poet.¹⁹ Waddell's *Medieval Latin Lyrics* (1929), the commercially successful novel, *Peter Abelard* (1933), the translations of *Beasts and Saints* (1934) and *The Desert Fathers* (1936) soon followed.²⁰ Waddell's conceptualisation of the Middle Ages was as informed by British Romanticism as it was by her religious knowledge. She was creative in the application of her scholarly knowledge and research, and vulnerable to criticism because of this.²¹ Her doctoral research, begun in 1920 at Somerville College, Oxford, would eventually become *The Wandering Scholars*. After a few years of temporary lecturing, however, it was clear that she would not secure an academic post – these were challenging years for women scholars – and so she continued her work as writer and editor, working on a wide range of literary projects.²²

Power's position as economic historian and later professor at the London School of Economics, by contrast, was the backbone of her career and she was supported the development of women's history and women historians from within the academy. An innovative and popular academic historian, as Maxine

Berg's pioneering biography notes, Power was committed to feminism, pacifism and internationalism. Although her doctoral research on medieval women was never published, her lectures on the subject (which often use medieval literature as examples) were collected posthumously as *Medieval Women* in 1975.²³ Both Power and Waddell were held in considerable public esteem. Waddell was honoured by the Royal Society of Literature, the Royal Irish Academy and the Medieval Academy of America, for example, yet she was not elected to the Fellowship of the British Academy. Nor was Power, whose career was curtailed by her unexpected death at the age of fifty-one, although she too was made a corresponding Fellow of the Medieval Academy of America.²⁴

Liz Mathews's 'The flowering year', with its use of Waddell's translation of Boethius, engages the medieval scholar on several levels. The book re-writes, quite literally, sixth-century Latin poetry as contemporary art, adapting and illuminating both past and present as a consequence. This is a multi-dimensional artwork, residing on no single temporal, sculptural, readerly or even linguistic plane. It can be read as a book **[Illustration 1]**, unfolded to show its four seasonal pages **[Illustration 3]** or displayed as a single illuminated page **[Illustration 4]**. It draws on poetry from a late classical text, perhaps *the* late classical text that reverberates throughout the Middle Ages in one way or another from the Anglo-Saxon period on, but it also consciously uses Waddell's translation.²⁵ 'The flowering year' offers an insight not only into how women write the past, therefore. In its connections with other women writers and scholars, it also demonstrates the multi-dimensional, multi-disciplinary and cross-temporal character of creative practice. Liz Mathews in the twenty-first

century and Helen Waddell in the twentieth were both engaged on making new work from old texts.

2. The Library, the Patron and the Scholars, or, Enriqueta Rylands, Alice Cooke and Mary Bateson

Helen Waddell's interest in medieval Latin poetry stemmed from her studies at Somerville College, Oxford, where her longstanding friend and medieval historian, Maude Violet Clarke (1892-1935), was a tutor in History.²⁶ The women had been undergraduates together at Queen's University, Belfast: Clarke graduated in History in 1913; Waddell in English in 1911, with her MA on Milton following in 1912. Clarke was appointed to Somerville in 1919 and Waddell, already a published writer, registered for a research degree there in 1920, having had her educational career interrupted by ten years of care for her stepmother.²⁷ Aside from the evidence of their correspondence, there is also the unpublished short novel with the provisional title of *Discipline* (1915), on which both women collaborated. This explores themes of romance, suffragism and anti-feminism relevant to their lives as students and prophetic of their future careers as scholars and writers.²⁸ Women's education and activism, the development of medieval women writers and scholars, and the support of wider networks of friendship and patrons is also evident in the connections between Enriqueta Rylands and medieval historians, Alice Margaret Cooke and Mary Bateson in the years around 1900.

Enriqueta Augustina Rylands (1843-1908) founded the John Rylands Library in memory of her husband, John (1801-1888), a shrewd businessman

who dominated Manchester's cotton industry in the nineteenth century. She commissioned Basil Champneys (1842-1935) as its architect.²⁹ The eventual design for the Library makes generous reference to two other traditional temples of learning: the church (the Library was initially intended to be theological and Nonconformist) and the university, or rather, the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. Champneys was also the architect for the Nonconformist college of Mansfield College, Oxford (1887-90) and for a series of Arts and Crafts buildings for Newnham College, Cambridge (1875-c.1910), among others.³⁰ Enriqueta Rylands bought the Althorp library or Spencer Collection – one of the Library's core collections – from the fifth Earl Spencer in 1892, and is said to have engaged the medieval historian, local Manchester woman and friend, Alice Margaret Cooke (1867-1940) as a cataloguer (although Cooke is not acknowledged in the first printed catalogue by E. Gordon Duff).³¹ Cooke was certainly thinking of applying for the post of Librarian in 1900, the year the John Rylands Library formally opened: it had been inaugurated on 6th October 1899, the wedding anniversary of Enriqueta Tennant and John Rylands.³²

The John Rylands Library quickly found its place alongside other examples of civic medievalism in Manchester, as David Matthews has recently reminded us.³³ Its most notable articulation remains the great neo-Gothic building that is Manchester Town Hall, designed by Alfred Waterhouse and completed in 1877; its twelve 'Manchester Murals' in the Great Hall by Ford Madox Brown include four on medieval subjects linked, somewhat tenuously, to Manchester. Two are early medieval: the seventh-century 'Baptism of Edwin of Northumbria' (known to us from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*) and the slightly later and more fanciful 'Expulsion of the Danes'. The

Murals formed the basis of the historical pageant staged by the City during Civic Week in 1926, evidence of their place in Manchester civic life and memory in the twentieth century.³⁴

Manchester also claims the oldest surviving public library. Chetham's Library was established in 1653 and is still housed in its earlier fifteenth-century College building. The City opened its first Free Library in 1852, although Central Library had to wait until the 1930s for its classically-inflected (and recently restored) temple or rather pantheon of learning.³⁵ The city has a long tradition of civic education spanning the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: indeed, Central Library is where I sometimes did my revision as a schoolgirl. Manchester High School for Girls was founded in 1874, and the daughters of Emmeline Pankhurst – Adela, Christabel and Sylvia – attended the school in the 1890s, the same decade that Enriqueta Rylands was intent on establishing her Library. The history of the network of women scholars and feminists associated with the school is not widely known, however.³⁶

In fact, it is the career of Manchester medieval historian, Alice Margaret Cooke, that links the Pankhursts at one end of the political spectrum and Enriqueta Rylands at the other with the education of women, and Manchester High School for Girls in particular. Cooke had also attended the school (although in 1883-7, the decade before the Pankhurst sisters). She went on to study History at Owens College (incorporated into the Victoria University of Manchester in 1903), which had been open to women from 1883. Awarded a First in 1890, Cooke was the first woman to study for the MA at Owens College and the first woman appointed to an assistant lectureship there, working with Professor of History and medieval scholar, Thomas Frederick Tout (1855-1929).

Tout, a distinguished Manchester medievalist, is widely known for his archival research into medieval administration, for example, not to mention his contributions to the *Dictionary of National Biography* and the *English Historical Review*. Appointed to the Chair of History at Owens College in 1890, Tout also served on the governing board of Manchester High School for Girls.³⁷ While tutoring and lecturing in Manchester, Cooke worked for women's suffrage, founded a women's union at the College and co-founded the women's hall of residence, Ashburne, among other things. Developing an expertise in monastic history (particularly the twelfth century and the Cistercians), Cooke became lecturer and Head of History at Aberdare Hall, another women's hall, at the University of South Wales and Monmouthshire (1901-3), and later worked as a cataloguer of Lord Acton's library for Cambridge University Library. At Cambridge (1903-7), she also taught history occasionally at Newnham (one of the colleges designed by architect Basil Champneys) before taking up a lectureship in History at Leeds University in 1907; she was appointed Reader there in 1919. She returned to Newnham in the 1920s as Director of Studies but came home to Manchester for her final years.³⁸

Alice Margaret Cooke's career is characterized by an interest in the medieval archives, which she shared with Tout, and by her commitment to women's education and suffrage. The mix of medieval archive fever, women's rights, education and patronage cultivated by a Manchester society noted for its civic pride in neo-Gothic architecture, its libraries and schools, brings me to another medieval historian of the period, Mary Bateson (1865-1906).³⁹ Some of Bateson's papers are housed in the John Rylands Library (the University of Manchester Special Collections), like those of Tout and Cooke.

Mary Bateson spent most of her short though impressive career at Newnham College, Cambridge, where a Fellowship is still endowed in her name. Like Alice Margaret Cooke, Bateson specialized in medieval history and she was also an active suffragist and promoter of women's education. Bateson's scholarship is distinguished by its breadth, depth and industry, of which her many contributions to the *English Historical Review* provide remarkable evidence. Interested in the recovery, editing and interpretation of the records of medieval life (institutional, monastic, legal, customary, urban or even on occasion, literary), she also wrote a social history of medieval England for the wider public. Her early medieval scholarship includes the *editio princeps* of Ælfric's Latin *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* (1892), whose importance is acknowledged by the Letter's most recent editor, Christopher A. Jones, and a hugely influential account of the origin of the double monasteries (1899), although she is arguably better known among medieval historians for her studies on the laws of Bréteuil.⁴⁰

For medieval feminists, Mary Bateson is a founding figure of what would later become the history of medieval women. For Anglo-Saxonists, Bateson stands at the beginning of our understanding of the early medieval double monasteries, and her work is key to the career of one of the most important figures of the period, Ælfric. Bateson's scholarship has long been known to many in the field: to use my own work as an example, I first came across Bateson's work as a doctoral student and noted briefly her importance to women's scholarship in an article on Old English and feminism in 1997.⁴¹ Mary Dockray-Miller's entry on Bateson in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography followed in 2004, a summary of her longer article in Jane Chance's *Women*

Medievalists and the Academy of 2005.⁴² This recognition of Bateson's life, scholarship and activism is an important contribution to the history of women who have studied, and written, the past.

What other kinds of recognition and acknowledgement are evident in Bateson's short lifetime, however, in those heady years either side of 1900s? It was during this period when the young Virginia Woolf also saw the potential of medieval scholarship. Her short story, 'The Journal of Mistress Joan Martyn', was written in 1906 – the same year that Bateson died – and features the fictional historian, Rosamond Merridew, expert in medieval land tenure, whose search for manorial records leads her to those of the fifteenth-century journal of Joan Martyn at the family home in Norfolk. The story contrasts (somewhat unflatteringly) the professional busyness of the medieval scholar, Merridew, with the more vivid day-to-day concerns and worries of her fifteenth-century domestic counterpart, Joan.⁴³ Which medieval scholar was on Woolf's mind? Others have noted the prescience with which Woolf seems to have anticipated the career of later women medievalists such as Eileen Power, but also point to also her family relationship with the great medieval historian, who died in 1906, Frederic Maitland (1850-1906).⁴⁴ Maitland was also central to Mary Bateson's career at Cambridge – she edited *The Charters of the Borough of Cambridge* (1901) with him, for example.⁴⁵ There are grounds, then, for suggesting that Woolf's female scholar may be, in part, a sending up of Maitland. It is worth noting too, however, the parallels between Bateson's career and Rosamond Merridew's. Be that as it may, the story's real interest resides, perhaps, in its evidence for Woolf's early creative engagement with the history of medieval

women, which imaginatively enabled medieval women to speak back to those modern medieval scholars who might otherwise speak for them.⁴⁶

The dialogue between past and present is also illustrated by the parallel careers of our two medieval historians, Alice Margaret Cooke and Mary Bateson. They both worked in Cambridge and occasionally taught at Newnham College in the early 1900s. They certainly knew one another. Both had research interests in medieval religious history, both published in the same journals and knew the same colleagues – at Cambridge, F. W. Maitland among others, and at Manchester, Tout and James Tait (1863-1944), professor of ancient and medieval history and another celebrated member of the so-called ‘Manchester History School’.⁴⁷ Both worked for women’s suffrage and education. In 1905, the year before she died, Bateson gave the Warburton Lectures in Manchester and may have been thinking of giving one of them on ‘the medieval lady’.⁴⁸ She knew and corresponded with Tout as well as Tait. She also knew Tout’s wife and former student, Mary (née Johnstone), who was herself another activist for university women’s education and rights. Mary Tout was also a former pupil of Manchester High School for Girls, like Alice Margaret Cooke, and went on to study History at Owens College in the 1890s, again like Cooke.⁴⁹ In such ways are the origins of disciplines forged from the networks and friendships of scholars, writers and activists and their engagement with the lives of medieval women.

3. Eavan Boland, ‘The Wife’s Lament’, 2011 and 2014, or, Coming Home

Helen Waddell was fascinated by medieval Latin literature; the lyric and the elegy in particular. She steered clear of vernacular poetry in which she claimed

no expertise, however happy she was to quote the Old English poem, 'Deor', in translation.⁵⁰ As we have seen, she gave pride of place to Boethius and his meters. Ker's *Dark Ages*, to which Waddell's *Poetry of the Dark Ages* refers, similarly begins with this late antique, early medieval writer, but Ker also pays attention to Old English vernacular poetry, noting in particular the literary quality of the early English elegies. Ker's examples are the Old English poems, 'The Seafarer' and 'The Wanderer'; he does not mention another poem now usually included in this group of short lyric poems from the mid to late tenth-century Exeter Book manuscript, 'The Wife's Lament'.⁵¹ To an earlier generation of scholars – and brothers – the Conybeares in 1826 this poem, known then as 'The Exile's Complaint', had been an important vernacular example of the elegiac style Boethius had achieved in his Latin meters.⁵² The poem goes with the same title in the first edition of the Exeter Book poetry, by Bernard Thorpe in 1842.⁵³ As is well known now, these early editors and translators were not aware that the use of the feminine inflexions in the poem's first two lines indicate that its speaker was a woman.

For several generations of feminist critics, however, 'The Wife's Lament', has stood as one example among very few of a woman-centred, woman-voiced, possibly woman-authored poem in Old English (the other is 'Wulf and Eadwacer').⁵⁴ The poem belongs to an early medieval vernacular textual tradition that did not acknowledge authorship, and a genre – that of the so-called elegies – otherwise dominated by the male voices of 'The Wanderer' and 'The Seafarer'. Accordingly, this by-now canonical poem is the ubiquitous example of women's voices and writings in the early medieval period.

Feminist critics have been rethinking how to interpret the written, textual evidence of the Anglo-Saxon period for many years, of course, but modern and contemporary translations and re-workings of Old English poems offer a different literary genealogy: that of the history of the relationship between medieval and modern British poetry. Earlier translators of 'The Exile's Complaint', as it was then known, associated the poem with the genre of elegy, 'complaint' and Boethian meters, as well as with an assumed male voice, as we have seen; a stance playfully revisited by David Clark in his study of Old English male friendship, *Between Medieval Men* (2009).⁵⁵ Modern translations of 'The Wife's Lament' by women, however, open the poem up to the possibility of different literary histories.⁵⁶

'The Wife's Lament' by Eavan Boland was first published in the groundbreaking anthology of Old English poems in modern English-language versions, *The Word Exchange: Anglo-Saxon Poems in Translation*, edited by Greg Delanty and Michael Matto (2011). It was then reprinted in Boland's most recent collection, *A Woman Without a Country* (2014).⁵⁷ In 2011, *The Word Exchange* was the most prominent (though by no means the only) example of how Old English poetry might be translated for a new audience – or find a new home – in contemporary poetry.⁵⁸ In 2014, Boland tackled head-on the question of the 'homes' of women, of women writers and of women's poetry, familiar themes for this Irish poet.

A Woman Without a Country has at its heart a collection of historically informed elegies, many of which are about women in exile, homeless and without their own histories. Boland (1944-) is an Irish poet, who writes in English, living part of her life in America and the other in Ireland. We might think

of her as a contemporary ‘wandering scholar’, to paraphrase Waddell. Her poems often find themselves in conversation with earlier women, poets included, and her sense of the complexity of such trans-historical relationships is well expressed by the final poem of *A Woman Without a Country*, ‘Becoming Anne Bradstreet’, in which we follow ‘An Irish poet watching an English woman / Become an American poet’.⁵⁹ Part of the complexity here is that of forms of belonging in a transnational world, and all the questions of history and nationhood that these vexed terms introduce. But part of this belonging is rooted in a literary genealogy of women’s writing, as ‘Becoming Anne Bradstreet’ suggests. We might, in sum, compare the histories of homelessness, migration and exile so important to Boland with the early medieval traditions of exile and the loss of place, family and friends so evident in the Old English ‘The Wife’s Lament’.

Indeed, Boland’s version of ‘The Wife’s Lament’, 2014, emphatically resonates with the hard and bitter loss expressed by the Old English poem, ‘now that exile / has fallen on me with all its pain’, as Boland puts it; contrast the Old English, ‘A ic wite wonn minra wræcsiþa’ (‘Always I suffer the torment of my exile’, line 5). Boland’s ‘wife’ is also explicitly a refugee, ‘[t]hen at once / I started out on my journey, / Little more than a refugee’; contrast the Old English poem’s use of ‘wræcca’ (‘exile’, line 10).⁶⁰ The Old English poem in Boland’s 2014 translation becomes an echo-chamber in which modern and contemporary stories of migrants, exiles and refugees reverberate with those of a more distant, early medieval past.⁶¹

There are other ways in which Boland’s ‘The Wife’s Lament’, 2014, offers a different iteration of the poem to that included in the 2011 anthology, *The*

Word Exchange. For one thing, the publication of Boland's translation in the 2014 collection unmoors it from the Old English poem – *The Word Exchange* offers facing page translations, keeping the Old English visible. Yet *A Woman Without a Country* demonstrates elsewhere an interest in the early medieval period: the poem, 'The Trials of Our Faith', for example, refers to a thousand-year old psalter.⁶² For another, rather than offer a modern imitation of Old English alliterative verse, Boland writes in octosyllabic lines, often in rhyming couplets. Boland calls her version a 'translation' (as it is subtitled in the 2014 edition), but it is really a re-working of the Old English poem in her lyric idiom. As a result of such changes in context and style, the Old English poem known once as 'The Exile's Complaint' and now as 'The Wife's Lament', with its dynamics of loss, exile and love, finds in 2014 a new literary home in the modern poet's work.

Boland's title for her 2014 collection, *A Woman Without a Country*, is taken from Virginia Woolf's essay of 1938, *Three Guineas*: '[t]he outsider will say, "in fact, as a woman, I have no country"'.⁶³ Woolf had some limited knowledge of Anglo-Saxon history, but there is little evidence of any interest in or knowledge of Old English – her sense of English literary history largely begins with the later Middle Ages. But Woolf was interested in women's exile from literature and history and their status as outsiders. One example, already discussed, is her short story of 1906, 'The Journal of Mistress Joan Martyn', with its medieval historian, Rosamund Merridew. Then there are the better-known essays, *A Room of One's Own* (1929) and *Three Guineas* (1938), with their inquiries into women's rights, education and forms of belonging.⁶⁴ Boland too explores the dual legacy of being a woman and being a writer, and of finding cultural narratives that connect women writers in the past with those of the present.

Exile – in the sense of not having a home, a place or a story – is one of her tropes as well. Boland has also explored the challenges of understanding medieval women poets who wrote in Latin, such as the tenth-century poet, writer and dramatist, Hrotsvit of Gendersheim, and has translated the later medieval Latin lyric, 'Foebus abierat'.⁶⁵ Boland's efforts to develop a genealogy or kinship with medieval poetry and its women writers provides a very different grounding for a history of early medieval women's writing than that more familiarly based on its slender evidence, limited influence and linguistic difficulty.⁶⁶

Boland's 2014 reprinting of her 2011 translation of the anonymously-authored tenth-century poem, 'The Wife's Lament', in *A Woman Without a Country* therefore offers the possibility of a shared literary tradition, inaugurating a new episode in the history of women's writing bringing together women's voices across the temporal and linguistic divide between Old English and contemporary British poetry. This literary tradition has only recently been visible to poets and critics alike as scholarly interest in poetic translations of medieval literature and in women's literary history has developed.

Sharing does not imply simplification or a reduction in complexity, however. Evident in Boland's 2014 version as in the Old English 'Wife's Lament', although differently, is a complicated ambivalence towards home and loss, family and belonging, religion and community. In the Old English poem as in its modern translation, the woman is an exile or refugee. While many admire Boland's work as an Irish poet, she has also been critiqued for buying into and reinforcing a sense of the Irish past as mythic in its loss, and idealizing in its use of the female voice.⁶⁷ There is room to counter this view in Boland's use of an Old English poem and of Woolf in the light of her commitment to women's writing. Put

another way, let's finish that quotation from Woolf: '[t]he outsider will say, in fact, as a woman I have no country. As a woman I want no country. As a woman, my country is the whole world'.⁶⁸ Boland's deployment of the English literary tradition – from medieval to modern – complicates any critical story about her engagement with distinctively Irish writing. For Boland, as for Woolf, we might say, the stakes of literature are its claims on the world.

Indeed, in taking on the oldest woman-centred poem in the English-language literary tradition, Boland is taking on 'the whole world', as Woolf puts it. In the process, she contributes to the history of women's writing, exploring cross-chronological patterns of exile and belonging in lyric form. The Old English 'Wife's Lament' is brought into a dialogue with women's poetry after it because of Boland's translation, and its own themes of exile and belonging are thereby brought into another century's history of violence and migration. Yet, as we have also seen, for Boland poetry is itself a home, trans-historical and transnational, and Old English poetry belongs here too.

And so we return to Virginia Woolf. In 1906, the young Virginia Woolf was so interested in the fever generated by the new professionalism of archival research of the kind that interested both Alice Margaret Cooke and Mary Bateson that she composed 'The Journal of Mistress Joan Martyn'. In 1940, she was anxiously awaiting word of events at Dunkirk, as recorded in her diary and as used in Liz Mathews's 'Thames to Dunkirk'. By then, she also knew of Helen Waddell, who had begun work on 'More Latin Lyrics' in 1938 in response to the build-up to the Second World War, and she moved in the some of the same circles as Eileen Power. Woolf was also at work on what was to be the last of her novels, *Between the Acts* (1941), with its country-house setting reminiscent of

her earlier short story.⁶⁹ *Between the Acts* centres on the activities of a small English village in the summer of 1939 during a single day in the course of which is performed its annual pageant in the grounds of Pointz Hall. The pageant does not begin with the early Middle Ages, unlike the earlier Manchester pageant of Civic Week 1926, based on Ford Maddox Brown's Murals in the Town Hall, although the novel has some fun with Saxons, Vikings and especially St Swithin's Day.⁷⁰ Her pageant opens instead with Chaucer's pilgrims, who never actually leave the scene but become part of its complex imagining of the simultaneity of past and present times.

Between the Acts barely mentions the war, but it is everywhere haunted by it. In 1938, Eileen Power had given a celebrated lecture to the Cambridge History Club on the Fall of Rome that was also a response to the build-up of the Second World War and the Munich crisis.⁷¹ Waddell's writerly response to the events of 1938 was to translate more medieval Latin literature, as we have seen. By 1947, when Waddell gave her W. P. Ker lecture, *Poetry in the Dark Ages*, haunted by her memories of 1938, she drew on a tradition of exile that she traced back to the Aeneid. Indeed, she uses the Aeneid to comment on her own memories of the exiles of war, 'I saw them, the young things gathered up for exile, with their little bags and bundles, at the end of that cloudless, endless September day, when the mothers and babies were herded out of London'.⁷² In 2014, the exile and refugee were again the subjects of 'The Wife's Lament' by Boland, whose awareness of literary history was anchored in Woolf's work, with its own questioning of the forms of belonging possible for women writers – home, country, world?

Not all of women writing the past in this article are linked directly to Manchester. Liz Mathews is based in London. Helen Waddell was born in Japan and raised in Ireland – she considered herself to be an Irish writer – but she published regularly in the *Manchester Guardian* from 1915 on. Eavan Boland, another Irish writer, publishes with Manchester poetry press, Carcanet. Eileen Power was born in Altrincham, although she was raised in the south of England, in Oxford; she was awarded an honorary degree by Manchester in 1933. Enriqueta Rylands was born in Cuba, Mary Bateson in Yorkshire and Boland in Dublin.⁷³ Both Waddell and Power were firm believers in the transnational importance of history: Waddell was deeply influenced by her upbringing in Japan and Power conducted research in China. But like them, those women whose stories begin in or intersect with Manchester’s civic history, such as that of Alice Margaret Cooke (who was born in Hulme), Enriqueta Rylands, founder of the John Rylands Library, and Mary Bateson, whose last public lectures were given in Manchester, remind us of that Woolfian ‘whole world’ in which Manchester’s patrons, suffragettes, school-girls, historians and women medievalists, past and present, have their part to play. Medieval Latin, Old English and medieval history, as its new writings, creative imaginings, public and scholarly histories exemplify, is an aspect of this larger dynamic history of women’s writing in English in the modern and contemporary worlds.

¹ An earlier version of this article was given as the Toller Memorial Lecture, March 7, 2016, on the eve of International Women’s Day.

² Thomas Northcote Toller, *The Oldest English Poetry: A Lecture Delivered in the Owens College at the Opening of the Session 1880-1881* (Manchester: T. Sowler and Co., [1881?]).

³ ‘The Wife’s Lament’, *The Exeter Book*, eds. George Philip Krapp and Elliott van Kirk Dobbie, *Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records III* (New York: Columbia, 1936), pp. 210-12; ‘The Wife’s Lament’, trans. Eavan Boland, *The Word Exchange: Anglo-Saxon Poems in Translation*, eds. Greg Delanty and Michael Matto (New York: Norton, 2011), pp.40-5; Boland, *A Woman Without a Country* (Manchester: Carcanet, 2014), pp. 51-2.

⁴ As noted by Donald Scragg in his ‘Introduction: The Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies’, *Textual and Material Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Thomas Northcote Toller and the Toller Memorial Lectures*, ed. Scragg (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), pp. xv-xx.

⁵ There is more research to be done on women’s contributions to medieval scholarship but see Jane Chance, ed. *Women Medievalists in the Academy* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005).

⁶ For ‘The flowering year’ see <https://daughtersofearth.wordpress.com/watermarks-bookworks/>. See also Helen Waddell, *More Latin Lyrics, from Virgil to Milton*, ed. D. Felicitas Corrigan (London: Gollancz, 1976), p. 119.

⁷ ‘Translator’s Preface’, *More Latin Lyrics*, p. 35. See also Waddell, trans., *Mediaeval Latin Lyrics* (London: Constable, 1929).

⁸ Personal communication. I am grateful to Liz Mathews for permission to reprint images from ‘The flowering year’ and for discussing her work with me.

⁹ Caroline Bergvall, *Drift* (Brooklyn: Nightboat Books, 2014) is the print version of cross-media performance for voice, sound and digital media; it uses the Old English poem, 'The Seafarer', for example resources. Michael Landy's *Saints Alive* (National Gallery, London: Yale University Press, 2013) is an installation of automata responding to images of medieval saints in the National Gallery, London. Elizabeth Price's digital film installation, *The Woolworth's Choir of 1979* (2012), which won the Turner Prize in 2012, draws on aspects of medieval church sculpture: <http://www.tate.org.uk/context-comment/video/turner-prize-2012-elizabeth-price>. For discussion of creative medieval practices, see also Catherine Clarke, 'Imagining Medieval Chester: Practice-Based Medievalism, Scholarship, and Creativity' in *Medieval and Modern*, eds. Joshua Davies and Sarah Salih, *Studies in Medievalism* 25 (2016), 115-34.

¹⁰ *The Dunkirk Project*, see <https://thedunkirkproject.wordpress.com/>.

¹¹ 'Translator's Preface', *More Latin Lyrics*, pp. 36-7 and pp. 160-75.

¹² *Poetry in the Dark Ages*, W. P. Ker Memorial Lecture for 1947 (Glasgow: Jackson, Son and Co, 1948); see also W. P. Ker, *The Dark Ages* (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1904). Medieval London was also conceived of in terms of the Trojan legends; see, for example, Sylvia Federico, *New Troy: Fantasies of Empire in the Late Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

¹³ *Poetry in the Dark Ages*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁴ David Wallace, *Strong Women: Life, Text, and Territory, 1347-1645* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 61-80 at p. 66. Mabel Day, secretary of the Early English Text Society 1921-49 was assistant lecturer (from 1912) and

lecturer (1920-36) in English, King's College London; see H. L. Spencer, 'Day, Mabel Katharine (1875-1964)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/48697>, accessed 21 April 2017].

¹⁵ See D. Felicitas Corrigan, *Helen Waddell: A Biography* (London: Gollancz, 1986), and P. G. Walsh, 'Waddell, Helen Jane (1889-1965)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36670>, accessed 6 Feb 2017]. For Waddell's scholarship, see Jennifer FitzGerald, 'Helen Waddell (1889-1965): The Scholar Poet', *Women Medievalists and the Academy*, ed. Chance, pp. 323-38; and FitzGerald, ed., *Helen Waddell Reassessed: New Readings* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2013).

¹⁶ Maxine L. Berg, 'Power, Eileen Edna Le Poer (1889-1940)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2005 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35581>, accessed 6 Feb 2017]. See also Berg, *A Woman in History: Eileen Power, 1889-1940* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1996), and Marjorie McCallum Chibnall, 'Eileen Edna Le Poer Power (1889-1940)', *Women Medievalists and the Academy*, ed. Chance, pp. 311-22.

¹⁷ For Power and Woolf see, for example, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 3, 1925-30, ed. Anne Oliver Bell with Andrew McNeillie (London: Hogarth Press, 1980), entry for 14 June 1925. Waddell's *Wandering Scholars* was reviewed by Power; see FitzGerald, 'Helen Waddell (1889-1965): The Scholar Poet', and *Helen Waddell and Maude Clarke: Irishwomen, Friends and Scholars* (Frankfurt: Peter

Lang, 2012), p. 122. For a measure of Woolf's admiration of Waddell, see her comments about Waddell's research in Rev. William Cole's copious eighteenth-century diaries in the form of a mock letter: 'The Rev. William Cole: A Letter' (1932), in Virginia Woolf, *The Death of the Moth, and Other Essays*, ed. Leonard Woolf (London: Hogarth Press, 1942), pp. 52-4.

¹⁸ Eileen Power, *Medieval English Nunneries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922); *Medieval People* (London: Methuen, 1924).

¹⁹ FitzGerald, 'Helen Waddell (1889-1965).

²⁰ Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars* (London: Constable, 1927); *Peter Abelard* (London: Constable, 1933); *Beasts and Saints* (London: Constable, 1934); *The Desert Fathers* (London: Constable, 1936).

²¹ Noted, for example, in Howard Mumford Jones's review of *The Wandering Scholars*, *Modern Philology* 25.4 (May, 1928), 497-9, and in Peter Dronke's review of *More Latin Lyrics*, *TLS* June 17, 1977. See also Corrigan, *Helen Waddell*, pp. 234-7.

²² Waddell worked as an editor for Otto Kyllmann at Constable Press, who had secured the publication of *The Wandering Scholars*; see Corrigan, *Helen Waddell*, pp. 232-42.

²³ Power, *Medieval Women*, ed. M. M. Postan (1975), repr. with a foreword by Maxine Berg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); see also Berg, *A Woman in History*, pp. 123-9, for Power's interest in medieval women and use of medieval literary sources.

²⁴ See the entries for Power and Waddell in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, notes 15 and 16 above. Economic historian and one of the founders

of the London School of Economics, Beatrice Webb was elected to Fellowship of the British Academy in 1931.

²⁵ See Susan Irvine and Malcolm R. Godden, ed. and trans., *The Old English Boethius*, *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library* 19 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2012), with the relevant lines from Book IV, meter 6, elaborated in *Old English as Meter* 29, pp. 366-9.

²⁶ Jennifer Fitzgerald, *Helen Waddell and Maude Clark: Irishwomen, Friends and Scholars* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2012), and V. H. Galbraith, 'Clarke, Maude Violet (1892–1935)', rev. K. D. Reynolds, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004

[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32432>, accessed 8 Feb 2017].

²⁷ Corrigan, *Helen Waddell*, pp. 100-62.

²⁸ Corrigan, *Helen Waddell*, pp. 124-36. Neither women secured permanent posts at Queen's University, Belfast, as they had hoped.

²⁹ D. A. Farnie, 'Enriqueta Augustina Rylands', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 71.2 (1989), 3-38.

³⁰ M. S. Briggs, 'Champneys, Basil (1842–1935)', rev. Michael W. Brooks, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004

[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32357>, accessed 8 Feb 2017].

³¹ Fernanda Helen Perrone, 'Cooke, Alice Margaret (1867–1940)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004

[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/62414>, accessed 8 Feb 2017]. See

also *Alice M. Cooke: A Memoire*, compiled by I. B. Horner with E. A. Howarth (Manchester: Manchester, 1940), for reminiscences of Cooke's friendship with

Enriqueta Rylands and work as a cataloguer by Thomas Frederick Tout (pp.11-12) and Henry Guppy (pp. 12-13). Joan Kirby, 'Alice M. Cooke and the Beginnings of Medieval History in the University of Leeds, 1907-1921', *Northern History* 45. 2 (2008), 351-9, is also useful. Cooke catalogued the Thomas Raffles Collection of Calendars and Autographs for Enriqueta Rylands, 1896-99, now in the John Rylands Library archive, University of Manchester Special Collections (GB 133. RAF).

³² See Cooke's letter of 30 October 1900 to Thomas Frederick Tout, GB 133 TFT/1/216/21, University of Manchester Special Collections.

³³ David Matthews, *Medievalism: A Critical History* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015), p. 26.

³⁴ For discussion of the murals, see Joshua Davies, 'The Anachronic Middle Ages: Public Art, Cultural Memory, and the Medievalist Imagination', *Medievalist Visions*, eds. Davies and Salih, 135-56. For the Manchester Historical Pageant of 1926, see *The Redress of the Past: Historical Pageants in Britain*, led by Paul Redmond, <http://www.historicalpageants.ac.uk/pageants/1126/> [accessed 8 February 2017].

³⁵ Brief but useful histories of Chetham's Library and the Central Library may be had here:

http://www.manchester.gov.uk/info/500325/central_library_building/4586/history_of_central_library [accessed 7 February 2017] and here:

<http://library.chethams.com/history/> [accessed 7 February 2017]. The restoration was completed in 2014.

³⁶ For the early history of the school, see Sarah A. Burstall, *The Story of the Manchester High School for Girls 1871-1911*, with a preface by Thomas Frederick Tout (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1911).

³⁷ V. H. Galbraith, 'Tout, Thomas Frederick (1855–1929)', rev. Peter R. H. Slee, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36539>, accessed 8 Feb 2017].

³⁸ See note 31 above for Cooke's life and career.

³⁹ Mary Dockray-Miller, 'Mary Bateson (1865-1906): Scholar and Suffragist', in *Women Medievalists and the Academy*, ed. Chance, pp. 67-78; and 'Bateson, Mary (1865–1906)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30640>, accessed 9 Feb 2017].

⁴⁰ Bateson, 'Excerpta ex institutionibus monasticis Æthelwoldi episcopi...', *Computus Rolls of the Obedientiaries of St Swithun's Priory*, Winchester, ed. G. W. Kitchin (London: Simpkin and Co., 1892), pp. 171-98 (Appendix VII); 'Origin and History of the Double Monasteries', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* n.s. 13 (1899), 137-98; and 'The Laws of Bréteuil', *English Historical Review* 15 (1900), 73-8, 302-18, 496-523, 754-7, and 16 (1901), 92-110, 332-45. See also Christopher A. Jones, ed. *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 4.

⁴¹ Lees, 'At A Crossroads: Old English and Feminist Criticism', *Reading Old English Texts*, ed. Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 147-69 (pp. 152-3).

⁴² See above, note 39.

⁴³ Virginia Woolf, 'The Journal of Mistress Joan Martyn', *A Haunted House: The Complete Shorter Fiction*, ed. Susan Dick (London: Vintage, 2003), pp. 32-62.

⁴⁴ Leena Kore-Schröder, 'Whose Afraid of Rosamund Merridew? Reading Medieval History in "The Journal of Mistress Joan Martyn"', *Journal of the Short Story in English* 50 (Spring 2008), 103-18; Steve Ellis, 'Virginia Woolf's Middle Ages', *Medieval Afterlives in Popular Culture*, ed. Gail Ashton and Daniel T. Kline (New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 43-56 (p. 52).

⁴⁵ F. W. Maitland and Mary Bateson, eds. *The Charters of the Borough of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901).

⁴⁶ For Woolf's early interest in women's education, see Clara Jones, *Virginia Woolf: Ambivalent Activist* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), pp. 37-44; for her interest in the Middle Ages, see Marea Mitchell, "'The details of life and the pulsing of affects": Virginia Woolf's Middle English Texts', *The Chaucer Review* 51 (2016), 107-29.

⁴⁷ V. H. Galbraith, 'Tait, James (1863-1944)', rev. K. D. Reynolds, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004
[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36406>, accessed 10 Feb 2017].

⁴⁸ See Bateson's letter to Tout of August 10, 1904(?), University of Manchester Special Collections GB 133 TFT/1/71/5. She eventually settled on the customs of medieval borough law. The lectures were not published, unlike the first Warburton lecture of 1904, perhaps because of Bateson's death in 1905.

⁴⁹ Mabel Phythian Tylecote, *The Education of Women at Manchester University 1883-1933* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1941).

⁵⁰ According to Corrigan, *Helen Waddell*, p. 232.

⁵¹ Ker, *The Dark Ages*, pp. 265-6.

⁵² John Josias Conybeare, *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, ed. William Daniel Conybeare (London: Harding and Lepard, 1826), pp. 244-9.

⁵³ Benjamin Thorpe, ed. and trans., *Codex Exoniensis. A Collection of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1842), pp. 441-5.

⁵⁴ Helene Schenk, 'Seductive Voices: Rethinking Female Subjectivities in 'The Wife's Lament' and 'Wulf and Eadwacer', *Literature Compass* 5 (2008), 220–227, is a useful introduction.

⁵⁵ As did Ker, *The Dark Ages*, pp. 265-6; see also David Clark, *Between Medieval Men: Male Friendship and Desire in Early Medieval English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp.23-6.

⁵⁶ See also, for example, Nora Kershaw Chadwick's prose translation of 'The Wife's Lament' as 'The Wife's Complaint' in *Anglo-Saxon and Norse Poems*, ed. and trans. Kershaw (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), pp. 28-34; for a more creative and recent adaptation, see Jane Holland, 'The Wife's Lament', *Boudicca & Co* (Cambridge: Salt Press, 2006), p. 23.

⁵⁷ *The Word Exchange*, eds. Delanty and Matto, pp. 40-5; Boland, *A Woman Without a Country*, pp. 51-2. My thinking on Boland builds on a two-part paper with Kathryn Maude of 2015 presented at the London Anglo-Saxon Symposium and also at the first meeting of the Leverhulme network on 'Women's Literary Culture and the Medieval Canon' (University of Surrey).

⁵⁸ Critical analysis of modern British translations of Old English poetry is well established but rarely considers women poets. See, for example, Chris Jones, *Strange Likeness: The Use of Old English in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford

University Press, 2006) and, by contrast, Lees, 'In Three Poems: Medieval and Modern in Seamus Heaney, Maureen Duffy and Colette Bryce', *American/Medieval: Nature and Mind in Cultural Transfer*, eds. Gillian R. Overing and Ulrike Wiethaus (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2016), pp. 177-201.

⁵⁹ *A Woman Without a Country*, p. 69.

⁶⁰ 'The Wife's Lament', *Old English Shorter Poems, vol. II, Wisdom and Lyric*, ed. and trans. Robert E. Bjork, *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 32* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2014), pp. 104-7, by line number.

⁶¹ A similar theme is more extensively developed by Bergvall in *Drift*, using the Old English poem, 'The Seafarer'.

⁶² *A Woman Without a Country*, p.41; the reference may be to the Faddan More Psalter discovered in a bog in 2006; see [http://www.museum.ie/Archaeology/Exhibitions/Current-Exhibitions/The-Treasury/Gallery-1-Iron-Age-to-12th-Century/Gallery-2-The-Faddan-More-Psalter-\(1\)](http://www.museum.ie/Archaeology/Exhibitions/Current-Exhibitions/The-Treasury/Gallery-1-Iron-Age-to-12th-Century/Gallery-2-The-Faddan-More-Psalter-(1)) [accessed 20 February 2017].

⁶³ Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* in *Three Guineas*, ed. Michèle Barrett (London: Penguin Classics, 2000), p. 234.

⁶⁴ Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (London: Hogarth Press, 1929), *Three Guineas* (London: Hogarth Press, 1938).

⁶⁵ Boland, 'A Latin Poet: A Lost Encounter', *A Journey with Two Maps: Becoming a Woman Poet* (Manchester: Carcanet Press, 2011), pp. 232-45.

⁶⁶ For an overview see, for example, Lees and Gillian R. Overing, 'Women and the Origins of English Literature', *The History of British Women's Writing*, vol. 1, ed.

Elizabeth McAvoy and Diane Watt (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp.31-40.

⁶⁷ See, for example, Andrew J. Auge, 'Fracture and Wound: Eavan Boland's Poetry of Nationality', *New Hibernia Review* 9.2 (2004), 121-41.

⁶⁸ *Three Guineas*, ed. Barrett, p. 234.

⁶⁹ Woolf, *Between the Acts* (1941), ed. Mark Hussey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

⁷⁰ *Between the Acts*, ed. Hussey, p. 16, for example.

⁷¹ Power, 'The Eve of the Dark Ages: A Tract for the Times', repr. as 'The Precursors', in *Medieval People*, 10th edition, ed. M. M. Postan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), pp. 1-15; see also Power, *A Woman in History*, pp. 241-3.

⁷² *Poetry in the Dark Ages*, p. 19.

⁷³ Raul Ruiz, 'Mrs Rylands' Cuban Origins', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 85.1 (2003), 121-6.