A Manuscript Miscellany

A Summer 2005 NEH Institute
Directed by Steven W. May

Introductions

A Word on This Web Project

A Manuscript Miscellany is a collaborative production of the college teacher-participants in a 2005 NEH summer humanities institute. “The Handwritten Worlds of Early Modern England“ sought to compare the states of scholarship and consolidate research on the role of manuscripts in a variety of discourses for a variety of audiences in a period extending from the late middle ages into the eighteenth century.

Our goal was to look more closely at the surviving manuscript materials (such as those that fill a rare-book library like the Folger) to write a more nuanced history of the period. We examined literary, domestic, epistolary, devotional, dramatic, legal, and business documents and texts with an expert visiting faculty. We surveyed the state of manuscript studies in these genres, and we asked repeatedly, how do we re-envision the period that saw the rise of the printing press when we take into account the role of handwritten works?

We hope you enjoy and learn from a sample of our work. Our postings include an introduction by Steven W. May, the institute's director and a complete syllabus. We also gather individual commentaries and class assignments by our program participants, each featuring some selections from the Folger's collections (many complete with transcriptions). Each commentary challenges received wisdom, such as the assumption that manuscripts are drafts, moving always towards a final, fixed product in print, for instance. Collectively, they provide exciting new materials for undergraduate teaching and scholarly research. Among other topics, our commentaries investigate the intimations of privacy, immediacy, and authenticity that adhere to that which is written by hand; they ask what professional and social spaces are occupied by those engaged in the production, transmission, and reception of manuscripts, and how those variables change over time and within discourses. They provide new light on such topics as authorship and literacy in a time (not so unlike our own) of multiple and overlapping mediums of expression.

Kathleen Lynch
Executive Director
The Folger Institute

An Introduction to the "Handwritten Worlds of Early Modern England"

Steven W. May

Our work on the "Handwritten Worlds of Early Modern England" began in 1400, the year of Chaucer's death, when all discourse intended for any kind of meaningful preservation was inscribed by hand on one medium or another. We closed our investigations at the turn of the seventeenth century, the year of Dryden's death. By then, the printing press in England had rivaled handwriting as an alternative means for transmitting texts in a (more or less) permanent fashion for more than 200 years. Across the disciplines, scholarly analysis of these first few centuries of competition between the two forms of transmission has been heavily weighted toward the newer technology, often to the disparagement of the old. Where editors had to choose copy texts, for example, from early printed texts or among their handwritten counterparts, the vast majority opted for printed exemplars. Similarly, studies of early modern culture, from music to biography, to gender studies and social trends, have turned overwhelmingly for primary evidence to printed sources rather than manuscript sources. And as the printing press has dominated scholarly research in these centuries, so understanding in the classroom has been almost exclusively a print-based experience.

Only in the past decade or so have these basic contours of understanding across the disciplines shifted toward a reconsideration of the importance of manuscript culture in early modern England. Pioneering studies of this culture by such scholars as Peter Beal, Mary Hobbs, Harold Love, Arthur Marotti, and Henry Woudhuysen have shown, persuasively, that transcribed documents of all sorts have much to tell us about the early modern period, much that cannot be gleaned from printed sources. Throughout the work of this Institute, our study of the period's handwritten documents was indebted to the discoveries and insights set forth by these authorities. A distinguished visiting faculty augmented our understanding of manuscript culture with case studies from a comprehensive set of disciplines. Our program was further enriched by "hands on" experience with manuscripts from the Folger Library's superbly varied and wide-ranging collection.

Ironically, handwritten testimony to early modern culture, the primary documents at the center of our investigations, proliferate throughout the handpress era. Many more legal documents, private notebooks, letters, treatises, and every other form of handwriting have survived for the sixteenth century than the fifteenth, as for the seventeenth versus the sixteenth century. Yet this trend reflects not only the normal increase in the preservation of more recent documents of all kinds at whatever time. It reveals as well the rapidly increasing production of manuscript materials in early modern England—more and more documents were being produced decade by decade if not year by year, from 1400–1700. This trend was not just a function of an increasing population coupled with increasing rates of literacy. No considerable increase in handwritten materials could have occurred had manuscripts been confined primarily to parchment and vellum, as was the case throughout the Middle Ages. Similarly, without the growing availability of relatively cheap paper, the printing press could have made little impact on European culture. Yet the advent of this cheaper (if not cheap) recording medium is perhaps the most overlooked factor in the continuous proliferation of handwritten documents that began in the fifteenth century. Paper invited middle class and eventually even lower class writers to put pen to paper. By the seventeenth century, almost anyone able to write could afford a few sheets of paper, if not a thick notebook, for writing letters, recipes (both medical and culinary), the recording of money spent and received, or memoranda of tasks accomplished and anticipated. Paper changed everything, for the pen as for the press.

The growing volume of documents handwritten on paper greatly expands the sources of evidence for understanding the culture of early modern England. However, this process also creates new challenges for students of that evidence. As long as handwriting was largely confined to expensive parchment or vellum, its practitioners were largely confined as well to a professional scribal class. Medieval documents are, on the whole, carefully prepared and relatively legible (at least in their pristine state). The medium was simply too expensive to be wasted on trivial texts scrawled by inexperienced hands. As paper made manuscript production more and more democratic, it left behind a dwindling percentage of works by professional scribes. Now ordinary writers with untrained hands scrawled whatever they thought important because they could afford to do so. What they have left us is no less valuable for its frequently careless, amateurish production—often, quite the opposite—but to understand this evidence often requires a good deal of training in how to decipher the varied quality and expertise of early modern hands.

We discovered that the printing press, far from stifling manuscript culture, flourished in a context both parallel to the older tradition and inseparably connected with it. Both means of textual production were critically nurtured by the availability of paper, and both depended on growing literacy for their expanding influence in society. Their interdependence emerges at the most basic level in the fact that printed texts were set from handwritten copy. Increasingly, too, throughout the period, printed texts were copied back into manuscript volumes. On this website, Lara Dodds analyzes an example of the practice in a manuscript copy of Dryden's dramatization of Milton's *Paradise Lost* that was transcribed from the ninth edition of the play. As William Quinn and Donna Crawford demonstrate in "The Marginalized Voices of

Chaucer's Early Readers," blank spaces in printed books were routinely appropriated for purposes of manuscript culture by scribes wishing to annotate what they read or simply to take advantage of open space for writing. Indeed, such blank spaces might be appropriated in a given book because it seemed a particularly apt place to record the information. Nicole Clifton found one transcribed copy of a verse prophecy concerning King James I crowded onto the title page of the King's *Works* (1616). Or, scribes might simply use handwriting in place of the printed page as in Janet Starner's analysis of a book with three missing pages that were carefully replaced by hand to resemble the typescript page as closely as possible.

The ever-expanding reading public of early modern England was nurtured, of course, by a growing availability of print publications. At the same time, a parallel source of handwritten reading material spread in networks across the country with the advantage that its contents were essentially free rather than purchased. These networks of manuscript transmission conveyed a wide variety of subject matter in formats ranging from scraps of paper to hefty volumes. Their contents included practical information, from current events to instructions for alchemical experiments. Speeches, prayers, poetry, satire, jokes, and full-blown literary works were copied and recopied as they were passed along to others. The system in many ways resembled today's gratuitous transmission of all kinds of texts by email, and it included quite substantial works. In *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558–1640* (1996), for example, Henry Woudhuysen has shown that Sidney's *Old Arcadia*, averaging more than 300 manuscript pages of prose and verse, was transmitted in multiple copies to the far corners of the kingdom in a few years' time.

Accordingly, early modern authors learned to use the networks of manuscript transmission to circulate texts that, variously, were and were not intended for eventual publication. One aspect of this practice was the restriction of manuscript works to a coterie of readers who, supposedly, confined their circulation to a tightly knit social circle. Shakespeare's sonnets, for example, were said to be circulating among his "private friends" as early as 1598. A few of these lyrics appeared in print during Elizabeth's reign but the entire sequence was not published until 1609. Yet no pre-publication text of any of the sonnets has survived in manuscript. Did Shakespeare circulate the poems in order to stimulate a market for the 1609 edition? Chris Ivic notes that Ben Jonson may have attempted something of the sort by circulating in manuscript poems he addressed to John Donne and Lucy, Countess of Bedford, then including them in his 1616 *Workes*. George Justice documents Pope's similar practice a century later. Matthew Rusnak notes examples of pastoral verse published only in manuscript in a tradition parallel to the simultaneous print publication of works in the same genre. Authors who submitted their works to manuscript circulation, however, lost control over all aspects of their texts, including attributions. Garth Bond shows how Donne's "To His Mistress Going to Bed" accumulated multiple variant readings as it was copied by scribe after scribe, the normal fate of all texts in verse or prose that entered the channels of manuscript circulation.

In many other instances, we found, manuscript practice never yielded to print. Letters, for example, both public and private, remained handwritten throughout the period (and, indeed, until the invention of the typewriter). Personal correspondence was the mainstay of communication for those separated by distance and, again, the volume of letter writing increased throughout the early modern period, unrivaled by telephones, cell phones, or email. The conventions of early modern correspondence were, however, somewhat different from today's in the absence of typewriter, word processing, or a uniform postal service. Rebecca Laroche examines these elements in one letter in the Bagot family papers. The letter was sent, if not wholly written, by a wife to her absent husband. Beyond such utilitarian functions, letters became a recognized genre of writing. Collections of letters began to appear in print during the first half of the sixteenth century, and were, increasingly, transcribed into manuscript anthologies as well. Timothy Billings argues that one such letter, purportedly written to Queen Elizabeth by the Emperor of China, is in fact a parody that plays off the widespread recognition of letters as a serious form of writing.

Andrew Walkling reminds us, meanwhile, that the central government carried out its business and preserved its records almost entirely in manuscript. The official repository of these documents in England, termed the "Paper Office" in the late seventeenth century, evolved into the Public Record Office (now the National Archives). Here were preserved the handwritten State Papers, records of the royal court, Exchequer, Chancery and other law courts, the Admiralty and related bureaucratic departments. Add to this archive the handwritten records of the state church and local courts of law, and this cumulative mass of manuscript material comprises the primary source for most research into medieval and early modern English civilization.

Meanwhile, handwritten documents were prominent as well at the most private levels of discourse. A common physical medium for recording private memoranda of all kinds was the "table book" or "tables." Jason Powell and Tricia McElroy explain the make-up and function of such notebooks in relation to other pedagogical practices, including the keeping of commonplace books. Table books were compact, erasable equivalents of modern datebooks, shopping lists, and stickum notes rolled into one. Students also copied their lessons into "exercise books" which, Emily Smith demonstrates, might involve practice with calligraphy as well as mastery of a content field such as arithmetic. Smith also considers "receipt" books, collections often compiled in manuscript by women in order to preserve culinary recipes, medicinal formulae, or both. From the standpoint of content, other subjects were largely restricted to manuscript circulation including political satire and libel, although George Justice examines a potentially libelous poem that did eventually find its way into print.

The heritage of English manuscripts from 1400 to 1700 supplies us with a wealth of material for expanding our understanding of the period. These documents range in content from mundane accounts, memoranda, and legal records, to personal correspondence and official records of church and state, to the age's highest literary accomplishments in poetry, prose, and drama. Handwritten documents range as well from works intimately linked to print culture (indeed, physically combined with it at times) to a broad, interdisciplinary spectrum of cultural evidence that survives only in manuscript. To date, this corpus of material has not been thoroughly studied. It has only recently begun to attract the scholarly attention it deserves, and it remains an unparalleled source for new insights into the early modern era.

Resources for Manuscript Studies

NEH Institute
- Syllabus
- Glossary

Folger MSS

Electronic Resources

Syllabus

Print friendly version.

Week One: The Creation and Transmission of Literary Texts in Transition
20–23 June 2005

Dr. Julia Boffey (Professor of Medieval Studies, Queen Mary University of London);
Dr. A. S. G. Edwards (Professor of English, University of Victoria)

Monday: The Structure of the Middle English MS—Terminology & Bibliography

Core Readings:

The Auchinleck Manuscript: National Library of Scotland Advocates' MS 19.2. 1. Introduction by Derek Pearsall & I.C. Cunningham. London: Scolar Press in association with the National Library of Scotland, 1977. **PR1203.A9**

The Canterbury Tales: the New Ellesmere Chaucer Monochromatic Facsimile (of Huntington Library MS EL 26 C 9). Edited by Daniel Woodward and Martin Stevens. San Marino, California: Huntington Library; Tokyo: Yushodo, 1997.

The Canterbury Tales: a Facsimile and Transcription of the Hengwrt Manuscript, with Variants from the Ellesmere Manuscript/Geoffrey Chaucer. Edited by Paul G. Ruggiers; introductions by Donald C. Baker and by A.I. Doyle and M.B. Parkes. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979. **PR1851 .R8 1979 v.1**

Suggested Readings:

Doyle, A.I. & M. B. Parkes. "The production of copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Confessio Amantis* in the early fifteenth century." *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. M. B. Parkes & Andrew G. Watson. London: Scholar Press, 1978, pp. 163–210. **Z109.K3 M3**

Griffiths, J. & Derek Pearsall, eds. *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375–1475*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. **Z8.G7 B6**

Tuesday: Chaucer, Transmission of Shorter Collections

Core Readings:

Bodleian Library MS Fairfax 16. Introduction by J. Norton-Smith. London: Scolar Press, 1979. **PR1203 .B4**

Bodleian Library MS Tanner 346: A Facsimile. Introduction by P. Robinson. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980.

Manuscript Bodley 638: A Facsimile. Introduction by P. Robinson. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982.

Suggested Readings:

Hanna, Ralph. *Pursuing History: Middle English Manuscripts and Their Texts*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996. Ch. 1. **PR275.T45 H36 1996**

Erler, Mary. "Printers' Copy: MS Bodley 638 and the *Parliament of Fowls*." *Chaucer Review* 33 (1999): 221–29. **PR1801**

Wednesday: Provincial/Metropolitan Book Production; Miscellanies, Anthologies, the Role of the Patron/Commissioner

Core Readings:

The Findern Manuscript. Introduction by Richard Beadle & A. E. B. Owen. London: Scholar Press, 1977. **PR1120 .F5**

The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer and The Kingis Quair. A Facsimile of Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24. Introduction by Julia Boffey & A. S. G. Edwards, Appendix by B. C. Barker-Benfield. Cambridge; Rochester, NY: D.S. Brewer, 1997. **PR1851 .B64 1997**

The Tollemache Book of Secrets. Jeremy Griffiths, completed by A. S. G. Edwards. [London]: The Roxburghe Club, 2001. **PN6245 .T65 2001**

Suggested Readings:

Boffey, Julia and A. S. G. Edwards. "Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24: The Genesis and Evolution of a Scottish Poetical Anthology." *Poetica* 60 (2003): 31–48.

Harris, Kate. "The Origins and Make-Up of Cambridge University Library MS Ff.1.6." *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 8 (1983): 299–333. **Z1008.C2**

Nichols, Stephen G. and Siegfried Wenzel, eds. *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996, pp. 53–68.

Thursday: From manuscript to print: author collections

Core Readings:

Hoccleve, Thomas. *Thomas Hoccleve: A Facsimile of the Autograph Verse Manuscripts*. Introduction by J. A. Burrow and A. I Doyle. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. **PR1119 S8 no. 19**

Poetical Works Geoffrey Chaucer: A Facsimile of Cambridge University Library MS Gg.4.27. Introductions by M. B. Parkes & Richard Beadle. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]: D.S. Brewer, 1979–1980. **PR1850 1979**

The Canterbury Tales / Geoffrey Chaucer. [London]: Cornmarket Reprints in Association with Magdalene College, Cambridge, 1972. **PR1400 5083**
[This edition is edited by William Caxton.]

The Workes of Geffray Chaucer Newly Printed. [London: Thomas Godfray, [1532]]. **STC 5068 copy 1**
[This edition is edited by William Thynne.]

The Workes of Geffrey Chaucer, Newly Printed. [London: John Kyngston,] 1561. **STC 5075 copy 1**
[This edition is edited by William Thynne with additions by John Stow.]

The Workes of our Antient and Lerned English Poet, Geffrey Chaucer, Newly Printed. London: George Bishop, 1598. **STC 5077**
[This edition is edited by Thomas Speght.]

Certaine Worthye Manuscript Poems of Great Antiquitie Reserued Long in the Studie of a Northfolke Gentleman. London: Robert Robinson, 1597. **STC 21499 copy 1**

Suggested Readings:

Bowers, John M. "Hoccleve's Two Copies of *Lerne to Dye*: Implications for Textual Critics." *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 83 (1989): 437–72. **Z1008 .B51**

Bibliography

Articles:

Edwards, A. S. G. "Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24: A 'Transitional' Collection." In *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.

Gillespie, Alexandra, ed. "Manuscript, Print and Early Tudor Culture." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 67 (2004). **Z733.S24 Q1**

Hardman, Philippa, ed. "Medieval and Early Modern Miscellanies and Anthologies." *Yearbook of English Studies*, 33 (2003). **PR3.Y3**

Harris, Kate. "The Origins and Make-Up of Cambridge University Library MS Ff.1.6." *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 8 (1983). **Z1008.C2**

Books:

Beal, Peter. *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and Their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998. **PR438.T42 B43 1998**

Boffey, J. and A. S. G. Edwards. *A New Index of Middle English Verse*. London: British Library, 2005.

Boffey, Julia. *Manuscripts of English Courtly Love Lyrics in the Later Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1985. **PR355.C6 B6**

Doyle, A.I. and M. B. Parkes. "The Production of Copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Confessio Amantis* in the Early Fifteenth Century." *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. M. B. Parkes & Andrew G. Watson. London: Scolar Press, 1978. **Z109.K3 M3**

Edwards, A. S. G., ed. *The Index of Middle English Prose*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1984. 17 fascicles so far published.

Griffiths, J. and Derek Pearsall, eds. *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375–1475*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. **Z8.G7 B6**

Hanna, Ralph. *Pursuing History: Middle English Manuscripts and Their Texts*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996. **PR275.T45 H36 1996**

—. 'Reconsidering the Auchinleck Manuscript." In *New Directions in Later Medieval Manuscript Studies* (Essays from the 1998 Harvard Conference), ed. Derek Pearsall. York: York Medieval Press, 2000. **PR275.T45 N475 2000**

Jackson, W. A., F. S. Ferguson and Katherine Pantzer. *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland. . .1475–1640*. 2nd ed. 3 vols. London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–1991.

Lewis, R. E., N. F. Blake and A. S. G. Edwards. *Index of Printed Middle English Prose*. New York: Garland, 1985.

Love, Harold. *The Culture and Commerce of Texts*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, [1998]. [Reprint of *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*.]

Marotti, Arthur F. *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995. **PR535.T4 M3**

McCarran, Vincent and Douglas Moffat. *A Guide to Editing Middle English*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998. See, *inter alia*, Richard Beadle, "Facsimiles of Middle English Manuscripts," pp. 319–31.

McIntosh, Angus. et al. *A Linguistic Atlas of Later Middle English*. 4 vols. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986.

Nichols, Stephen G. and Siegfried Wenzel, eds. *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.

Ostovich, Helen and Elizabeth Sauer, eds. *Reading Early Modern Women: An Anthology of Texts in Manuscript and Print, 1550-1700*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Pearsall, Derek, ed. *Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Brewer, 1983. PR275.M3

Ringler, W. A. *Bibliography and Index of English Verse Printed 1476–1558*. London: Mansell, 1988. **Z2014.P7 R52**

Ringler, W. A. *Bibliography and Index of English Verse in Manuscript, 1501–1558*. London: Mansell, 1992. **Z2014.P7 R52**

Severs, J. B. (1-2) and A. E. Hartung (3-). *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050–1500*. 10 vols. so far published. New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts, Sciences and Letters, 1967-.) **PR255 .S4**

Woudhuysen, Henry. *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558–1640*. Oxford University Press: Clarendon Press, 1996. **Z107 W68 1995**

Week Two: Controversy and Contestation: Religious and Legal Manuscripts
27–30 June 2005

Dr. Mary Erler (Professor of English, Fordham University)
Dr. Lena Cowen Orlin (Professor of English, University of Maryland Baltimore County)

Monday: Women's Reading and Ownership: Books of Hours

Texts under discussion:
Folger V.a.228

Folger V.b.236—Robert Mannyng, Handling of Sin ["Handelyng off Synne"]

[Book of Hours (Salisbury)]
Impresse Parisii: Pro Symone Le Vostre ..., [1498] **STC 15889**

[Book of Hours (Salisbury)]
[Paris: Jean Philippi for Thielman Kerver] pro Iohanne Ricardo mercatore librario Rothomagi, [1497] **STC 15885**

[Book of hours (Salisbury)]
Impressum est hoc orariu[m] Parisijs: In edibus spectabilis viri Germani Hardouyn ..., [1533?] **STC 15982**

More particular sources:

Bindoff, S.T., ed. *The House of Commons 1509–1558*. 3 vols. London: Published for the History of Parliament Trust by Secker & Warburg, 1982. **JN673.H59 R.R.**

Emden, A.B., ed. *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963. **LF125.E5 R.R.**

Emden, A.B., ed. *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500*. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957–59. **LF525.E5 R.R.**

Emden, A.B. *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford, A.D. 1501 to 1540*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974. **LF525.E51 R.R.**

Also of potential use:

Pearson, David. *Provenance Research in Book History: A Handbook*. London: British Library, 1994. **Z993 .P3 Copy 1**

Victoria County Histories

"Women Writers Online: An Evaluation and Annotated Bibliography of Web Resources," in the online journal *Early Modern Literary Studies* 6:3 (Jan. 2001). url: http://www.shu.ac.uk/emls/06-3/ziegbib.htm

Millman, Jill Seal and Gillian Wright, eds. *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Poetry*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005. **PR532 .E27 2005**

Woods, Susanne and Margaret P. Hannay, eds. *Teaching Tudor and Stuart Women Writers.* New York: Modern Language Association, 2000. **PR113 T43 2000**

Readings:

Ashley, Kathleen. "Creating Family Identity in Books of Hours," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32 (2002): 145–66.

Cullum, Patricia and Jeremy Goldberg. "How Margaret Blackburn Taught Her Daughters: Reading Devotional Instruction in a Book of Hours." In *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain*. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, et al., eds. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.

Erler, Mary C. "Devotional Literature." In *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume III 1400–1557*. Lotte Hellinga and J.B.Trapp, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 495–515, 526–40. **Z8.G7 C36 1999**

Tuesday: Women's Reading and Ownership: Devotional and Secular Books

Texts under discussion:

Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* (1497)

Tree and xii. frutes of the holy goost.
[London: R. Copland and M. Fawkes, 1535]
STC 13608

Gower, John, 1325?–1408.
[Confessio amantis]
London: Thomas Berthelette, [1532]
STC 12143

Higden, Ranulf, d. 1364
Polycronycon.
Southwark: Peter Treveris, 1527.
STC 13440

Readings:

Knowles, David. *The Religious Orders in England Vol. 3: The Tudor Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1961, pp. 212–13. **BX2592 .K6**

Eisenstein, Elizabeth L. *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979, pp. 80–81. **Z124 .E6**

Erler, Mary C. *Women, Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England*. Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 1–6.

—. "Exchange of Books between Nuns and Laywomen; Three Surviving Examples." In *New Science Out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A. I. Doyle*. Aldershot, Hants., England: Scolar Press; Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Pub. Co., 1995, pp. 360–73.

Meale, Carol M. and Julia Boffey, "Gentlewomen's Reading." In *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume III 1400–1557*. Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp, eds. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 526–40.

Wednesday and Thursday: Tudor Women in the Archives

Readings:

Erickson, Amy Louise. *Women and Property in Early Modern England*. London; New York: Routledge, 1995. **HQ1593 .E75 1995**

Gowing, Laura. *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London*. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press; Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996. **HQ1600.L6 G68 1996**

Jones, Norman. *God and the Moneylenders: Usury and Law in Early Modern England*. Oxford, UK; Cambridge, Mass.: B. Blackwell, 1989. **HB549.E5 J6**

Week Three: Verse in Miscellanies and Broadsheets
5–8 July 2005

Professor Henry Woudhuysen (Professor of English, University College London)
Dr. Alan Stewart (Professor of English and Comparative Literature, Columbia University)

Core readings:

Beal, Peter. *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and Their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. **PR438.T42 B43 1998**

Love, Harold. *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. **PR438.P8 L7**

Marotti, Arthur F. *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995. **PR535.T4 M3**

Woudhuysen, H. R, 'Writing Tables', *eBLJ* (The Electronic British Library Journal: http://www.bl.uk/collections/eblj)

Further suggested readings:

Reference works

Beal, Peter and Jeremy Griffiths, eds. *English Manuscript Studies*. Oxford, UK ; New York, NY : B. Blackwell, 1989-) **Z115.E5 .E55**

Beal, Peter. *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*. Vol.1, 1450–1625, 2 pts. London: Mansell; New York: Bowker, 1980. **Z6611.L7 I5 Copy 1 R.R.**

Beal, Peter. *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*. Volume 2, 1625–1700, 2 pts. London: Mansell; New York: Bowker, 1987-93. **Z6611.L7 I5 Copy 1 R.R.**

Crum, Margaret. *First-Line Index of English Poetry 1500–1800 in Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library Oxford*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969. **PR19.O8**

May, Steven W. and William A. Ringler, Jr. *Elizabethan Poetry: a Bibliography and First-Line Index of English Verse, 1559–1603*. 3 vols. London; New York: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004. **Z2014.P7 M348 2004 RR-Ref**

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (http://www.oxforddnb.com/subscribed/)

Pollard, A.W. and G.R. Redgrave, rev. W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson and Katherine Pantzer, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland 1475–1640*. 2nd ed. 3 vols. London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–91.

Handwriting

Croft, Peter John. *Autograph Poetry in the English Language: Facsimiles of Original Manuscripts from the Fourteenth to the Twentieth century*. 2 vols. London: Cassell, 1973. **Z42 .C75**

Dawson, Giles E and Laetitia Kennedy-Skipton. *Elizabethan Handwriting 1500–1650: a Guide to the Reading of Documents and Manuscripts*. New York: Norton, 1968; 1981 **Z43 .D3**

Goldberg, Jonathan. *Writing Matter: From the Hands of the English Renaissance*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990. **Z115E.G6**

Greg, W. W. *English Literary Autographs, 1550–1650*. 3 parts. London: Oxford University Press, 1932. **Z42 .G82**

Heal, Ambrose. *The English Writing-Masters and Their Copy-Books, 1570–1800: a Biographical Dictionary and a Bibliography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1931. **Z43.A2 H4**

Klinkenborg, Verelyn, Herbert Cahoon and Charles Ryskamp. *British Literary Manuscripts*. Series 1, From 800 to 1800. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library in Association with Dover Publications, 1981. **Z42 .K5**

Petti, Anthony G. *English Literary Hands from Chaucer to Dryden*. London: E. Arnold, 1977. **Z115E .P4**

Wolfe, Heather, ed., *"The pen's excellencie": Treasures from the Manuscript Collection of the Folger Shakespeare Library*. Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 2002. **Z6621. F65P45**

Manuscript poetry

Brown, Cedric C. and Arthur F. Marotti. *Texts and Cultural Change in Early Modern England*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. **PR428.S64 T48 1997**

Hill, W. Speed, ed. *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985–1991*. Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies in conjunction with Renaissance English Text Society, 1993, pp. 47–56. **PR418.T48 N4**

&8212;, ed. *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts II: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1992–1996*. Tempe, Arizona: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies in conjunction with Renaissance English Text Society, 1998.

Hobbs, Mary. *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*. Aldershot, Hants, England; Brookfield, Vt.: Scolar Press, 1992. **PR541 .H6**

Marotti, Arthur F. *John Donne: Coterie Poet*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986. **PR2248 .M25**

Marotti, Arthur F. and Michael D. Bristol, eds. *Print, Manuscript and Performance: the Changing Relations of the Media in Early Modern England*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000. **PR428.S64 P75**

May, Steven W. *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets: the Poems and Their Contexts*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991. **PR535.C6 M3**

Manuscript and print

Dane, Joseph A. *The Myth of Print Culture: Essays on Evidence, Textuality, and Bibliographical Method*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003. **Z4 .D26**

May, Steven W. "Tudor Aristocrats and the Mythical 'Stigma of print'", *Renaissance Papers* 10 (1980), pp. 11–18.

Saunders, J.W. "The Stigma of Print: a Note on the Social Bases of Tudor Poetry." *Essays in Criticism* 1 (1951): 139–64. **PR1 .E8**

Wall, Wendy. *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993. **PR418.W65 W3**

Materials and Provenance

Finlay, Michael. *Western Writing Implements in the Age of the Quill Pen*. Wetheral, Carlisle, Cumbria: Plains, 1990. **260422**

Foot, Mirjam. *The History of Bookbinding as a Mirror of Society*. London: British Library, 1998. **Z269 .F66 1998**

Foot, Mirjam. *Studies in the History of Bookbinding*. London: British Library, 1998. **Z269 .F66 1998**

Mosser, Daniel W., Michael Saffle and Ernest W. Sullivan II, eds., *Puzzles in Paper: Concepts in Historical Watermarks: Essays from the International Conference on the History, Function and Study of Watermarks*. New Castle, Del: Oak Knoll Press; London: British Library, 2000. **Z237 .I58 1996**

Nixon, Howard Millar and Mirjam M. Foot. *The History of Decorated Bookbinding in England*. Oxford [England]; Clarendon Press; Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. **Z270.E5 N63**

Pearson, David. *Provenance Research in Book History: A Handbook*. London: British Library, 1994. **Z993 .P3**

Stallybrass, Peter, Roger Chartier, Frank Mowery, and Heather Wolfe. "Hamlet's Tables and The Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 55 (2004).

Stevenson, Allan. *Observations on Paper as Evidence*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Libraries, 1961. **Z237 .S7**

Stevenson, Allan, "Watermarks are twins,"*Studies in Bibliography* 4 (1951–2), 57–91

Editorial Theory and Practice

Fox, Adam. *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. **GR141 .F69**

Gaskell, Philip. *From Writer to Reader*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978. **PN162 .G2**

Greetham, D. C. *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction*. New York: Garland, 1994. **Z1001 .G7**

McGann, Jerome J. *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983. **PA47.M3**

McKenzie, D.F. *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*. London: British Library, 1986. **Z1 no.21**

Shillingsburg, Peter L. *Scholarly Editing in the Computer Age: Theory and Practice*. 3rd ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996. **PN162 .S45**

Tanselle, G. Thomas. *Textual Criticism Since Greg: A Chronicle 1950-1985*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1987. **PA47 .T2**

Some MSS

Facsimiles and Editions

Braunmuller, A.R., ed. *A Seventeenth-Century Letter-Book: A Facsimile Edition of Folger MS. V.a. 321*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1983.

Poems, 1640 by Thomas Carew, together with poems from the Wyburd manuscript (1969)

Doughtie, Edward, *Liber Lilliati, Elizabethan Verse and Song (Bodleian MS Rawlinson Poetry 148)*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1985.

Hobbs, Mary, *The Stoughton Manuscript: a Manuscript Miscellany of Poems / by Henry King and his Circle, circa 1636*. Aldershot, Hants: Scolar Press, c.1990.

Hughey, Ruth (ed.), *The Arundel Harington manuscript of Tudor poetry*, 2 vols (1960).

John Milton: poems, reproduced in facsimile from the manuscript in Trinity College, Cambridge, with a transcript (1970).

Sullivan, Ernest W., II, ed. *The First and Second Dalhousie Manuscripts: Poems and Prose [by John Donne and others]*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1988.

Epistolary Theory

Texts under discussion feature extracts from:
Desiderius Erasmus, *De Conscribendis Episolis* (1522).

Juan Luis Vives, *De Conscribendis Epistolis*. Charles Fantazzi, ed./trans. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989.

Justus Lipsius, *Epistolicalinstitution*

Principles of Letter-writing: a Bilingual Text of 'Justi Lipsi Epistolica Institutio' ed./trans. R.V. Young and M. Thomas Hester, Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press [Library of Renaissance Humanism Press], 1996.

William Fulwood, *The Enimie of Idlenesse* (1568)

Abraham Fleming, *A Panoplie of Epistles* (1576)

Angel Day, *The English Secretarie* (1586, and other editions)

John Browne, *The Merchants Avizo* (1588)

Thomas Blount, *The Academy of Eloquence* (1656)

Packet Readings:

Braunmuller, A.R. "Accounting for Absence: the Transcription of Space." In *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985-1991*. W. Speed Hill, ed. Binghamton, NY: MRTS/RETS, 1993, pp. 47–56.

Gibson, Jonathan. "Significant Space in Manuscript Letters," *The Seventeenth Century* 12 (1997), pp. 1–9.

—. "Letters." In *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*. Michael Hattaway, ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000, pp. 615–19.

Saunders, J.W. "The Stigma of Print: a Note on the Social Bases of Tudor Poetry." In *Essays in Criticism* 1. Oxford: Blackwell, 1951, pp 139–64. **PR1 .E8**

Alan Stewart and Heather Wolfe."Manuals," and "The Material Letter and Social Signals." In *Letterwriting in Renaissance England*. Washington DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 2004.

Stevenson, Allan. "Watermarks are twins." *Studies in Bibliography* 4 (1951–2): 57–91.

Week Four: Manuscripts and the Early Modern Theatre
11–14 July 2005

Dr. Susan Cerasano (Edgar W.B. Fairchild Professor of Literature, Colgate University)
Dr. Paul Werstine (Professor of Modern Languages, University of Western Ontario)

Monday and Tuesday: The Rose Playhouse, Henslowe's Diary

Bentley, G.E., ed. *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage (1941–68)*, 7 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941–68. **PN2592 .B4 Copy 2**

Chambers, E.K. *The Elizabethan Stage*. 4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923. **PN2589.C4 Copy 2**

Collier, J.P., ed. *The Alleyn Papers*. London: Printed for the Shakespeare Society, 1843. **PN2598.A7 A5**

Foakes, R.A. and R.T. Rickerts, eds. *Henslowe's Diary*. Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002. **PN2589 .H4 1904a**

Foakes, R.A. *Illustrations of the English Stage, 1590-1642*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985.

Foakes, R.A., ed. *The Henslowe Papers*. 2 vols. London: Scolar Press, 1977. **PN2589 .H4 1977 copy 1**

Greg, W.W. *Dramatic Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouses*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931. **PN2589 .G74**

Greg, W.W., ed. *Henslowe Papers*. London: A.H. Bullen, 1907. **PN2589 .H4 1904a**

Honigmann, E.A.J. and Susan Brock, eds., *Playhouse Wills, 1558–1642: An Edition of Wills by Shakespeare and his Contemporaries in the London Theatre*. New York: Manchester University Press,

c.1993. **PN 2596 L6 P5**

Petti, Anthony G. *English Literary Hands from Chaucer to Dryden*. London: E. Arnold, 1977. **Z115E .P4**

Records of Early English Drama (REED) volumes, now available for the following counties/areas: York, Chester, Coventry, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Norwich, Cumberland/Westmorland, Gloucestershire, Devon, Cambridge, Hereford/Worcestershire, Lancashire, Shropshire, Somerset (including Bath), Bristol, Dorset/Cornwall, Sussex, Kent, Oxford, Forthcoming: Wales, Ecclesiastical London/Westminster

Thomas, David. *Shakespeare in the Public Records* London: H.M.S.O., 1985. **PR3115 no.24**

Wallace, Charles W. *The First London Theatre: Materials for a History*. Lincoln, NE: [University of Nebraska], 1913. **PR 2920 W19**

Wednesday and Thursday: 'Foul Papers' and 'Prompt-books'

Manuscripts:

Folger MS J.b.8, Christopher Marlowe, *Massacre at Paris*. (fragment)

British Library MS Harley 7368, *The Book of Sir Thomas More*, ff. 8 r–9 r (both examples of 'foul papers' for Greg).

British Library MS Lansdowne 807, *The Second Maidens Tragedy*, ff. 56v, 56r, 55r, 54v (a 'prompt-book' for Greg).

Victoria and Albert Museum MS Dyce 9, *The Honest Mans Fortune*, ff. 1r, 28v, 34v

British Library MS Additional 36758, John Fletcher, *Bonduca*, ff. 1r, 19r, 23r

Folger MS J.b. 5, Beaumont, John Fletcher, Philip Massinger, *The Beggars Bush*, ff. 158r, 174v, 175r, 175v, 176r

Folger MS J.b. 1 Arthur Wilson, *The Inconstant Lady*. ff. 3r, 18v, 19r

Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson Poet. 9, Arthur Wilson, *The Inconstant Lady*. 1st page, ff. 25, 25v, 26

Archdall MS of Middleton's *Game At Chesse*

Folger MS V.a.231, Thomas Middleton's *A Game At Chesse.*

Transcriptions

Bowers, Fredson, ed. *Beggars Bush*. Vol. 3. *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, 10 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966–96. **PR2421 .B6**

Gerritsen, J., ed. *The Honest Mans Fortune*. Groningen: Wolters, 1952. **PR2507.H6 G4**

Greg, W. W., ed. *Bonduca by John Fletcher*. Malone Society Reprints. London: Malone Society, 1951.

Greg, W. W., ed. *The Book of Sir Thomas More*. Malone Society Reprints. 1911; rpt. London: the Malone Society, 1961.

Greg, W. W., ed. *The Second Maidens Tragedy*. Malone Society Reprints. London: Malone Society, 1910 for 1909.

Howard-Hill, T. H., ed. *A Game At Chess*. The Revels Plays. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993. **PR2714 .G3 1993**

Itzoe, Linda V., ed. *The Inconstant Lady*. New York: Garland, 1980. **PR3190.W64 I5 1980**

Lancashire, Anne, ed. *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*. The Revels Plays. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978. **PR2411 .S2 1978**

Secondary sources

Bald, R. C. "Arthur Wilson's *The Inconstant Lady*." *The Library* IV 18 (1938): 287–313.

Bald, R. C. *Bibliographical Studies in the Beaumont & Fletcher Folio of 1647*. London: The Bibliographical Society, 1938 (for 1937). **PR2435 .B2**

Bowers, Fredson. "*Beggars Bush*: A Reconstructed Prompt-Book and Its Copy." *Studies in Bibliography* 27 (1974): 113–36.

Gabrieli, Vittorio and Georgio Melchiori, eds. *Sir Thomas More*. The Revels Plays. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990. **PR2868 1990**

Greg, W.W. *The Shakespeare First Folio*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955. **Z8813 .G73**

Greg, W. W. *Dramatic Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouses: Stage Plots, Actors' Parts, Prompt Books*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931. **PN2589 .G74**

Howard-Hill, T. H. "Marginal Markings: The Censor and the Editing of Four English Promptbooks." *Studies in Bibliography* 36 (1983): 168-77.

Ioppolo, Grace. "'The Final Revision of *Bonduca*': And Unpublished Essay by W. W. Greg." *Shakespeare Bulletin* 43 (1990): 62–80. **PR2887 .N45**

Long, William B. "Stage-Directions: A Misinterpreted Factor in Determining Textual Provenance." *TEXT* 2 (1985): 121–38.

McMillin, Scott. "Hand D." In *The Elizabethan Theatre & the Book of* "Sir Thomas More". Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987, pp. 135–59. **PR2868 .M3**

Pollard, Alfred W. ed. *Shakespeare's Hand in* the play of "Sir Thomas More". Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923. **PR2868 .P6**

Rasmussen, Eric. "Setting Down what the Clown Spoke: Improvisation, Hand B, and *The Booke of Sir Thomas More*." *The Library* 6th ser. 13 (1991).

Werstine, Paul. "Shakespeare, More or Less: A. W. Pollard and Twentieth-Century Shakespeare Editing." *Florilegium* 16 (1999): 125–45.

Werstine, Paul. "Plays in Manuscript." In *A New History of Early English Drama*. John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan, eds. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997. **PR641 .N49 1997**

Week Five: Contexts of Class and Gender in Seventeenth-Century Manuscripts
18–21 July 2005

Dr. Victoria Burke (Associate Professor of English, University of Ottawa)
Dr Adam Fox (Professor of Economic and Social History, University of Edinburgh)

Monday and Tuesday

Core Readings:

Klene, Jean, ed. *The Southwell-Sibthorpe Commonplace Book: Folger MS. V.b.198*. Tempe, Ariz.: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1997: Introduction (pp. xi-xliii); fols 1r–11r (pp. 1–17 of Klene), 59r-69v (pp. 93–107), 73r–74v (pp. 113–116) [please browse]. **PR2349.S49 A6 1997**

Millman, Jill Seal and Gillian Wright, eds. *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Poetry*. New York : Manchester University Press ; New York: Palgrave, 2005: "Lady Mary Wroth, *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*: Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.104," pp. 35–56. **PR532 .E27 2005**

Ostovich, Helen and Elizabeth Sauer, eds. *Reading Early Modern Women: An Anthology of Texts in Manuscript and Print, 1550–1700*. New York: Routledge, 2004. Chapter 5, "Letters," pp. 187–239 [please browse].

Harris, Frances. "The Letterbooks of Mary Evelyn." *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700* 7 (1998): 202–15.

Clarke, Elizabeth. "Diaries." In *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*. Michael Hattaway, ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000, pp. 609–14. **PR411.C66 2000**

Pennell, Sara. "Perfecting Practice? Women, Manuscript Recipes and Knowledge in Early Modern England." In *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing: Selected Papers from the Trinity/Trent Colloquium*. Victoria E. Burke and Jonathan Gibson, eds. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, pp. 237–58.

Supplementary Reading:

Beal, Peter, and Margaret J.M. Ezell, eds. *Writings by Early Modern Women*, vol. 9 of *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700*. Oxford, UK; New York, NY: Basil Blackwell, 1989–.

Burke, Victoria E., and Jonathan Gibson, eds. Early Modern Women's *Manuscript Writing: Selected Papers from the Trinity/Trent Colloquium*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

Daybell, James, ed. *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450–1700*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.

Ezell, Margaret J.M. "Elizabeth Delaval's Spiritual Heroine: Thoughts on Redefining Manuscript Texts by Early Women Writers." *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700* 3 Oxford, UK; New York, NY: Basil Blackwell, 1989, pp. 216–37.

Ezell, Margaret J.M. *The Patriarch's Wife: Literary Evidence and the History of the Family*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987.

Justice, George L., and Nathan Tinker, eds. *Women's Writing and the Circulation of Ideas: Manuscript Publication in England, 1550–1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Ottway, Sheila. "Autobiography." In *A Companion to Early Modern Women's Writing*. Anita Pacheco, ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 2002, pp. 231–47.

Whyman, Susan. "The Correspondence of Esther Masham and John Locke: A Study in Epistolary Silences." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 66 (2003): 275–305.

Potential questions for discussion:

What can apparently non-literary writing tell us about literary culture of the early modern period?
What can material characteristics reveal about the audiences and functions of individual manuscripts?

Could privacy offer a space enabling to women writers?
To what extent was collaboration enacted within family groups and immediate circles, or across time and distance?
What effects do class, education, religious affiliation, political sympathies, geographical location, and other factors have on the production of manuscripts by women?

Wednesday and Thursday

Locality, Orality and Textuality: Popular Engagement with the Handwritten Word in Early Modern England

Vernacular Culture and Oral Tradition in Early Modern English Manuscripts

This session will begin by exploring the great variety which existed in dialect speech in the many local societies of which early modern England was comprised. It will do so by the collective reading of copies of the following manuscripts:

Folger MS V.a.308 (Poetical commonplace book, c.1690-1730; contains 'A Lancashire Tale'; 'A Yorkshire Tale'; and 'Clavis') *Film number: 147.6*

Folger MS V.a.232 (Commonplace book of Henry Newcome, begun 1669. Contains at the end of Pt II a catalogue of Lancashire words with their 'true English' equivalents) *Film number: 4370.2*

Hampshire Record Office, Winchester, 44M69/G3/159 (John Newbolt, 'Report on Counterfeiters,' 1615)

John Smyth of Nibley, 'A Description of the Hundred of Berkeley in Gloucestershire,' c.1639, printed in *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, ed. Sir John Maclean (3 vols., Gloucester, 1883–5) vol. 3, 22–33

It will then proceed to examine some of the oral traditions, local rhymes, and popular customs as recorded in the unpublished accounts of contemporary antiquaries. Extracts from the following manuscript sources will be examined:

Folger MS W.b.483, and X.d.446 (Commonplace book containing verses, practical precepts and proverbial rules on husbandry by John Kay, before 1642)

Folger PR 1405 AS (Photocopy of Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Top. Gen. c. 24-5, John Aubrey, 'Monumenta Britannica,' 1668–71)

British Library, Lansdowne MS 231 (John Aubrey, 'The Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme,' 1687-9, also printed in *John Aubrey: Three Prose Works*, ed. John Buchanan-Brown (Fontwell, 1972).

Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle, D&C / Machell MS 1 (Thomas Machell, Description of Westmorland, 1678–98)

Suggested Reading:

Cressy, David. *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980. **LC156.G7 C7**

Fox, Adam. *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500–1700*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000, ch. 1–4. **GR141 .F69 2000**

McKenzie, D. F. "Speech-Manuscript-Print." In *New Directions in Textual Studies*. Dave Oliphant and Robin Bradford, eds. Austin: University of Texas at Austin, 1990, pp. 87–109. **PA47 .N4**

Thomas, Keith. "The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England." In *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition*. Gerd Baumann, ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986, pp. 97–131.

Thomas, Keith. "Numeracy in Early Modern England." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 37 (1987): 103–32. **DA20 .R64**

Underdown, David. "Regional Cultures? Local Variations in Popular Culture During the Early Modern Period." In *Popular Culture in England, c. 1500-1850*. Tim Harris, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995, pp. 28–47. **DA110 .P6**

Questions for Consideration:

To what extent is it possible to generalise about popular culture in modern England when, in terms of language and mentality, there could be so much variety across the country?

What does the oral repertoire of English villagers in this period, as recorded by contemporary observers, reveal about the attitudes and beliefs of the lower orders?

Why were both literacy rates and the use of written documents increasing during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?

The Popular Use of Writing in Early Modern England

This class will build on our investigation of developing popular literacy by moving on to examine some of the ways in which people from the lower ranks of society used their ability to read and write. We will focus upon three areas in particular.

The first is the use of written rhymes or songs as a weapon of ridicule or shame in local communities. The rather unpleasant practice of composing a scurrilous verse or ballad about a neighbour in order to

mock or humiliate may not be very edifying but it does at least allow us to observe the way in which an essentially oral form was also written down in this period in order to aid its dissemination and heighten its impact. Victims of such poetic assault often prosecuted their detractors at law. Since the courts required copies of the alleged 'libel' to be produced in evidence, the records of their proceedings contain texts of the material in question together with accompanying testimonies which shed invaluable light its composition, transcription and circulation. Sources to be considered include:

Wiltshire Record Office, Trowbridge, A1/100/ T 1618, 168; and A1/100/ M 1626, 149-50 (Wiltshire Quarter Sessions Great Rolls, Trinity Term 1618 and Michaelmas Term 1626)

National Archives, London, STAC8/100/18 (Proceedings in the Court of Star Chamber, Reign of James I, Cunde v Browne, 1605)

Essex Record Office, Chelmsford, D/DO B24/5; AND D/DU 65/86 (Court of King's Bench, Tiffin v Wing)

The second case study will focus on the still unusual writing of personal memoirs by people of humble station. Diaries, autobiographies and letters written by those below the level of the gentry or the formally educated are rare from this period, either because such people did not often write such things or because they have not come down to us. The gradual expansion of this material over time, however, is testimony to the growing use and perceived utility of the written word at all social levels. Where they can be found, such documents provide precious glimpses the lives and letters of ordinary people in the seventeenth century. Examples to be examined in this context include:

Folger MS V. a.436 (A writing book of the London wood-turner, Nehemiah Wallington, 1654. Contains an extract of the passage of his life and a daily record of mercies and providences) *Film number: 3074*

Wigan Archives Service, Lancashire MS D/DZA58 (The diary of Roger Lowe, apprentice shopkeeper of Ashton-in-Makerfield, Lancashire, 1663–74)

Somerset Record Office, Taunton, MS DD/SAS C/1193/4 (Memoirs of John Cannon of Meare, 1684–1742)

Our third and final case study in this session will be concerned with the use of written instruments by local people in the business of parochial administration and daily business. One consequence of the expansion of the central government and the growth of the state in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England was that people of the middling sort became co-opted into position of responsibility in local government as constables, overseers of the poor and jurors. This involved them in the necessary reading and writing of the written word to a much greater extent than ever before. At the same time, their dependent neighbours found themselves needing to resort to the written word in their petitions for poor relief or their license to beg or to travel. Thus writing was coming to structure the routine and define the parameters of daily life in altogether new ways. Consideration will be given to:

Huntington Library, California, MS Ellesmere 6162, fols. 34a–36a (Swallowfield Parish Meeting, 1596)

Poor Law Petitions drawn from various English County Record Offices

Suggested Reading:

Fox, Adam. *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500–1700*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000. Ch. 6. **GR141 .F69 2000**

Hindle, Steve. "Hierarchy and Community in the Elizabethan Parish: The Swallowfield Articles of 1596." *Historical Journal*, 42 (1999): 835–51

Hindle, Steve. *On the Parish? The Micro-Politics of Poor Relief in Rural England c. 1550–1750*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Ingram, Martin. "Ridings, Rough Music and Mocking Rhymes in Early Modern England." In *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*. Barry Reay, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985, pp. 166–197.

Spufford, Margaret. "First Steps in Literacy: the Reading and Writing Experiences of the Humblest Seventeenth-Century Spiritual Autobiographers." In *Figures in the Landscape: Rural Society in England, 1500-1700*. Aldershot, [England]; Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2000, pp. 219–47.

Seaver, Paul S. *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985.

Week Six: Manuscripts at Home and in Public in the late Seventeenth Century
25–28 July 2005

Margaret J.M. Ezell (The John Paul Abbot Professor in Liberal Arts, Texas A&M University)

McKenzie, D.F. "Speech-Manuscript-Print" and "What's Past is Prologue: The Bibliographical Society and the History of the Book." In *Making Meaning: Printers of the Mind and Other Essays*. Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Saurez, eds. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, c2002, pp. 237–75. **Z1005.M325 2002**

Hackel, Heidi Brayman. "Impressions from a 'scribbling age': Gestures and Habits of Reading." In *Reading Material in Early Modern England*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Ch. 6. **PR428.A8 B73 2005**

Genette, Gérard. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Translated by Jane E. Lewin; foreword by Richard Macksey. Cambridge ; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. xi-xxii; 1–15.

de Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984, pp. xi-xxiv; 165–76.

Some thoughts for discussion about domestic papers and multi-generational texts:

Further readings on specific manuscripts: Jean Klene, "Monument of an Endless Affection: Folger MS V.b.198 and Lady Anne Southwell," *English Manuscript Studies*, 9 (2000): 165–86.

In *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing*. Victoria Burke and Jonathan Gibson, eds. Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004

- Caroline Bowden, "The Notebooks of Rachael Fame: Education for Authorship?", pp. 157–80.
- Victoria Burke, "Reading Friends: Women's Participation in 'Masculine' Literary Culture," pp. 75–90.
- Arnold Hunt, "The Books, Manuscripts, and Literary Patronage of Mrs. Anne Sadleir (1585–1670)," pp. 205–36.
- Heather Wolfe, "Reading Bells and Loose Papers: Reading and Writing Practices of the English Benedictine Nuns of Cambrai and Paris," pp. 135–56.

Resources for Manuscript Studies

NEH Institute
- Syllabus
- Glossary

Folger MSS

Electronic Resources

A Glossary of Manuscript Terms

Autograph	A manuscript in an author's hand that includes the author's signature (See Ivic, Rusnak)
Bifolium	A large sheet of paper folded in half and resulting in a four-page "booklet." (See Ivic, Walkling)
Catchword	A word at the bottom of a page in a manuscript or print book indicating the first word of the following page. In manuscripts produced by multiple professional scribes, catchwords were provided at the ends of quires to assure that the finished product would be assembled in the correct order. Catchwords that appear in the manuscripts of amateur scribes may serve a similar function, but may also be a decorative element introduced to give the manuscript a more professional look. (See Bond)
Colophon	A statement providing the details of publication, sometimes found at the end of a book, but more often at the bottom of a printed book's title page. (See Rusnak)
Commonplace book	Sometimes used as a catch-all cataloguing term for manuscript miscellanies. Commonplaces (quotations or excerpts from reading, including aphorisms, precepts, maxims, anecdotes and other *sententiae*) were entered under subject headings in MS volumes produced by grammar school students. Commonplace books were given subject headings, usually in alphabetical order, before entries were transcribed under them. Many legal commonplace books survive from the early modern era, while literary collections of the kind are far less common. (See Bond, Ivic, Powell and McElroy)
Copy book	A book comprising texts for a student to imitate. A copy book might be handwritten or printed. These books were often used to teach students calligraphy, arithmetic, and languages. Moral distiches and mnemonic devices were frequently used as copy texts so that students could learn moral virtues in tandem with their lessons. (See Smith)
Copy text	For editors, a text identified as the most authoritative source. (See Justice)
Coterie	An exclusive literary or social circle. (See Ivic)
Exemplar	The immediate model for a manuscript transcription. (See Crawford and Quinn)
Exercise book	A blank book in which a student copied out exercises. (See Smith)
Fair copy	A manuscript showing signs of polish and finish, unlike foul papers, or drafts.
Folio	From the Latin word for leaf, a paper size designating one-half of a standard-size sheet of paper. Achieved by folding the sheet in half once. Also the size of the book or manuscript comprising such sheets. Shakespeare's plays were first collected in the famous First Folio of 1623. (See McElroy and Powell, Rusnak)
Hand	The style in which a particular alphabet is written; or, in a broader sense, any one standard style of writing (such as 'italic' or 'secretary'), or one individual's execution of that style. A single person could often have two or more 'hands' if s/he has learned multiple standard styles. (See Bond, Ivic, Laroche, McElroy and Powell)

Holograph	A manuscript in its author's handwriting (See Bond)
Italic	A style of handwriting created in Italy and associated with the humanists. The italic hand was first adapted to print publication in a 1501 edition of Virgil issued by the Aldine Press. Today, the italic hand is often used for emphasis in print and is most readily recognized by its pronounced slope to the right. (See Clifton, Ivic, Laroche, Smith)
Leaf	A single sheet of paper or vellum, each side of which constitutes a page.
Letterbook	A bound collection of letters sent, received, or circulated that have been copied by the owner or a professional scribe. (See Billings)
Manicule	Also called an index or printer's fist, the pointed finger found in the margins of books. May be hand-drawn or printed. (See Crawford and Quinn)
Miscellany	A bound manuscript containing disparate elements, or in literary practice, disparate genres, such as poems, short stories, or plays, often collected or written over time. A genre that goes back to ancient Greek anthologies, this term gained popularity in the seventeenth century. (See Bond, Ivic, Justice, Rusnak)
Monogram	A design composed of one or more letters (usually initials), typically those of a name, used as an identifying mark. (See Rusnak)
Octavo	A paper size (or the resulting book) designating one-eighth of the standard-sized sheet (called a broadside). This size was achieved by three successive, equal foldings of the sheet. (See Ivic, McElroy and Powell)
Page	A single side of a leaf, and part of a system of enumerating the leaves in a book.
Paleography	The study of old forms of handwriting.
Paratext	A term coined by critic Gérard Genette to describe the portions of a text conceptualized as extrinsic to the text proper. Paratexts include prefatory elements (prefaces, acknowledgments, introductions, title pages), supplementary or concluding elements (footnotes or endnotes, conclusions, appendices), and elements which facilitate the use of the text (tables of contents, indices, page numbers, chapter or section headings, marginal notes, running titles) or increase its aesthetic appeal (borders, illustrations, decorative or historiated letters). (See Bond, Crawford and Quinn).
Provenance	A record of the origin and history of ownership of a specific copy of a manuscript.
Quarto	A paper size (or the resulting book) designating one-fourth of the large, standard-sized sheet. This size was achieved by two successive, equal foldings of a sheet. (See Crawford and Quinn)
Quire	For medieval manuscripts, a set of four sheets of parchment or paper folded in half as a single unit, so as to form eight leaves; by extrapolation, any collection or gathering of leaves, one within the other, in a manuscript or printed book. (See Rusnak)
Receipt book	A collection of cookery or medicinal recipes, or any book that details ingredients, formulas, remedies, prescriptions, and processes concerned with the production of foods, medicines, and other household items. (See Laroche, Smith)
Recto	The front or obverse of a page, leaf, or sheet of paper, vellum, or other surface designed for writing. (See Walkling)
Scribe	A writer, whether professional or amateur, of a text in manuscript. The scribe may or may not be the author or composer of the text in question; often used to

describe a writer who prepares texts as an amanuensis for others or who produces copies of texts for further distribution. (See Bond, Crawford and Quinn)

Scribal publication	A term coined by Harold Love to describe the distribution of a piece of writing through manual copying and personal networks rather than through printing for public sale. (See Billings, Ivic)
Scriptorium	A workshop or other appropriately equipped space where multiple scribes or copyists (usually professionals) produced manuscripts in quantity, often under supervision. (See Walkling)
Secretary	A style of handwriting, developed from a specialized court hand, and in widespread use in sixteenth and seventeenth century England; Or, a person whose profession it is to produce handwritten documents, possibly within a family but also designating some of the highest functionaries of the state. (See Billings, Clifton, Ivic, Laroche, Starner)
Sententiae	The plural of a Latin term meaning 'sentences' and generally designating maxims, proverbs or aphorisms (see "Commonplace Book" above). (See Powell and McElroy)
Sheet	See "leaf." (Ivic)
Stemma	The genealogy of multiple transcriptions of a literary work (See Crawford and Quinn, Justice)
Transcription	A manuscript copy of a given work. (See Crawford and Quinn, Crawford and Quinn)
Vellum	The skin of a young calf, specially treated for use as a writing surface, or to form the cover of a book or manuscript. By the early modern period, paper had become common, but vellum remained an expensive alternative for special uses. (See Ivic, Powell and McElroy, Rusnak)
Verso	The back or reverse of a page, leaf, or sheet of paper, vellum, or other surface designed for writing. (See Walkling)

SEE ALSO:

Peter Beal forthcoming

Joan M. Reitz's **Online Dictionary for Library and Information Science ODLIS**

Resources for Manuscript Research at the Folger Shakespeare Library

Finding Manuscripts at the Folger

Classification of Manuscripts

Early Modern Paleography: Useful Sources

Manuscript Finding Aids
http://titania.folger.edu/findingaids/

A list of English Reformation MSS drawn from the NEH Institute on "Redefining the Sacred"
http://www.folger.edu/html/folger_institute/sacred/manuscript.html

Online Resources via Hamnet
http://shakespeare.folger.edu/other/digital.htm#fwr

Folger Shakespeare Library Manuscripts
http://www.folger.edu/collslideshow.cfm?collectionid=79&cid=384

Trevelyon Conservation Project
http://www.folger.edu/template.cfm?cid=1138

Word & Image: The Trevelyon Miscellany of 1608:
http://www.folger.edu/html/exhibitions/trevelyon_miscellany/intro.asp

Exhibition: *The Pen's Excellencie:*
http://www.folger.edu/template.cfm?cid=1861

Exhibition: *Letter Writing in Renaissance England*
http://www.folger.edu/template.cfm?cid=1595

Electronic Resources

Online Paleography Tutorials

English Handwriting, 1500–1700: an Online Course
www.english.cam.ac.uk/ceres/ehoc/
Faculty of English, University of Cambridge

Medieval and Early Modern Paleography Online Seminar Series
paleo.anglo-norman.org/empfram.html
David Postles, University of Leicester

Palaeography: Reading Old Handwriting 1500–1800, a PracticalOnline Tutorial
www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/palaeography/ [see especially the game!]
National Archives, Kew (formerly the Public Record Office)

"Literary Manuscript Analysis." Gabriel Heaton, Centre for the Study of the Renaissance, University of Warwick [not a tutorial, but provides useful links and general terminology for describing letter forms]
www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/ren/publications/lima/

General Links

http://www.crrs.ca/library/webresources/webresources.htm#renauth
A comprehensive list of links compiled by the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies at the University of Toronto

http://www.luminarium.org
A site devoted to the work of and works about writers in early modern England
NB: This page automatically loads and plays a music file, so mute the computer if you are at a public computer terminal.

http://www.english.cam.ac.uk/wroth/startp.htm
Resources on Lady Mary Wroth

http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/default.htm
The National Archives site (formerly the Public Record Office)

http://dewey.library.upenn.edu/sceti/flash.cfm?CFID=6642336&CFTOKEN=25697380
Link to the homepage of the Schoenberg Center for Electronic Text and Image

http://www.netserf.org/
Provides links to resources for the study of the Middle Ages

http://www.georgetown.edu/labyrinth/subjects/mss/mss.html
Provides links to online medieval manuscripts and digital projects

http://www.kb.nl/kb/manuscripts/
Illuminated MSS from the National Library of the Netherlands

http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/themes/englishlit/geoffchaucer.html
Two online editions of Caxton's Chaucer's Canterbury Tales

http://www.loc.gov/coll/nucmc/
National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections

"The Emperor of China His Letter to Queen Elizabeth" (1600)

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When Queen Elizabeth dispatched Benjamin Wood to China in 1596 in command of a small merchant fleet with a letter in Latin addressed to the Emperor of China, she may well have wondered whether she would be able to understand the reply. Considering that there was apparently no one in England at the time who could read an official Chinese document, her only hope would have been to rely on one of the Jesuit missionaries resident in China both to interpret her letter and to translate the response—someone like the famous Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci who had founded the mission there. As unlikely as that scenario might sound, whoever wrote the response copied here probably had just such a story in mind when he or she chose to write it in Italian, thus lending an air of comical plausibility to the sophisticated jest.

This letter—which was most certainly not written by the emperor of China—appears in Folger MS V.a. 321, an English letterbook; collecting letters in letterbooks was an extremely common practice in this period, and a great many examples survive. This letterbook is particularly important both for its fine script and extremely good condition as well as containing several unique copies of letters to and from such notable figures as Elizabeth I, Robert Cecil, Ben Jonson, George Chapman, and William Strachey, among others. It also contains variants of letters known to be of general interest (such as those related to the Essex affair) currently in scribal publication. Of the 140 letters in the letterbook, all but two are in English and copied in a professional English secretary hand. This is the only letter in Italian, and it is written in an italic hand.

In his critical edition of this letterbook, A. R. Braunmuller concluded that the Italian letter must be a forgery on the grounds that Benjamin Wood never made it to China. Historians have traced the little English fleet on their way to Canton as their ships dwindled from three, to two, to one, and then evidently disappeared off the coast of modern-day Myanmar, still a great distance even from reaching the South China Sea. Yet there is ample evidence within the letter itself that points to the same conclusion—so much so that the letter appears to be an obvious forgery: a sort of literary joke that circulated in the letter-writing and letter-copying culture of the period somewhat the way a fake email might circulate today pretending to be from a president or a prime minister about some silly or scandalous matter. (Insert your favorite names.)

Nothing about the form of the letter conforms to Chinese practice, from the titles and the dating formulas to the diction and the figures of speech: the author seems not even to know the current ruling dynasty in China, let alone the reign name and reign year of the Ming Wanli Emperor Shenzong. Rather, the whole composition smacks of having been conceived as an amusement on the model of an English letter and then rendered into Italian. Moreover, it would have had a topical appeal since the queen's original Latin letter to the Chinese emperor appeared that very year in the third volume of Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations...of the English nation* (London, 1598–1600). Along with an English translation of the letter, Hakluyt included a headnote remarking that there had yet been no news from Benjamin Wood and his company, and that they "may be arriued vpon some part of the coast of China, and may there be stayed by the said Emperour, or perhaps may haue some treacherie wrought against them by the Portugales of *Macao*, or the Spaniards of the *Philippinas*."

The most pointed jest in the letter is the subtle implication that a Jesuit like Ricci would have had to translate, to his own disadvantage, the phrase describing the queen as "the most chaste among all the Gentlemen [*Signori*] who follow Jesus, as uniquely chosen from the most powerful of the Christian law." (Braunmuller suggests that the appearance in the letterbook of another letter known to be a Jesuit forgery may indicate Catholic sympathies, but this letter at least seems to turn on a queen-flattering, Jesuit-mocking conceit.) The punchline of the letter is its date, set apart at the end and emphasized with underlining. Long before Archbishop Ussher's famous calculation, it was well known to any Elizabethan who ever glanced at an almanac that the world was not quite 6,000 years old, as had already been established by the early Church fathers. (See, for example, the first page of the Trevelyon Miscellany in the Folger collection, which copies a page from Edward Pond's almanac of about the same time, giving the age of the world as 5,570 years.) The Chinese emperor, however, dates his letter with an absurd formula: "the Year of the Creation of the World / *25,000*." (See the notes below for a passage in Hakluyt that tells of a Chinese tale of a 90,000-year cycle of creation.) Considering how outrageous this must have sounded to Europeans, and how controversial the Chinese historical chronicles would soon prove to be in challenging the accepted biblical chronology, this ending may have been punchline enough to carry the whole jest.

Another possibility is that the letter was never intended as a self-contained entertainment for general circulation, but rather as a very specific amusement addressed to a particular person. The letter refers to

an accompanying but unnamed gift. If that gift had Chinese associations, such as porcelain or silk, it could explain the whole conceit of the letter. The receiver would presumably know the sender by the messenger, whom the author of the letter explicitly requests be sent back. After having served its initial function, the letter may then have been circulated for the amusement of others. Indeed, although we can be sure that the emperor did not send this letter, we cannot be sure that the queen did not receive it, for the letter makes most sense as a clever composition attached to a gift sent to Elizabeth herself. Until the author of the playful letter is positively identified, it will be impossible for us to know whether certain otherwise conventional phrases—such as praise for the queen's person and sincere wishes for her good health—may not also be private sentiments expressed to the ailing Elizabeth from a witty courtier like John Harington, or whether they are simply part of a fictional exchange between monarchs concocted for sport to embellish a gift between friends.

Primary Texts:

John Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes*, *Or Most copious, and exact Dictionarie in Italian and English*. London, 1598.

Richard Hakluyt, *The principal navigations, voiages, traffiques and discoueries of the English nation*, 3 vols. London, 1598–1600.

Juan González de Mendoza, *The Historie of the great and mightie kingdome of China*, trans. Richard Parke. London, 1588.

Transcription, translation, and other textual notes

Suggested Reading:

Braunmuller, A. R. *A Seventeenth-Century Letter-Book: A Facsimile Edition of Folger MS. V.a. 321 with Transcript, Annotation, and Commentary*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1983.

Stewart, Alan and Heather Wolfe, *Letterwriting in Renaissance England*, The Folger Shakespeare Library. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2004.

John Donne's "To His Mistress Going to Bed" As an Open Source

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John Donne (1572–1631) printed almost none of his poetry during his lifetime, choosing instead to circulate it in manuscript. Even after the posthumous publication of his *Poems* in 1633, some of his poetry remained unavailable in print. In fact, Donne's famous elegy "To His Mistress Going to Bed" was first printed in a 1654 anthology and was not included in Donne's works until the 1669 edition. The poem was nonetheless quite popular. It survives in over 70 known manuscript copies, though none is in Donne's hand. (There is only one surviving holograph of the roughly 200 poems which Donne wrote.) "To His Mistress Going to Bed" is an excellent illustration of what Arthur Marotti has termed the "social textuality" of manuscript circulation. This term describes the willingness of many amateur scribes and compilers to consciously reshape or reframe the poems they copied. These scribes adopted a shared, "open source" approach, fitting the texts they copied to their particular social needs rather than attempting an exact reproduction of an authorial ideal.

Scribes and compilers felt free to provide their own answers to questions about the nature of the texts they copied and collected. Is the poem a general reflection on a commonly shared experience? Is it a poetic record of an event in the life of its author, (in the case of Donne, the now famous Dean of St. Paul's)? Is it a work of imagination created by an artist and to be admired primarily as an expression of his craft? The ways in which a particular scribe answered these questions can be gleaned from the kinds of collections in which a scribe placed a poem and from the identifying information—a title, indication of authorship or of the context which produced the poem—included or omitted in a copy. The various manuscript versions reveal more intimately than can a printed edition the range of ways in which the poem was used and understood by readers.

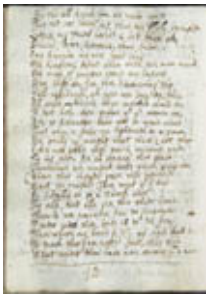
A range of scribal strategies is illustrated in the eight copies of "To His Mistress Going to Bed" at the Folger Shakespeare Library. Three of these manuscripts are in bound verse miscellanies compiled by their owners during the 1630s, and each reflects something of that scribe's habits of collection and interest in the poem.

The compiler of V.a.262 provided his poetic miscellany with the title "Divers Sonnetts & Poems compiled by certaine gentil Clerks and Ryme-Wrightes," which was revised from a still visible first title, "Certaine Sonnets and Divers Works of gentil Clerks." There is a lack of any attribution of authorship here even though three earlier poems in the manuscript are correctly attributed to "Dr. Donne."

The compiler of V.a.103 divided his poetic miscellany with various running heads: "Epitaphs - Laudatory," "Epitaphs - Satiricall and Merry," "Love Sonnets," "Panegyricks," "Satyres," "Miscellenea," and a one-poem unit labeled "An Elegie." The running heads seem to have been entered before the poems were copied below them, making V.a.103 a commonplace book.

The compiler of V.a.125 includes "To His Mistress" amongst a group of poems written by Donne. It is preceded by a fragmentary copy of "The Will," lines 32–36 of which appear at the top of the page, and followed by "Love's Diet" and "The Perfume," titled "To his Mrs." by this compiler.

Click on the thumbnail images to get a printable PDF version of each manuscript version of "To His Mistress." Print out these different scribal copies so



that you can make a close comparison of these texts with one another and with a modern, printed edition of the poem.

Consider how the paratextual identifying information included in (or omitted from) each copy of the poem changes the way we understand it. How do the different titles alter our reading of the poem? What are we to make of the presence or lack of attribution to a particular author? What about the kind of collection in which the poem is included? Brief descriptions of each collection are provided above. Do the different hands (or writing styles) of the scribe suggest anything about their attitudes toward the poem?

In addition to these paratextual elements, pay close attention to the internal textual differences from manuscript to manuscript (your modern edition of the poem should be especially helpful here). How often do these scribal copies differ from one another? How often do they differ from your modern edition? (If you are having trouble, you might focus in on the first four and the last four lines, each of which should reveal interesting differences.) How do they differ in terms of their use of punctuation? Of spelling?

Suggested Reading:

Donne, John. *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne: The Elegies*. Eds. Gary A. Stringer et al. Vol. 2. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2000. 8 vols.

Larson, Deborah Aldrich. "Donne's Contemporary Reputation: Evidence from Some Commonplace Books and Manuscript Miscellanies." *John Donne Journal* 12 (1993): 115–30.

Marotti, Arthur F. "Social Textuality in the Manuscript System." In *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1995. 135–208.

McLeod, Randall. "Obliterature: Reading a Censored Text of Donne's 'To his mistres going to bed.'" *English Manuscript Studies* 12 (2005) 83–138.

Pebworth, Ted-Larry. "John Donne, Coterie Poetry, and the Text as Performance." *SEL* 29 (1989): 61–75.

Sequence and Design in Wroth's *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*

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Mary Wroth (1587–1651) was one of the most productive female poets in the first half of the seventeenth century. Her prose romance *Urania* was printed in 1621 with all the outward marks of status and achievement. Lyric poems appear scattered throughout *Urania* and, after the romance itself, Wroth also included a sonnet sequence entitled *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*. An earlier version of this sonnet sequence also exists in a carefully arranged and formatted manuscript written entirely in her own hand. Although the printed version contains Wroth's later revisions of individual poems and a reorganization of the sequence as a whole, there are significant aspects of the manuscript formatting that cannot be recreated in print. A comparison of the layout of Wroth's poetry in manuscript and print reveals the greater flexibility of manuscript and demonstrates how the choice of medium can limit or empower authors' decisions about how to present their work to readers.

"Formatting" and "layout" are broad, modern terms encompassing the ways in which all of the component parts of a text are arranged, as well as the ways those components are placed spatially on the page. Formatting includes decisions about how to indicate visually logical sections of a work (individual poems, larger subsections of poems within the overall collection, etc.), and other general design questions: what style of font should be used, how much text will fit on each page, how wide will the margins be? Another important consideration of formatting and layout is the use of what Gérard Genette has termed the " paratext," by which he means the elements of a physical text that are designed to facilitate the use of a text (such as a table of contents, page numbers or running heads, for instance) or increase its attractiveness (illustrations or decorative borders) but which are not considered to be part of the text itself.

In the early modern era, print encouraged homogeneity of layout because of the greater ease and cost-effectiveness of setting up typeface in easily repeatable formulas. This conformity could also help readers to internalize the formulas and thus increase comprehension. Because conformity offers no special advantages of economy or ease in manuscript production, however, the medium could be said to encourage authors to experiment with more subtle variations of formatting in guiding a reader's response to a text. The manuscript and print versions of Wroth's *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* provide an excellent example of the respective formatting tendencies /conventions/ possibilities of manuscript and print.

Here we provide links to multi-page PDF reproductions of two versions of *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*: one from Wroth's manuscript; the other from the 1621 printing, so that you can compare how the sonnet sequence is presented in manuscript and print. The latter pages of each feature a "corona," a series of sonnets linked by the repetition of the last line of each sonnet as the first line of the next (the last line of the final sonnet repeats the first line of the initial sonnet, forming the "circle" of the corona or crown). Print each PDF so that you can carefully examine them and compare them.

Pay special attention to Wroth's layout of the sonnets on the page, and to the paratextual elements like titles, chapter and/or page numbers, table of contents or indexes, and even catchwords, those words in the bottom righthand corner of the page which match up with the first word on the following page.

How does Wroth manipulate the layout and the paratext included in the manuscript in order to create a sense of a carefully arranged and organized sequence rather than a random assortment of unrelated poems? How many different elements of the manuscript's format contribute to this sense of order and organization?

Also, pay attention to Wroth's use of punctuation. In particular, what do you make of Wroth's use of the segno—the symbol that looks a bit like a slanted "$"? Does the way that Wroth uses it seem like she has a specific meaning for the symbol, or is it merely a decorative device?

Now looking at the sonnet sequence, pay careful attention to the layout and paratextual elements of the sequence. What portions of the layout and paratext remain the same in this sub-section of the manuscript? What elements, on the other hand, are different? In particular, how does Wroth use the segno in this section of the sonnet sequence? (Hint: Make sure to look at the final page of the section when answering this question.) What do these changes in formatting suggest about Wroth's understanding of the corona? How might they alter your understanding of the corona's relationship to the rest of the sonnet sequence?

By comparison with the flexibility and variety of formatting in the manuscript sequence, the printed text of *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* proves relatively stiff and uniform. Notice how little difference there is between the two portions of the printed text in comparison to the manuscript version. How does this uniformity of layout change the way you perceive the corona and its relationship to the other poems in the collection?

More generally, how does the formatting of poems in the printed text differ from the formatting in the manuscript? Which aspects of its layout and paratext seem similar to the opening section of the manuscript, and which seem similar to the manuscript corona? Which elements of layout and paratext are unique to the printed text, and which elements of the manuscript are abandoned in print?

Once you have identified the differences, try to think about how the transition from manuscript to print might help to explain these changes. Would the elements unique to the print version be more difficult to recreate in a handwritten document? Conversely, would the elements unique to the manuscript be difficult to recreate in the process of printing, or seem out of place in a printed book?

Suggested Reading:

Alexander, Gavin. "Constant Works: A Framework for Reading Mary Wroth," *Sidney Journal and Newsletter* 14, No. 2 (1996–97) 5–32.

Dubrow, Heather. "'And Thus Leave Off': Reevaluating Mary Wroth's Folger Manuscript, V.a.104," *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 22 (2003) 273–92.

Genette, Gérard. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Trans. Jane E. Lewin. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Masten, Jeffrey. "'Shall I turne blabb?': Circulation, Gender, and Subjectivity in Mary Wroth's Sonnets," in *Reading Mary Wroth*, Naomi J. Miller and Gary Waller eds. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991, 67–87.

A Seventeenth-Century Prophecy of Merlin

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Among the Folger's manuscripts are several copies of "Merlin's Prophecy," an early seventeenth-century poem concerning James I (and VI of Scotland). One of these appears on the title page of a printed copy of James' own works; one is on a single sheet in the hand of George More, John Donne's father-in-law; another is in a book of mainly parliamentary and political documents, written in a variety of hands from 1550 to 1650. There, one page begins with the rhymed "Merlin's Prophecy," written as continuous prose, followed by four more prose prophecies in the same hand; marginal notes to two of these indicate that they were written "by me, Thomas Gee."

These three versions are illustrated here. George More's, in a current italic hand ; Thomas Gee's, in a small, tidy secretary hand and that from the title page of James I's works, probably in the hand of Jean L'Oiseau de Tourval, the owner of the volume in 1626. Here I transcribe More's version.

Marlens prophesie

A prince out of the North shall come
4 King borne, king Babe his brest vppon
A Lyon rampant strange to see
and C. J. S. Jcleped hee
Born in a countrey rude and strong
8 yet he couragious wise and holy.
At best of strength, his fortunes best
he shall receaue and then hym rest
Couch as a Lion in his den
12 and lie in peace so long as men
shall wonder and all christendom
thinck the tyme long, both all and some
at last he calles a parliament
16 and breakes it of in discontent
and then shall shortly roused be
by enemyes beyonde the sea
But when in wrath he drawes his sword
20 wo that the sleeping Lion stird
for ere he shettath the same againe
he puttes his foes to mickle payne
the valiant actes he then shall doe
Great Alexanders fame out goe
he passeth seas, and fame doth wynne
till many princes ioyne w[i]t[h] hym
and choose hym for their gouernor
28 and croune hym Westerne Emperor

after a tyme he shall be gyrt
that Citie auncient old and great
w[hic]h on seuen hills is scituat
32 till he her walles haue ruinat
then shall a foe from East appeare
the banch [sic] of one great riuer neere
the Lion rampant shall hym meet
36 and if on that side he shall fight
the day is lost. But he shall crosse
the riuer great. and being past
shall in like strength of his great god
40 be to his foes a scourging rod
causing hym there to take his flight
of Easterne kinges succor to seeke
during w*hic*h tyme, he is in one howre
44 of East and West crouned Emperor
then shall the Foe in fury burne
and from the East in hast retorne
w[i]t[h] aide of kinges, and princes great
48 to vally of Iehosaphat
there shall them meet the Lyon strong
Who in a battaile fierce and long
shall foile his foe: then cruell death
52 shall take away his vitall breath.

Under the Tudor rulers, Arthurian legend, including Merlin, took on an important role in unifying a nation recovering from civil wars. The Tudors claimed descent from the ancient British kings, and Henry VIII named his oldest son Arthur to recall the famed sovereign. Writers such as Spenser retold or re-used the old stories in newly self-conscious, literary ways, in contrast to the older chronicles and romances. In the seventeenth century, however, the literary popularity of Arthur lapsed, not to recover until the nineteenth century took a new (and often nationalist) interest in the Middle Ages. The Puritans took a dim view of frivolous, old romances suffused with papistry; the Restoration found inspiration elsewhere; the Enlightenment, again, frowned on time-wasting fantasies about the legendary past.

Although high literary culture generally disdained Arthur and Merlin through these centuries, their popularity survived in more modest places. A series of almanacs with titles referring to Merlin appears at least through the eighteenth century; such printed books often became diaries or anthologies of sorts, in which owners noted quotations, kept accounts, or entered other material they wished to retain. And prophecies also kept the name of Merlin alive. In at least some cases, these prophecies remain in manuscript because their inscriber feared the consequences of publication. In his manuscript *Tract on the Succession to the Crown*, written in 1602, Sir John Harington says, "I write to my dearest freind, and am afraid that my study walles may accuse me. But . . . as long as I do not printe nor publishe it I break no lawe, for I have redd and double redd the Statute . . ." (39).

Among the information that Harington considers is a prophecy translated from Welsh (he gives the original as well as a translation), which he characterizes as "elder than my great grandfather. . . 1, a babe crownd in his cradle; 2, markt with a lyon in his skyn; 3, shall recover againe the crosse; 4, shall make the ile of Brutus whole and unparted; 5, and to growe hence forward better and better" (120). The first two elements of Harington's prophecy, though unrhymed, correspond precisely to the beginning of the verse "Merlin's Prophecy"; the other three might be read into it by a sympathetic reader.

As advisor to King Arthur, Merlin has long figured prominently in Arthurian legends. Welsh legends tell of a bard with the gift of prophecy who lived in the sixth century. Nennius, in the ninth century, includes the story of a fatherless boy with magical powers outstripping those of King Vortigern's magicians. Geoffrey of Monmouth, in the twelfth century, associates this story with Merlin and adds the details of his begetting by a demon on a human woman, thus explaining his prophetic and other powers. Writers since the twelfth century have accepted and elaborated on Geoffrey's version, which he claimed to have based on a Welsh book. No phrases in Geoffrey precisely match those of the seventeenth century rhymed prophecy, arguing against a direct connection, but the riddling language of each shows continuity in the genre of prophecy.

Suggested Readings:

Coote, Lesley. "Merlin, Erceldoune, Nixon: a Tradition of Popular Political Prophecy." *New Medieval Literatures* 4 (2001), 117-37.

Geoffrey of Monmouth. *Histories of the Kings of Britain*. Trans. Sebastian Evans. London: Dent, 1963.

Harington, John. *A Tract on the Succession to the Crown*. Ed. Clements R. Markham. London: Roxburghe Club, 1880.

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The Marginalized Voices of Chaucer's Early Readers

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There is a new source for study of Chaucer's critical reception with the recent publication of *Chaucer's Fame in England, STC Chauceriana 1475–1640* by Jackson Campbell Boswell and Sylvia Wallace Holton. The volume joins Caroline Spurgeon's precedent and landmark compilation of *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion 1357–1900* and Derek Brewer's *Chaucer: The Critical Heritage* as an indispensable tool for accessing the history of reader-responses to Chaucer. Perusal of these encyclopedia of commentary is always fascinating and informative. One can follow the critical reception of Chaucer by his most famous and influential readers. But these compendia have limitations. They record only "official" reference to Chaucer. And so, citations of what Caxton himself had to say about Chaucer in his 1477 edition of *The Canterbury Tales* will be recorded, but not the handwritten, marginal notations of the same text's later, less well-known readers.

Manuscripts and early print editions often contain inscriptions by which readers recorded their ownership and their personal and sometimes peculiar reading experiences. There has been a good deal of recent critical interest in scribal and editorial practice as an interpretive gesture. Glosses, inserted titles (often alternative), and authorial attributions (often erroneous) may not have been part of the source transcription or impression, but they nevertheless influence the dispositions of each text's future readers. Even the simple insertion of handwritten indicators (brackets, underlining, pointers such as manicules, and the like) suggest habits of highlighted re-reading. But by far the most provocative type of marginalia are those rarer handwritten comments that preserve the articulation of an (often anonymous) individual's reading experience.

One such resonant comment is preserved in a 1550 reprinting (HH52/25) of one of the earliest printed editions of *The Werkes of Geffray Chaucer* (STC 5074). At the bottom of a page of *The Legend of Good Women* (fol. ccx^{r}), a reader has inscribed a verse apostrophe to Chaucer, which has been partially cropped by the binder (a not uncommon fate for marginalia). The hand is approximately datable to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century:

> Chauser If I may nowe by your leaue
> a litle speake my mynde
> It is most true and euer was
> as I farre as I can finde
>
> Cleopatra [xx xxx xxxxx]
> [entire line cropped]
>
> In such a cause as heare befor
> alredy you haue discust
> but by your leaue she was then held
> She could not haue hir lust
>
> By Hir Brother . . . Iulius Caesar
> [entire line cropped]

The book has been cropped, damaging the text in the name of physical improvement. That action suggests a subsequent owner's assessment of marginalia as itself property damage. So, with some words lost, it is difficult to conclude exactly what the reader wishes to say to Chaucer. But he or she seems to be objecting to Chaucer's proposition that Cleopatra may be presented as a truly "good" woman in *The Legend of Good Women*. As it is difficult to determine how serious Chaucer himself was being in *The Legend of Good Women*, it is likewise difficult to decide how serious the reader's objection may be. But the act of inscription itself, directly addressing the author, suggests the reader's dynamic impression of the poet's presence; reading remains an imaginary dialogue.

In the right margin of the same page is another note, probably in the same hand:

> Tis playe was playde at Oxford towne

as farre as I remember
[entire line cropped]

Like the first handwritten note, this one has been cropped so that the subsequent line or lines are no longer extant. As is often the case with marginal notes, such a memento may have no direct reference to the immediate text. But it may. Is it conceivable that the reader listened to a performance of the *Legend?* Could "play" here mean interlude? Does it suggest, at the very least, that the reader attended an event when the text was performed publicly (that is "read to" an audience) rather than "read" in the more modern, silent, solitary definition of reading.

On the final page of this copy of Chaucer's works is another comment in a different hand, giving directions about the lending of the book:

xxi^{mo}
Eliz

M[emoran]d[um] On the xth Day of June ^I John Gyndler^ delyueryd this booke to my
Brother Will[ia]m Curteys /to be redelyveryd ageyne
when so euer hit be requyred after one half year next
after the ~~delyu~~ date hereof

The 21st year of the reign of Elizabeth fell between 17 November 1578 and 16 November 1579, thus dating this entry to 10 June 1579. These readers have not yet been acknowledged by the formal histories of the reception of Chaucer. But their marginal comments provide compelling testimony of the active and indeed interactive nature of reading.

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Hackel, Heidi Brayman. *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Genette, Gérard. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Trans. Jane E. Lewin. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

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Poetic Authority in Manuscript and Print: The Case of Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Dryden's *The State of Innocence and Fall of Man*

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In his notes for his life of John Milton (1608–74), John Aubrey (1626–97) described an encounter between two literary giants of the late seventeenth century: "Jo: Dreyden Esq. Poet Laureate, who very much admires him & went to him to have leave to putt his Paradise-lost into a Drama in Rhyme: Mr. Milton received him civilly, & told him he would give him leave to tagge his Verse" (Darbishire 7). The result of this meeting was John Dryden's (1631–1700) rhymed play, *The State of Innocence and Fall of Man*, an "opera" that was never performed, but was entered in the *Stationers' Register* in April 1674 and first published in quarto in 1677. Dryden's decision to "tag" Milton's verses, whether an act of translation, homage, or overgoing, poses an interesting case study in the meanings of authorship, influence, and imitation for seventeenth-century literature. Two manuscripts at the Folger shed light on these issues.

Shortly after the first publication of *Paradise Lost*, Milton composed an explanation for "why the poem rhymes not" (Milton 51). This polemic provides an important context for Dryden's appropriation of Milton's epic. In his fierce defense of blank verse Milton contrasted the "true musical delight" of his own verse with the preference by "some famous modern poets," (including Dryden, perhaps) for rhymed couplets. These rhymes, Milton suggested, proved the poet's slavish devotion to "custom," and offered nothing to the poet but "vexation, hindrance, and constraint." Milton's own poetics represented, by contrast, "an example set, the first in English, of ancient liberty recovered to heroic poem from the troublesome and modern bondage of rhyming" (Milton 54–5). As Milton's comments make clear, the decision not to rhyme was more than an aesthetic one. For Milton, verse form was intimately connected to the poem's central concern with liberty. Therefore Dryden's rhymed couplets in *The State of Innocence* stood for literary values opposed to Milton's, as well as contrary cultural and political values.

For readers of *Paradise Lost*, Dryden's *State of Innocence* is at best a trivialization—reducing the scope of epic to the scenes of a play—and at worst a betrayal of Milton's achievement in *Paradise Lost*. Praise of Milton's authorship at the expense of Dryden's began with Andrew Marvell's contemptuous reference to Dryden in the commendatory verses to the second edition of *Paradise Lost* (1674):

> Well mightst thou scorn thy readers to allure
> With tinkling rhyme, of thy own sense secure;
> While the town-Bayes writes all the while and spells,
> And like a pack-horse tires without his bells:
> Their fancies like our bushy-points appear,
> The poets tag them, we for fashion wear.
> I too transported by the mode offend,
> And while I meant to praise thee must commend.
> Thy verse created like thy theme sublime,
> In number, weight, and measure, needs not rhyme.
> (Milton 54)

Critical judgment has typically sided with Marvell: *Paradise Lost* achieved a sublimity incompatible with Dryden's "jingling sounds of like endings" (Milton 54).

As Stephen Zwicker has warned, however, the obvious superiority of Milton's epic is not so obvious if we view these texts through the eyes of the poet's contemporaries rather than our own retrospective sense of their relative significance. Material evidence suggests that the reception and circulation of Dryden's play was not at all hindered by its derivative relationship to Milton's epic. There seems to have been a wide readership for this opera in both manuscript and print. Between 1677 and 1700 there were nine print quarto editions of the play. In the preface to the first edition, Dryden explained that he was forced to publish this unperformed opera in his own defense because of the "many hundred Copies of it being dispers'd abroad without my knowledge or consent: so that every one gathering new faults, it became at length a Libel against me" (Dryden 86). Dryden's claim about the extent of manuscript circulation cannot be proven or disproven. However, there are seven extant manuscript transcriptions of the play, more than of any other dramatic text by this author.

The first printed edition has been identified by Dryden's editors as authoritative because it incorporates the author's latest revisions. There, Dryden framed the text of the play with elaborate paratextual materials. These materials were arranged so as to assert Dryden's poetic and cultural authority over and against Milton's. The volume begins with a dedication to the Duchess of York. This dedication affiliated Dryden with a network of patronage and announced certain (high status) political and cultural allegiances. Following the dedication is a long preface, headed "The Authors Apology for Heroique

Poetry and Heroique License," and a commendatory poem penned by Nathaniel Lee. In this preface, Dryden deferred to Milton's priority by acknowledging his own dependence on *Paradise Lost*. "This POEM has receiv'd its entire Foundation, part of its Design and many of the Ornaments" from Milton, he writes and requests that the reader will not compare the two: "The Original being undoubtedly, one of the greatest, most noble, and most sublime POEMS, which either this Age or Nation has Produc'd" (Dryden 86). But if Dryden here acknowledged Milton's authorship, the remainder of the preface asserts independence by translating the meaning of heroism—a central concern of Milton's epic—into the specific idiom of Dryden's verse. Milton's authorship is finally transcended and exceeded by Dryden's own. In the words of Lee's commendatory poem, Dryden has refined the obsolete poetics (and politics) of Milton's epic:

> He [Milton] first beheld the beauteous rustic Maid,
> And to a place of strength the prize convey'd
> You took her thence: to Court this Virgin brought
> Drest her with gemms, new weav'd her hard spun thought
> And softest language, sweetest manners taught.
> (Dryden 537)

Two manuscripts from the Folger's collection raise additional questions about the complicated relationship between Milton's epic and Dryden's operatic translation. Each in its own way, these manuscripts unsettle the careful negotiations of genre, authorship, and cultural priority that dominate the paratexts of the early printed editions of the play.

The first of these is a transcription of Dryden's play on 23 folio pages (folios 76–99) in Folger MS V.b.235. This transcription was inscribed "With W Luptons kindest wishes to T J Pettigrew Esquire" (fo. 77v) and bound together with the unpublished pastoral poems of William Basse to create a composite volume of seventeenth-century manuscript poetry in folio.

This document belongs to an independent manuscript tradition that precedes the first printing of the play as demonstrated by the collation provided by Vinton A. Dearing in his edition of *The State of Innocence* (see Dryden 460–534). This manuscript has primarily been of interest to scholars because it may preserve variant readings which reveal Dryden's process of revision. The most significant such variant occurs on the first page of the manuscript. This document, like the majority of the manuscript witnesses, gives the title of the play as "The fall of Angells or Man in innocency," the same under which the play was first registered in 1674. As Marion Hamilton pointed out in her study of the manuscripts, the different titles in the manuscript and print traditions may provide evidence of Dryden's authorial choices. The later title, *The State of Innocence and Fall of Man*, is a more appropriate title as Dryden's poem (unlike Milton's) gives little attention to the fall of the angels.

For a student of the early printed editions of the opera, however, perhaps the most striking thing about V.b.235 is its *lack* of any indication of authorship. In contrast to Dryden's complicated negotiation of his authorship in relation to his Miltonic original, this document includes no explicit reference to either Dryden or Milton. Instead, the most prominent cues to the identity and function of the document are the conventions that mark it as a dramatic text. This document is a careful transcription by a competent scribe or scribes. The pages are ruled throughout allowing for a neat and regular presentation of the text. The wide margins on the left hand side of the page allow for the clear presentation of speech prefixes, and the scribe has prepared the stage directions to provide the illusion of scenic effects. Yet while these conventions clearly mark the document as a dramatic text, there is no indication of the specific generic designation, opera, that is signaled on the printed title page and in Dryden's preface.

Folger MS V.a. 225 is another transcription of the play that exists in a different relationship with the printed editions of Dryden's play. This manuscript is illustrated here by the first page of text. As a comparison with the first printed edition reveals, this manuscript imitates the printed tradition of the text in both its size and its layout. Unlike V.a. 235, which uses clearly defined margins and white space to delineate the speech prefixes, this document follows the printed text in presenting the speech prefixes within the main text block. Without the distinctions of font size and type allowed by printed typography, this document is less legible than either the printed text or the independent manuscript tradition. For instance, the manuscript scribe has imitated the horizontal rules that separate the scenic description from the dialogue, but has not followed the contrast between italic and roman type that marks this distinction in print.

Dryden's editor, Dearing, has determined by collation that the exemplar for V.a.225 was the ninth printed quarto text, a pirated quarto that was falsely dated 1684, but actually printed in 1695. This late witness to the manuscript circulation of this play therefore raises difficult questions about the relationship between manuscript and print in the circulation and reception of dramatic manuscripts. Why might a scribe have chosen to copy a text widely available in nine printed editions? Though this scribe does not appear to be as experienced as the writer of V.b. 235, the use of two colors of ink on the first page does indicate that the document was prepared

with some care. On the other hand, the curious title of this document, "The Sate of Innocence or the Fall of Man," is such an obvious error that we must presume a defect of some kind in the scribe's exemplar or perhaps a lack of interest or knowledge of the text. Furthermore, though this manuscript is largely a faithful transcription of the ninth printed edition of the text, it omits the extensive prefatory material shared by all printed editions and contains no explicit attribution of authorship. As in V.b. 235 neither Dryden nor Milton is named as an authority in the document. Looking at this manuscript today, we cannot be sure if any of Dryden's attempts to situate his play—within networks of patronage, within aesthetic controversies about rhyme and blank verse, within debates about the true nature of heroic poetry and the history of English literature—were successful. Certainly they don't appear to have been relevant to the writer of this manuscript. Though there was likely no need for manuscript circulation at this late date in the textual history of *The State of Innocence*, this document nevertheless represents an extensive investment of time and labor that suggests it was valued not only for the text it contained, but for the artifact it is and, perhaps, the scribal practices that produced it.

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Beal, Peter. *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*. Vol. 4. London: Mansell, 1980–1997.

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Hammond, Paul. "The Circulation of Dryden's Poetry." *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 86 (1992): 379–409.

Milton, John. *Paradise Lost*. Alastair Fowler ed. 2nd ed. Harlow: Longman, 1998.

Zwicker, Steven N. "Milton, Dryden, and the Politics of Literary Controversy." *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration: Literature, Drama, History*. Gerald MacLean, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 137–58.

Ben Jonson and Manuscript Culture

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If John Donne eschewed print culture, Ben Jonson (1572–1637), however ambivalently, embraced it. Jonson's masterly manipulation of print as a cultural agent, culminating in his monumental folio edition of *The Workes of Beniamin Jonson* (1616), which issued Jonson's plays, poems, and masques, played no small part in his magisterial authorial self-fashioning—Jonson was, after all, Britain's first unofficial poet laureate since John Skelton.

Jonson was by no means a stranger to manuscript culture and its various coteries, however. Indeed, Jonson's poetic identity owes as much to the handwritten worlds of early modern Britain as it does to the printing press. Donne was, undoubtedly, the leading manuscript poet of the period. Jonson, perhaps unlike any other poet, flourished in both modes of literary production. Certainly Jonson's poetic career invites consideration of the ways in which print and manuscript forms intersected and overlapped in the period.

Two of Jonson's poems evince, in real and imagined ways, a poet at work in print and manuscript cultures: Epigram XXIII, "To John Donne," and Epigram XCIV, "To Lucy, Countess of Bedford, with Mr Donne's Satires." Both are printed in the 1616 *Workes*. These poems represent themselves as coterie texts—that is, as the products of a select and exclusive literary or social circle—and in doing so, they foreground Jonson's connections to a literary and social elite. "Epigram XXIII," addressed to Donne, is sustained by its sense of intimacy (poet to poet) that, perhaps, effects a leveling of social distinctions, especially as Jonson positions himself as judge of Donne's manuscript verse, most of which was not printed until 1633. A similar sense of intimacy, and a similar sense of positioning, pervades "Epigram XCIV" as Jonson deferentially presents his (and Donne's) patron, Lucy, Countess of Bedford (who had a close relationship with Donne), with a copy of his poem along with a manuscript collection of Donne's satires (despite the fact that Donne did not need any mediation with Bedford). Jonson's poem bears witness to the circulative nature of manuscript poetry precisely by imagining itself as an object in a private network of exchange. By representing himself as a reader of Donne's manuscript poems who is in the position of handing Donne's handwritten satires to the Countess, Jonson reveals himself as a signal participant in the elite culture of manuscript poetry. These two poems were included in the 1616 *Workes*, and that inclusion reveals the ways Jonson drew upon the social and literary conditions of manuscript culture and then parlayed the status thus derived into a public authorial identity fashioned in the forum of print publication.

At the same time, however, Jonson's work continued to circulate in manuscript. The following examples from Folger manuscripts provide a sense of the material production, circulation, and reception of Jonson's poems; moreover, they illustrate the complexities and challenges that a vibrant manuscript culture presents to received narratives of authorship, textuality, and literary history, especially narratives that take modern edited texts as their source for study.

Folger MS V.b.43 is a folio-sized verse miscellany written in a neat secretary hand, which is consistent throughout, and which displays little of the italic creep so evident in much of the handwriting in this period (c. 1630). In this miscellany, Jonson's "Vpon an houre glasse:" appears on the same page as Donne's "The Anagram" (Elegy 2) (untitled in this manuscript). Many extant manuscript copies of Jonson's "Houre-glasse" poem exist, including an autograph copy, dated January 19, 1619, which was written out for presentation to William Drummond of Hawthornden (Scottish Record Office, MS GD18/4312; Beal 237). This poem was eventually printed in 1640 in the second folio of Jonson's *Works*. A comparison of the autograph copy, the printed copy, and this Folger manuscript copy reveals numerous variants—probably the most significant feature of manuscript poetry—in even such a brief poem.

In MS V.b.43, "Vpon an houre glasse" reads:

Doe but consider this small dust
that runneth in the glasse
    by Autumnes mov'd
would you beleeve that it the body ere was
    of one that lov'd
who in his M[ist]r[i]s flame playing like a Fly
    burnt to Cinders by her eye,
Yes and in death as life vnblest
    to have it exprest
Even ashes of lovers finde no rest.

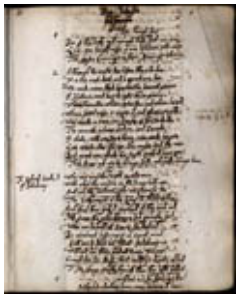
In the 1640 edition, the poem appears as follows:

The Hour-Glass

Do but consider this small dust
Here running in the glass,
By atoms moved:
Could you believe that this
The body [ever] was
Of one that loved?
And in his mistress' flame, playing like a fly,
Turned to cinders by her eye?
Yes; and in death, as life, unblest,
To have't expressed,
Even ashes of lovers find no rest.

How do we account for these textual variants? The Folger manuscript copy may be an instance of what Walter Ong, describing the vibrancy of manuscript culture, calls "participatory poetics" (274–9): manuscript readers who became manuscript writers were free to alter poems as they recorded them. But who recorded this poem? The autograph poem housed in the Scottish Record Office is a clear example of what Harold Love, in his delineation of three main modes of scribal publication, terms "author publication" (47). Is the Folger manuscript copy an instance of one of the two other modes: "entrepreneurial publication" or "user publication"? According to Love, entrepreneurial publication, the product of a scribe, is "usually written in a clear, regularly formed hand with consistent page numbering and catchwords on every page"; user publication, the product of an individual who desires to possess the text, is "written in a rapid, untidy hand." However, Love warns these distinctions are not easily maintained: "not all personal copies are so written, and some private transcribers matched the professionals for the care and beauty of their script" (46). The "clear, regularly formed hand" of Folger MS V.b.43 could be that of a private transcriber. What about the placement of this poem? Does the fact that a scribe has placed Jonson's verse alongside the period's most popular manuscript poet call attention to Jonson's success? Or is it worth noting that Donne's untitled poem is ascribed to "Dr: Donne" (as the poem above Jonson's is attributed to "Mr. Raynolds"), while "Vpon an houre glasse:" is unattributed? Early modern manuscripts provide us with invaluable evidence, to be sure; however, this evidence is far from stable or coherent and often provides more questions than answers.

Another remarkable instance of the intersection of print and scribal culture exists in the form of Folger MS V.a.219, a mid seventeenth-century verse miscellany bound in limp vellum. If anything, this manuscript reveals the heterogeneity of verse miscellanies. On f. 33r, we find the heading "Ben: Johnson his poems," over four poems in whole or (mainly) parts. Note that only the third entry has a title. The first selection contains lines 13 through 16 of Epigram XCIV, "To Lucy, Countess of Bedford, with Mr Donne's Satires." The second selection contains lines 25 through 36 of Epigram XCV, "To Sir Henry Savile." The third selection is the whole of Epigram LXIII, "To Robert, Earl of Salisbury." And the fourth selection is a couplet from Epigram XCVII, "On the New Motion."



To what extent does this verse miscellany give us a sense of the conditions under which the scribe is working? It is tempting to conclude that the scribe was given access to fragments of Jonson's poem. However, this compilation was put together well after the publication of Jonson's *Workes*; moreover, the fact that the first two entries follow the *Workes'* placement of the "Savile" poem immediately after the "Lucy" poem may suggest that the scribe is copying from the printed text—a common phenomenon in the period. Perhaps we are witness here to a self-selecting scribe, one who copies only what he or she feels is worthy of copying. To classify this manuscript as a commonplace book would be inaccurate, though this example suggests that verse miscellanies were by no means always given over to recording poems in their entirety. While the numbering in the left margin—"1," "2," etc—may be a way of demarcating the poems, what impact does it have on the reception of Jonson's work?

If print culture provides evidence of authors' attitudes to their books and the public, then manuscript culture allows us to glimpse scribes and readers' attitudes toward authors. What can we gauge about the attitude of the scribe of Folger MS V.a.219 toward the author of the poems? Perhaps the heading "Ben: Johnson his poems" suggests that the scribe privileges or respects the author. In his entry on Benjamin Jonson in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Ian Donaldson notes that "'Jonson' was to be the poet's own favoured spelling in all surviving examples of his autograph, and in his published work from 1604 onwards. 'Ben' was the version of his forename by which he would be universally known." In fact, in many of the printed books that Jonson owned, he has left us the signature "Ben: Jonson" on the title page. Can this "Ben:" (even without the author's preferred "Jonson") be viewed as a sign of the influence Jonson's own poetic self-crowning played in the manuscript reception of his poetry?

As mentioned earlier, Jonson's Epigram XCIV, "To Lucy, Countess of Bedford, with Mr Donne's Satires" is remarkable for its imagining of the dynamics of coterie circulation. MS V.a.219's first Jonson entry includes only the final four lines of this poem, altered lines at that: an alteration that, it seems, works to make the entry appear self-contained:

They, though few
Bee of the best: and 'mongst those, best are you.
Lucy, you brightnesse of our spheare, who are
The Muses Euening, as their Morning starre.

With no reference to Donne's satires, the sense of the poem's real or imagined coterie setting, and therefore its social significance, is lost. "Transmisson," Peter Beal reminds us, was "subject to the common process of manuscript culture whereby texts were liable to be copied, and sometimes adapted, to suit the tastes, standards and requirements of *compilers* and *readers*, rather than out of any sense of reverence for the sanctity of the author's original" (2002: 124). This scribe's recording of the poems of "Ben: Johnson" serves as a wonderful example of the period's eclectic transmission practices.

In his *Index to English Literary Manuscripts*, Beal notes that "[t]here are numerous copies of Jonson's poems in miscellanies and other MS sources. Those texts often represent early versions which circulated in MS before being revised for publication" (235). Both of the above examples bear some relation to printed texts, though not as early drafts. Other examples of Jonson's verse that circulated in manuscript were never printed in his lifetime. Three poems on Inigo Jones, the principal stage-designer of Jacobean court masques provide a fine example. Jones and Jonson had a vexed relationship, one that came to a head when Jonson published a masque, *Love's Triumph Through Callipolis*, with his name as author before that of Jones's as designer. The strains of this struggle are evident in Jonson's attacks on Jones in his three poems, which, though never printed, were clearly "published."

That the Folger Shakespeare Library contains three complete sets of the Inigo Jones poems—Folger MS X.d.245 (a-b), Folger MS V.a.96, ff.90v-94v, and Folger MS V.a 322, pp.11-15—suggests that these poems were scribally published. Perhaps the most intriguing of these three texts is Folger MS X.d.245 (a-b), which contains two bifolium sheets, with the following three poems written in a neat secretary hand with traces of italic: "An Epigram vpon Inego Iones to a freind./" signed Ben: Jonson./ (f.1); "To Inego Marquesse would bee./" signed Ben: Johnson" (f.1r-v); "An Expostulac*i*on w*i*th Inego Iones./" signed Ben: Jonson (f.1v-3). A close look at the various folds of the paper suggests that these poems could have been delivered by letter, for the folds are consistent with the size of letter folds in the period. To whom these letters are addressed and from whom they come is unclear. If these poems were enclosures in a letter, what might that suggest about the circulation of these poems? Why might these poems in particular—these attacks on Inigo Jones—circulate in letter form? Would the letter be one way to circulate poems within a coterie? Arthur Marotti has suggested that the circulation of poems in loose sheets and booklets probably preceded the circulation of poems in verse miscellanies. Might this be an early composition, the source for the other Folger copies which are contained in verse miscellanies?

Folger MS V.a.96 preserves a less visually appealing copy of these same poems. In this octavo-sized book, the poems are copied out in italic with ample spacing. Notice that the poem "To Inigo Marques would bee A Corrollarie./" looks much more like prose than verse. Because the scribe is working on ruled sheets, he or she has been forced to make the poem fit into this confined space. So what we see here is an instance of the way in which the material vehicle onto which the poem is being inscribed impacts the form. Note, too, the very first line of the poem: "B~~ut~~e-cause thou heare'st the mightie king of Spaine." The other two Folger manuscript copies of this poem begin "But cause thou..."; modern printed editions of this poem also print the "But cause" opening that may seem awkward to us. What do you think the scribe has done in this particular instance? This emendation provides another example of the liberty many scribes took in this period. Should we not only accept but also prefer some of these scribes's emendations?

Suggested Reading:

Beal, Peter. "John Donne and the Circulation of Manuscripts." *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*. Vol. IV 1557–1695. Ed. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, 122–26.

—, ed. *Index of English Literary Manuscripts, Volume 1: 1450–1625, Part 1* Andrewes-Donne. London: Mansell, 1980–1997.

Helgerson, Richard. *Self-Crowned Laureates: Spenser, Jonson, Milton and the Literary System*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

Love, Harold. *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998.

Marotti, Arthur F. *Manuscript, Print, and The English Renaissance Lyric*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Newton, Richard. "'Ben. / Jonson': The Poet in the Poems." *Two Renaissance Mythmakers: Christopher Marlowe and Ben Jonson*. Ed. Alvin B. Kernan. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977.

Ong, Walter. *Interfaces of the Word: Studies in the Evolution of Consciousness and Culture*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977.

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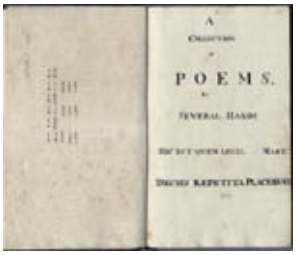
The Circulation of Poetry in the Eighteenth Century: The Case of Charles Plumptre's Manuscript Volume

George Justice
University of Missouri-Columbia

On September 7, 1728 Charles Plumptre (1712–1779) began a manuscript miscellany book of poetry, *A Collection of Poems by Several Hands* (Folger MS M.a.104). Plumptre was from a notable Nottingham family and, in the course of his life, would become an eminent cleric in the Church of England. The teen-aged Plumptre, following convention, signed and dated on the first front end leaf what could have been a blank book purchased for the purpose, and he carefully set out a title page that imitated printed title pages of the day. The front pastedown bears the bookplate of John Plumptre, identified by the Folger catalog as the author's older brother. The recto of the first leaf after the endleaves, hinged onto the title-page, contains sample addresses—"Dear Cousin," "Dear Sir"—`and other scribblings, while the verso contains what may be sample poetic meters, or calculations, written in ruled vertical lines. The volume includes pages numbered to 131, with 118 pages of these containing verse. The rest of the book remains blank. From the classical epigrams Plumptre appended to its conventional title, we can see that he envisaged his book as a personal repository of contemporary poetry. Much of what Plumptre carefully copies is light verse of the kind that might appeal to a schoolboy: bawdy rhymes addressing randy mistresses or defiant proclamations that there is more to school than studying.



But Plumptre also records poems by some of the great poets of the day, including Alexander Pope (1688–1744). For instance, on pages 32 and 33, he copied out Pope's satiric lines "On Mr. Addison," a set of verses with a vexed and complicated relationship with manuscript and print modes of production and distribution. Analysis of the history of these lines, their various forms, and ultimate print publication in final form seven years later can shed light on the interpenetration of print and manuscript in the early eighteenth century and on the ways in which a successful author like Pope could attempt to manipulate these media in his own cultural and economic interest. At the same time, manuscript publication, so less easily controlled than print, could subvert the author's original aims. Publishers used manuscript verse for their own profit, and readers continued to copy out verses by hand even when printed versions were available.

Joseph Addison (1672–1719) was best known as the author, with Richard Steele, of the periodical essay, *The Spectator*. Pope's lines attacking him eventually were incorporated in expanded form in his *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, which was first printed in January 1735. Pope apparently composed the first version of these lines in 1715 and showed them in manuscript to Joseph Addison in order to deter his former mentor from patronizing a rival translation of Homer being prepared by Thomas Tickell (1685–1740). Indeed, Addison may have been the prime mover behind his friend Tickell's edition. After being shown Pope's verses, Addison stopped supporting Tickell, and Pope's own translation of the *Iliad* (published 1715–1720) became a great critical and popular success.

Addison died in 1719. Some critics, in the eighteenth century and later, have accused Pope of mean-spiritedness for continuing to circulate these lines. Norman Ault exonerates Pope through constructing a plausible timeline for circulation of the lines before Addison's death. An unattributed version reached print as early as 1722, in the *St. James's Journal* (a short-lived weekly periodical). An anonymous contributor calling himself "Dorimant" wrote to the editor from Button's Coffeehouse contributing a manuscript of the poem that had apparently been circulating hand to hand. Button's was, in fact, the site of Addison's "little senate" and the butt of some of Pope's satire, but Dorimant reports that *"The following Lines have been in good Reputation here, and are now submitted to Publick Censure."*

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Curll, Edmund, ed. *Court Poems in Two Parts. By Mr. Pope, &c.* London: E. Curll, 1726.

Mack, Maynard. *Alexander Pope: A Life.* New York: Norton, 1985.

Plumptre, Charles. "A Collection of Poems by Several Hands." 1728.

Pope, Alexander. "[Lines]." In *A Compleat Set of St. James's Journals*, 201. London: J. Hughs, 1722.

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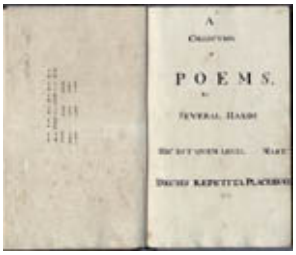

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Gendering Hands, Gendering Business: A Letter from Elizabeth Bagot

Rebecca Laroche
University of Colorado, Colorado Springs

An initial glance at its transcription suggests that this letter is an unremarkable missive from a woman, Elizabeth Bagot, writing from her home, Bromley Bagot, to her husband Walter, who is away in London taking care of business matters. There are, however, several things we can learn from this seemingly ordinary piece of correspondence, things that are available to us only through such pieces of manuscript culture. In particular, especially when considering Elizabeth Bagot's manuscript presence elsewhere, this letter gives us key insights into the gendering of handwriting and of domestic spaces in early modern England.

The original manuscript reveals the presence of four hands within this one everyday artifact. Hand A, a secretary hand, composes the body of the letter, the closing, and the address. Hand B, an italic hand, comprises the signature. While the signature presumably belongs to Elizabeth Bagot herself, the secretary hand could very well belong to a household secretary or amanuensis, given the relative wealth of the Bagot family. While we cannot wholly assume that Hand A was written by a man, the typical household secretary was usually male, as both fictional and non-fictional accounts tell us. Certainly, it is not unheard of that a woman could be capable of the more difficult secretary hand, but the more steady confidence in penstroke of the body of the letter versus the hesitancy in the signature suggest that the two hands correspond with two separate writers.

However, the presence of yet two more hands confounds an easy, binary gendering of the secretary and italic hands. Hand C is secretary; Hand D is italic; they probably both belong to the same person, Walter Bagot. A comparison with other correspondence in secretary hand by Walter Bagot shows he has written the words including "Richard," and "To my" at the bottom of the page (Hand C). At the same time, the italic "C's" of "Cuoma" and "Come" are comparable to the italic C's in a letter Bagot received from his son Lewes and annotated, "Lewes his last Le[tte]rs," in the same hand (Folger MS L.a.67).

Walter Bagot's writings on the bottom half of the letter also raise questions about the uses being made of this one piece of paper (and the time frame of its multiple writings). The address "To my" and the intimate nature of the crossed out passage perhaps suggest that Walter intended to respond to his wife on the same sheet, possibly through the same bearer. If so, that he does so in italic rather than the secretary hand he uses in most of his correspondence suggests that Elizabeth Bagot was more comfortable with reading italic writing. Or was it rather that Walter's writings came first? Did Elizabeth use a scrap of paper, possibly an aborted address leaf, for her letter?

The letter also reveals the seeming separation of spaces occupied by the husband and wife. Most notably, the letter depicts a purportedly rare foray of the wife into her husband's study. The study held certain writings of both legal and financial import, all of which, if found, would be rich examples from manuscript culture: the fines having to do with lawsuit agreements, a feoffment with a tenant contract, and an exemplification with a deed. Lady Bagot's pride in knowing these documents "without help" hints that she has had some exposure both to the space of the study and to such documents but was expected not to be comfortable when confronted with either. One can imagine, however, that Walter Bagot's absence from the household puts much of the estate affairs in the hands of his wife. We can see this in the way she alludes to "our business," referring to the workings of the family estate, while Walter's "business" is what keeps him separate and away from home.

While the letter reflects Elizabeth Bagot's actions and business in her husband's stead, the corresponding signature "Elizabeth: Bagot" found in a folio volume at Yale's Medical Historical Library declares a "space" that is definitively her own. The inscription can be found on the title page of Henry Lyte's translation of Rembert Dodoen's *A Niewe Herball, or Historie of Plantes* (1578), a treatise on herbs and their medicinal uses. Dozens of extant medicinal receipt books (many held at the Folger) from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries bear witness to women's medical practice in the period. As with Elizabeth Bagot's own *A Niewe Herball*, many women's signatures found in herbals and health manuals from the period similarly point to that practice. I would argue, however, that, unlike the receipt books that cite both male and female sources, women's inscriptions on male authoritative texts such as the large folio at Yale, show women's claim to knowledge that is otherwise inscribed in these volumes as belonging mainly to men. In a sense, she has entered another man's study and found what she needed there.

Suggested Reading:

Laroche, Rebecca. "Catherine Tollemache's Library." Forthcoming in *Notes and Queries*.

Stewart, Alan and Heather Wolfe. *Letterwriting in Renaissance England*. Washington, DC.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 2004.

Wall, Wendy. *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Copying Fatherly Advice

Tricia A. McElroy
University of Michigan

Jason Powell
Wake Forest University

Remember thee?
Yea, from the table of my memory
I'll wipe away all trivial fond records,
All saws of books, all forms, all pressures past,
That youth and observation copied there,
And thy commandment all alone shall live
Within the book and volume of my brain,
Unmixed with baser matter: yes, by heaven!
. . .My tables—meet it is I set it down
That one may smile, and smile, and be a villain;
At least I'm sure it may be so in Denmark. [*Writing*]
So uncle, there you are. Now to my word:
It is "Adieu, adieu, remember me."
I have sworn't.
Hamlet, 1.5.97–112

After the encounter with his father's ghost, Hamlet swears to forget all trivial subjects that once occupied him, to clear space in the "table of [his] memory" for the more important matter of revenging King Hamlet's murder. As the first step in this process, Hamlet reaches for his "tables" to make a written record of Claudius's hypocrisy. What *are* these "tables," and what might the clearing of space within them suggest to an Elizabethan audience?

Hamlet's "tables" probably refer to blank, erasable leaves of paper. Also known as "writing-tables" or "table-books," this kind of writing technology developed out of the wax tablets of antiquity and the Middle Ages, on which a writer composed a draft before recording the composition more permanently elsewhere. Even when paper became more widely available, it was still expensive, and erasable tablets remained an economical alternative. In the Renaissance, writing tables were produced by specially coating paper or the skin of an ass so that the words could be easily erased with a little moisture. Such reusable leaves were often bound together with almanacs, annual calendars that included practical information about currencies and local fairs. Several examples of this technology can now be found in the Folger and the British Library.

In the lines above, Hamlet uses his writing tables as a temporary memory aid. Having entered material into similar erasable tables, his contemporaries might later have reorganized and reentered the same material into a second, bound volume, very much like Folger MS V.a.381. This manuscript dates from around the time of *Hamlet*'s first production, and is an octavo, small enough to fit into a back pocket. Still in its original binding, the book retains evidence of two missing ties and of ornamentation such as imitation gilt and stamps on the front and back covers. The 100-odd leaves of Folger V.a.381 reflect the busy minds of its several owners; they are filled with *sententiae*, short poetry, historical anecdotes, topical advice, and quotations from and commentary on other authors in five or six hands. This kind of material—including the "saws" to which Hamlet refers—is often referred to under the general category of "commonplace wisdom." Such wisdom was so prized in the period that one of Queen Elizabeth's advisors, Sir Nicholas Bacon, decorated the walls of his house with commonplaces, and another, Sir Henry Sidney, advised his son (the young poet Philip), to commit "wise sentences" to his memory whenever he heard them. Young Philip apparently took his father's words to heart, for when, years later, he set out to defend poetry against its detractors, he pointedly enlisted the authority of precepts. The "consideration of mens manners," he writes, is the "supreme knowledge," and the poet can "best breed" this art by combining the philosopher's "precept" with the historians "example," thereby becoming a "right populer Philosopher."

The Folger catalogue identifies V.a.381 as a "commonplace book" compiled roughly between 1600 and 1650. Commonplace books were a product of the humanist educational program—the so-called "new learning" that revolutionized the schools, the universities, and the literature of the period. They encouraged the absorption and application of wisdom acquired through reading or conversation. Categorizing was integral to this process, and can easily be seen in marginal labels (such as "Ambition," "Jealousie," or "Discording brothers") on page 11 of V.a. 381 The same categories are also carefully indexed at the back of the manuscript.

Despite all of the care that was taken in organizing this manuscript, we know very little about the compilers. One has recorded two days on the first leaf: August 6, 1614, which he notes was one week after his thirty-first birthday, and June 1626, when he was 43 years of age. He did not record his name beside these dates, or anywhere else among the surviving leaves of the volume. Perhaps these dates were merely personal notations with a purpose that we can no longer recover (the first leaves of early modern manuscripts were often used as scratch paper). Or, perhaps the owners of the manuscripts were

all familiar to one another as friends or multiple generations of the same family, in which case no names were necessary. Even without biographical information about its owners, however, the book itself—meticulously organized, embellished with ties and ornamentation—suggests that it was sometimes a valued companion to rising gentlemen.

The pages of Folger MS V.a. 381 clearly illustrate how fatherly advice could work with humanist pedagogy to transmit proverbial wisdom and to mold the characters of young men. The Folger volume contains the "10 Precepts" (or commandments) that Queen Elizabeth's treasurer, William Cecil, lord Burghley, wrote to his son Robert around 1584. Beginning with a direct address to his "Sonne Roberte" on page 12, the precepts continue for the next nine pages. The popularity of parental advice literature and the prominence of Cecil himself ensured that his "10 Precepts" circulated widely in manuscript; they first reached print in 1617, several years after one anonymous scribe copied them into this book. The "Precepts" fit well with the commonplaces that appear on the pages beside them, for they are concerned with "men's manners" and expressed pithily so as not to "confound" his son's memory. He instructs Robert to follow his advice "next unto Moyses Tables" (page 12), but, unlike the Ten Commandments, his precepts offer pragmatic suggestions for political and social advancement. The seventh of these, beginning "Be sure to keep some great man thy friend, but trouble him not for trifles" (page 18) has little in common with "thou shalt not kill." But the fifth, which advises Robert to "Neither borrow money of a neighbor or a friend" (page 17), strongly evokes the directions that Polonius gave to his own son Laertes early in *Hamlet*: "Neither a borrower nor a lender be" (1.3.75). In the past, critics have speculated about the possibility that Polonius is a send up of Cecil. (See Bennett, below.) Wedged beside snippets of poetry, history, and proverbial wisdom in a commonplace book, Cecil's "Ten Precepts" became available and reusable for any English son, part of a personalized reference guide to appropriate behavior. Folger MS V.a.381 thus gives us a surviving example of how young men were expected to educate and fashion themselves into figures of social importance—like Cecil or Polonius.

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Hunter, G. K. "Isocrates' Precepts and Polonius' Character," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 8.4 (1957): 501–6. [A response to Bennett.]

Marotti, Arthur E. *Manuscript, Print, and The English Renaissance Lyric*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.

McCutcheon, Elizabeth. "Sir Nicholas Bacon's Great House *Sententiae*," *English Literary Renaissance*, Supplement 3 (1977).

Sir Philip Sidney, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Stallybrass, Peter, Roger Chartier, J. Franklin Mowery, and Heather Wolfe, "Hamlet's Tables and the Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 55.4 (2004): 379–419.

Ustick, W. Lee. "Advice to a Son: A Type of Seventeenth-Century Conduct Book," *Studies in Philology* 29 (1932): 409–41.

Watson, Foster. *The English Grammar Schools to 1660*. London: Cass, 1968.

Woudhuysen, H. R. "Writing-Tables and Table-Books," *eBLJ (Electronic British Library Journal)*, article 3 (2004).

Wright, Louis B., Ed. *Advice to a Son: Precepts of Lord Burghley, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Francis Osborne*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962.

Episodes in the Pastoral

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Pastoral writing, idealizing of country life, was very popular throughout the English Renaissance. In his *Arte of English Poesie* (1589), George Puttenham noted the genre's pretense to simplicity, as pastoral poets "under the vaile of homely persons and in rude speeches . . . insinuate and glance at great matters." Verse written in the persons of shepherds hopelessly pursuing "nymphs" appeared in a variety of printed books, including translations from Italian poets like Tasso, collections of songs, and dramas such as Shakespeare's *As You Like It*.

The first great English pastoral is Edmund Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579). It is presented as a narrative in twelve monthly eclogues that explore the trials of love, the nature of poetry, and religious themes. January and December tell of Colin Clout, a shepherd boy who suffers for loving Rosalinde. *The Shepheardes Calender* was a landmark publication in English literary history, and the Folger Library has an especially rare copy of the first edition, with the final quire in an early uncorrected state.

But pastoral verse also continued to circulate widely in manuscript after Spenser's work reached print. Many handwritten pastorals, for various reasons, never found their way into print, or were never intended for it. Three examples drawn from the Folger manuscript collection display painstaking and refined composition, physical as well as poetical. Such rustic verse should not be dismissed as merely derivative or formulaic.

Several translations of Spenser's work into Latin survive. One, entitled "Kalendarium Pastorale, seu Spenceri Pastor, Romano indutus centenculo," is attributed to Theodore Bathurst, and it reveals the circular nature of poetic imitation. Spenser himself was imitating classical authors who wrote in Greek and Latin. This translation back into Latin finally reached print in the 1653 edition of Spenser's poems. A manuscript copy of this work by an unknown scribe survives at the Folger (MS.J.a.2). The only indication of an early owner or participant in the creation of this manuscript book is the name "Fra: Corbett" written on an endpaper. It is bound with a group of academic plays in a miscellany made in Cambridge, England in the early 1600s. The copy exemplifies a work in progress, and perhaps the process of university scholarship, as well. The page is ruled in anticipation of marginalia. The marginal notes in Latin appear in at least two inks, but the hand seems identical to that of the scribe who painstakingly recorded the poem. The January eclogue takes up two neatly copied pages. It has all the qualities of a fair copy, replete with ample marginal space for glossing.

Another bound manuscript volume at the Folger also includes pastoral verse in a poetic miscellany. Folger MS V.a.161 may be the work of Richard Barnfield, an obscure poet of the 1590s, whose name appears on page 17 of the slim volume. It appears in italic at the end of a dedicatory poem written in a secretary hand titled "To the right Wor[shipfu]ll Sir John Spenser Knighte Alderman of the honnorable Citty of London and lorde treasurer of Lady Petunia." Barnfield's *The Affectionate Shepheard: Containing 'The Complaint of Daphnis for the Love of Ganymede* was published in 1594, and gave rise to objections by the poem's dedicatee, Lady Penelope Rich, and her lover, Charles Blount, that Barnfield had used them as models for Queen Guendolena and Ganymede, two characters in the first part, By contrast, V.a.161 is a more private, personal pastiche of songs, a snippet of Ovid, a playful conceit, a poem by Ben Jonson, and even a bawdy lyric:

A lustie nutt browne wenche scant woorth [th]e naminge
went downe a staier bearinge a candle flaming:
A swagering gallant comming her t'encounter
att first approache coragiously would mount her:
She strongly made resistaunce and did sweare
she would burne him by that candle she did beare:
Hee blew [th]e candle out to breake hir vowe
she kept her promise still, immagine how.
Ffinis. (p.22)

The delicate paper book of eighteen leaves is bound in a vellum leaf from an illuminated Latin Psalter. Barnfield's penmanship and authorship cannot be confirmed as not a single confirmed autograph survives (his will is endorsed by his monogram). At least one critic is convinced Barnfield had nothing at all to do with the manuscript or its contents, although the poems have been printed in several editions of his collected works. Manuscripts such as V.a.161 force us to deal with the slippery and fascinating process of attributing authorship.

A third pastoral in manuscript at the Folger also bears signs of polish and presentation, with an elaborately decorated title page that mimics some of the conventions of print publication. William Basse's collected pastorals are bound into Folger MS V.b.235. In this case, the binding is the work of a much later collector, presumably interested in early works of literature, for the same volume also contains a manuscript copy of a play by John Dryden.

Unlike the other two pastoral verse examples, Basse's *Pastorals* appears intended to be a single autonomous composition. The characteristics of a published book, including a date of publication and an imprint colophon , have led some to speculate that this manuscript was prepared for a printer. An ink sketch of two shepherds which precedes the first "Eglogue" is evocative of the woodcuts that appeared in early editions of Spenser's pastoral masterpiece and also seems an attempt to position the work to find its place in literary history.

Suggested Reading:

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Grosart. Alexander B. *Complete Poems of Richard Barnfield*. London: J. B. Nichols and Sons, 1876.

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"Let them Compleately Learn": Manuscript Clues About Early Modern Women's Educational Practices

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During the early modern period, formal schooling was reserved for boys. Humanist pedagogy was disseminated through printed texts and by tutors to boys. Girls rarely had access to an institutional education, although some women had exceptional educations. Mary Evelyn, Lucy Hutchinson, Anna Maria van Schurman, Bathsua Makin, and Catherine Trotter were all trained to some degree in languages, arts, or sciences, and their literary productions—circulated in manuscript or in print—provide striking examples of the profound effects of that education. But the polished and public texts of women who received privileged educations only tell us part of the story of women's education. Women's manuscript exercise books, notebooks, receipt books, and other domestic papers give us access to the interests and writing practices of ordinary women. Oftentimes these manuscripts combine academic and practical subjects in ways that surprise modern readers.

Women did learn to write, despite the arguments against teaching them, such as those articulated by Richard Mulcaster (the first headmaster of England's largest grammar school). Often, penmanship was learned together with mathematics rather than with reading, as it is today. Many printed manuals combine the teaching of arithmetic with the development of a fluid italic handwriting style. The many published guides included several by Edward Cocker, such as *Penna volans or The young mans accomplishment being the quintessence of those curious arts writing & arithmetick* (1661), *The Tutor to Writing and Arithmetick* (1664), and, with Edmund Wingate, *The clarks tutor for arithmetick and writing* (1671).

None of these printed manuals explicitly indicates that it would have anticipated a female readership; probably they did not. Such educational materials would have been largely restricted to a male audience. Yet Sarah Cole's arithmetic exercise book, Folger MS V.b. 292, comprises some drawings identical to those engraved in Cocker's *The Tutor to Writing and Arithmetic*. In light of this connection to a printed antecedent, it is useful to consider the nature and composition of such a book. A manuscript exercise book is best defined as a subcategory of the copy book. The exercise book is the production of a student, probably working from a template provided by an instructor, and reflects the assiduous attention of a young scholar interested in producing a beautiful volume as well as in providing correct answers to problems within the text. Authorship can only be thought of as collaborative: the instructor's template aggregates designs, problems, definitions, and perhaps poems from a wide range of print and manuscript sources.

Sarah Cole dates and titles her exercise book (Folger MS V.b.292) on an ornate page decorated with cherubim. The page reads:

> SARAH COLE
> Her Book
> Scholler to Elizabeth
> Beane Mrs in the Art
> of Writing. Anno 1685

Mary Serjant, another of Elizabeth Beane's pupils, similarly named Beane as her mistress in "the Art of Writing and Arithmetick" in an exercise book held by the Beinecke Library (Osborn Shelves MS fb.98). In her exercise book, Cole has worked through a variety of arithmetical problems. Far from scratched exercises, the pages of her book have been illustrated and given ornate headings. Each heading introduces either a list of definitions, moral distiches, word problems, numerical tables, or equations.

Word problems occupy much of Cole's exercise book, and they center on household operations like bartering. Clearly her arithmetical education was designed to prepare her to become a good helpmeet for her eventual husband, for it seems to hinge on domestic functionality. The range of skills that Cole was assigned to master suggests that she was preparing to manage a fairly large, well-to-do household.

Cole's calculations were done in conjunction with elaborate handwriting and drawing exercises. The

headings to each page and the mnemonic devices that Cole has reproduced throughout the book seem as important for their format as for their content, and the final product beautifully displays Cole's acquisition of skills in both arithmetic and calligraphy. Although the text is an exercise book, its elaborate presentation and its fine binding suggest that the product was intended for a readership beyond her instructor. Perhaps Cole wanted to be able to share her successfully completed exercises with her family and maybe a small circle of friends? Cole must have invested much time practicing her writing and her arithmetic before setting down the drawings, definitions, and problems in this book. Two pages of calligraphic drawing and an ornately decorated title page precede Cole's sequence of illumination and illustration that provides a constant visual context for her arithmetical exercises. In nearly two hundred pages of drawings, calculations, and compositions, there are no apparent cross-outs, smudges, or erasures.

The intermeshing of calligraphy and arithmetic is illustrated, for instance, on folio 5. On this page, as on all of the pages of the exercise book, Cole has meticulously divided the space and assigned specific functions to each part of the page. Although the page contains no actual sums, she has laid it out in such a way as to allocate room for definitions, mnemonics, and the morals of mathematics:

Arithmetick the Art of Computation
By Numbers which brings many Consolation.
Those who True Reckonings from false Discern
Arithmetick Let Them Compleately Learn.
By This the Merchant and the man of Treade
By Ignorance or Skill are marr'd or made
Yet in this Art Therse none thats so accute
As all Its Excellencies To Compute

Like many other seventeenth-century students, Cole is improving her writing skills while inculcating moral virtues. In her case, though, the moral distiches that she has copied advocate that she "Compleately Learn" arithmetical principles, which become neatly bound up in her pedagogical program.

The poems interspersed throughout Cole's exercise book do not appear to come from a standard arithmetic book, a possible indication that Beane wrote this and other poems for Cole to copy. When looking at her exercise book, we can potentially locate traces of literary agency among a small community of female writers comprising Beane, the probable poet and teacher, and Cole, the student, calligrapher, and problem solver.

On the final page of her exercise book, Cole has illustrated the centrality of writing on folio 199 , the final page of the exercise book to contain actual computations. The page has been neatly divided into five segments of unequal size. On the bottom right-hand corner of the page, Cole has drawn a hand engaged in the process of writing with a quill. She has sketched the disembodied hand beginning with the top of its shoulder. The elaborate flourishes of her design evoke an ornate costume, beginning with a puffed sleeve that narrows and then reopens a bit to form a fabulous cuff from which the writing hand emerges. Cole has managed to create a hand that merges with the quill. One finger can be distinguished alongside it but the other is simultaneously finger and quill: the fingernail rests on top of the dark quill but then transforms into the same sort of loops that she has used to indicate the feather. Remarkably Cole has drawn a pen engaged in impossible labor. The loops, contiguously extending from this box into the box above it, appear far too high to be the work of this fictive arm. In fact, the doodles are more than twice the size of the arm, and they also resemble the doodles scattered on other sections of the page including those that comprise the hair, head, and upper body of a figure that looks roughly proportionate to the arm. At the end of her book, Cole seems to be acknowledging—and accessing—the power of the pen.

Cole's exercise book possesses many traits we would associate with a formal education. It was carefully and neatly compiled; it recognizes an instructor by name and title; and it holds a record of completed, revised assignments. Early modern women's educations did not always occur in such a neat, programmatic, or even pedagogical format, though. Sometimes women acquired and expressed their knowledge in non-pedagogic texts like receipt books. For an early modern woman, a receipt book usually comprised recipes alongside (as is so often the case in the messy world of domestic papers) poems, letters, autobiographies, and other documents. The books provided ample space for creativity and adaptation; even when women received their receipt books already divided into sections for cookery and medicinal recipes, they could flip the books upside down, add new categories, skip pages, and otherwise refashion the books to accommodate their needs and impulses, both on practical and creative levels.

Constance Hall's receipt book, Folger MS V.a.20, demonstrates a less systematic assemblage of graphic skills than we have seen in Cole's exercise book, but the receipt book seems similarly to have functioned as a pedagogic tool of sorts. Hall seems to have acquired handwriting lessons along with recipes from the many nameless contributors who have written out recipes in her book. The title page of Hall's book has been carefully ruled and elaborately decorated to read:

Constance
Hall
Her Booke
of Receipts Anno
Domini ~ 1672

This is a book with an overtly expressed purpose: for Hall to collect recipes. More subtly, though, the book provides Hall with a space to practice her own calligraphic script and drawing. Without the adroit technical mastery so clearly evident in Cole's work, the text nevertheless reveals the complex workings of a woman's mind in the act of incorporating knowledge acquired through books or from teachers into her everyday experiences.

Multiple hands appear throughout Hall's receipt book, probably indicating that she asked others to contribute recipes to the book. The unsigned contributors for Hall's book must have fostered a community of knowledge sharing, much as Elizabeth Beane did by providing her students with poems and problems to copy onto beautiful pages in their flourishing calligraphic hands. In Hall's receipt book, though, it is difficult to distinguish when new writers enter the discourse and when variant handwriting styles reflect Hall's own handwriting exercises. Some of the receipts have been copied in cursive italic hands that range from careful and fluent to sloppy, which suggests that multiple scribes added their contributions to the collection. Other receipts, however, have been written out in self-consciously artistic lettering as in the receipt for "Aqua Mirabilis" on folio 11 or in the carefully ruled section of medicinal receipts. Subtle designs, line breaks, and flourishes showcase an author or a group of authors exploring the possibility of bringing one form of knowledge to bear on another.

Hall's book of receipts beautifully displays the ways in which writing could serve as a participatory and practical act for early modern women. Of the group of individuals whose hands appear in MS V.a.20, many seem as interested in adding a degree of presentational beauty to the book as in providing usable culinary and medicinal knowledge.

Cole's arithmetic exercise book and Hall's receipt book offer evidence of two slightly different ways in which women found connections between their day-to-day existences, their education, and their writings. Produced outside of the formal domain of institutional education, these documents suggest the vital interactions between pedagogical practices and domestic functionality in women's education. By looking at women's exercise books and receipt books like these, we can reconstruct some of the ways in which women incorporated educational practices into their lives—and ways in which, through the practices taught to them, women could adapt educational practices in order to assemble their own modes of self-expression.

Suggested Reading:

Primary

Anon. *An introduction for to lerne to recken with the pen*. London, 1539.

Cole, Sarah. Arithmetic exercise book (1685), held by the Folger Shakespeare Library (MS V.b.292).

Cocker, Edward. *The Tutor to Writing and Arithmetic*. London, 1664.

Fane, Rachel. Notebook, held by the Centre for Kentish Studies Maidstone, Kent (U269 F38/1 No. 14). Page from the notebook reproduced with commentary and transcriptions by Caroline Bowden in *Reading Early Modern Women: An Anthology of Texts in Manuscript and Print, 1550–1700*. Helen Ostovich and Elizabeth Sauer, eds. New York and London: Routledge, 2004, 74–77.

Hall, Constance. Receipt book (1672), held by the Folger Shakespeare Library (MS V.a.20).

Noon, Edward. *Brachyarithmia or The rules of arithmetick in a short and easie method Written in a variety of useful hands*. London, 1690.

Serjant, Mary. Arithmetic exercise book (1688), held by the Beinecke Library (Osborn Shelves MS fb.98).

Wingate, Edmund. *The clarks tutor for arithmetick and writing, or, A plain and easie way of arithmetick*. London, 1671.

Secondary

Bowden, Caroline. "The Notebooks of Rachael Fane: Education for Authorship?" in *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing: Selected Papers from the Trinity/Trent Colloquium*. Victoria E. Burke and Jonathan Gibson, eds. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004, 157–80.

Burke, Victoria, Elizabeth Clarke, and Sara Pennell, "Workshop #13: Early Modern Goods and Women's Manuscript Compilations: Poetry and Recipes," in *Culture and Change: Attending to Early Modern Women*. Margaret Mikesell and Adele Seef, eds. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2003, 207–08.

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Teaching Reading and Writing

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Today we think of reading and writing primarily as silent, and private, mental activities. Literate individuals generally sit alone with books or computers as they consume and produce texts. The teachers who introduce us to those skills are concerned primarily with our levels of comprehension because literacy is critical to success, even survival, in the twenty-first century. We depend on words to understand our world, and we use texts to manipulate it. In striking contrast, evidence from the most popular reading primer from the seventeenth century makes it clear that reading in the early modern period was conceptualized as an aid to speaking, and that functional literacy included the regular consumption of handwritten as well as printed texts. Reading was a communal, collaborative, and aural/oral activity that required individuals to move between the handwritten and the printed worlds, as well as between oral and textual media.

The English Schoole-Master, by Edmund Coote, was first published in 1597, and it educated budding readers and their teachers for over one hundred forty years. Remarkably, although it appeared in over sixty-four printings, the contents of the text changed very little. This primer's longevity may perhaps be explained by the fact that it was both slim and affordable. But if Coote's book was small, his agenda was ambitious: "I professe to teach thee that art utterly ignorant, to Reade perfectly, to Write truely, and with judgement to understand the reason of our English tonge with great expedition, ease and pleasure" (1630, 2).

For Edmund Coote, reading was a process of decoding symbols, and his textbook promised to reveal the secrets of that code to everyone with the wherewithal to buy his book. *The English Schoole-Master* seems to have functioned as a sort of early modern users' guide to written English. By pointing out the obstacles readers might encounter in a variety of textual environments, Coote aimed to ease the path to literacy for those who might not otherwise develop reading skills: "men and women of trade, as Taylors, Weauers, Shop-keepers, Seamsters, and such other, as haue vndertaken the charge of teaching others" (1630, 3). While his egalitarian approach is noteworthy, what is even more fascinating is the window onto early modern notions of reading and writing that his text provides, notions that seem foreign to us now.

Coote's educational system framed reading as the process of deciphering sounds in order to deliver speech. Students were taught first to vocalize recognizable one-syllable units and, in subsequent chapters, they learned to build longer words out of those syllables. In Coote's world, then, reading meant translating written symbols into the more familiar spoken language. Not surprisingly, this process put a premium on pronunciation. The educated reader was enjoined to avoid "barbarous speech" because corrupt pronunciation led to incorrect spelling, which could confuse readers:

> I know not what can easily deceive you in writing, unless it be by imitating the barbarous speech of your country people whereof I will give you a taste... cthey commonly put (f) for (v) as feal for veal. And a nox, a nass, my naunt, thy nunkle, for an ox, an ass, mine aunt, thine uncle, etc. (1670, 27).

Moreover, Coote knew that readers' attempts at "perfect" and verbally "distinct" reading would require more than just word recognition. They would also need to understand the symbols that cropped up in texts they read. What we now call punctuation he called "points," and these marks functioned differently for early modern readers than they do for us. They did not necessarily mark off grammatical units, nor did they provide visual cues to guide understanding as they do for modern readers. Instead, they functioned as expressions of the length of time the tongue tarried before continuing to sound out a phrase:

> You must obserue also, that which we doe call * points or stayes in writing, as this marke (,) like to a small halfe Moon noteth a small stay; two prickes thus (:) makes a longer stay,

> and one pricke thus (.) is put for a full stay as if we had ended. When a question is asked, we marke it thus (?) When some words may be left out, and yet the sentence perfect, it is noted thus ( ) as teach me (I pray you) to reade. But for the true framing of your voice in all these, you must craue the helpe of your Master. (1670, 26).

The text's multiple references to pronunciation suggest students who read aloud to learn. However, the need for vocalization does not seem to have ended once proficiency was reached. For Coote, reading was also dialogic and collaborative. Each student was expected to learn in the company of a more experienced reader, who would correct pronunciation and explain "hard words," but the lessons themselves were literally dialogic. Extensive marginal glosses provided an instructor's script, coaching him or her to teach by asking questions:

> When your scholars shall learn this Chapter, let one read the questions, and another the answers. When your Scholars appose one the other, let the answerer answer without book (1670, 28).

Beyond its value to early learning, Coote's insistence on collaboration prepared accomplished readers for a textual environment that involved dialogue. Whether manuscript or print, Coote conceived a book as a conversation conducted between reader and writer. The practices and conventions of those exchanges are readily illustrated in the holdings of special collections libraries like the Folger. For instance, the Folger holdings include a copy of the first print edition of the English verse anthology, *Englands Parnassus: Or The Choysest Flowers Of Our Moderne Poets, With Their Poeticall Comparisons* by Robert Allott (1600) (STC 378 Copy 1). These poems circulated privately in manuscript before printing opened them up to a wider audience. At the end of this copy, the owner has added what he describes as "verses, occasioned by reading the foregoing Flowers" (495). This handwritten supplement to the printed text makes it clear that early modern readers continued to think of printed books as functioning in the same ways as their handwritten "paper books" or manuscripts. Evidently inspired by the printed poetry, the owner of this volume has composed his own verses in response to what he has read, and then copied them into the book, effectively adding them to the collection. Examples like this seem to make it clear that such handwritten additions were considered to be legitimate amplifications of the work.

A slightly different example, that further illustrates the blending of print and manuscript, can be found in a copy of George Chapman's play, *An humerous dayes myrth*, wherein three handwritten pages have been added at the end of the volume to supply missing pages of the printed text. Perhaps the last pages of this copy were lost. The writer has meticulously emulated print publishing conventions by forming letters to mimic print fonts, using catchwords at the bottom of pages, and marking his first inscribed page with the **signature** "H" to indicate a new gathering of leaves. Marks in the text itself suggest this was an actor's working copy, so the play's final lines would be essential to his purpose. But whether the originals were lost or incompletely printed, the book owner clearly felt the supplied handwritten pages ought to duplicate the look of a printed page, not a manuscript. The precision with which the letters were copied is significant since it suggests that the hand that copied the text was experienced. While literacy rates were on the rise in the early seventeenth century—in terms of readers—the number of people who could produce handwritten text was much smaller.

Although *The English School-Master* offered little advice on handwriting, despite its promise to teach it, Edmund Coote clearly understood that the adept reader, whether he could write or not, would need to cope with the permeability of print and manuscript spaces. He knew that characters and symbols common to manuscripts could appear in printed books, put there by hand or by press. To prepare readers for these encoding systems, Coote described the various abbreviations and marks peculiar to handwritten texts, such as the macron, or "strike," inscribed above a letter to stand in for missing letters as well as the superscript letters in abbreviated words like "ye," "yet," and "you":

> You must also know those kind of writing used in some words: as a strike over any vowel for m or n; as ma for man, co for con, like ye for the and yt for that, yu for thou, wt for what and so forth. In written hand there be [m]any other. And so a word ending in a vowel, doth lose it sometime when the next word begins with a vowel, as thintent. for the intent, which exactly would be written thus, *th'inent (1670, 27).]

But the most dramatic confirmation of the persistance of reading and writing practices tied to handwriting appears in Coote's 1630 edition of his primer. In this text, as well as the one dated 1627, he provided examples of "faire Writing, whereby in euery Schoole all bad hands may be abandoned" (1630, 2). The practical graphic advice that Coote offers on page 86 is twofold: an engraved secretary alphabet, followed by an engraving of Psalm 119 in the secretary script.

> My sowle cleaueth to the dust: O quicken thou me

according to thie woorde/
I haue acknowledged my wayes, and thou heardeth me
O teache me thie statuits
Make me to vnderstande the waye of thie commaun=
dmentes and so shalle I talke of y[ou]r wonderous workes
My soule melteth awaye for very heauynes, com
forte thou me according vnto thy worde.
Take from me the waye of lying and cause thou
me to make much of thy lawe,
I have chosen the waye of truth, and thy iudgeme=
ntes haue I layde before me;
I haue sticked vnto thy testimonies, O lorde confo=
unde me not.
I will runne the waye of thy commaundements
when thou hast sett my hart at libertie./

The effort involved to produce these images in print—alphabet and poetic exemplar—was not inconsequential. The letters would have been incised on a copper plate and then engraved, a process different from writing on paper. The elaborate mimicry of handwriting in a printed medium and its inclusion in these books also illustrates an important but neglected point about the relationship between manuscript and print: that the influences moved in both directions. Moreover, Coote's popular primer demonstrates that as late as 1630, readers needed to know how to decipher secretary hand and could expect to encounter it on a regular basis. The secretary alphabet does not appear in the 1670 edition (though it does in later ones). Printers still believed it necessary for students to be made aware of other marks typically found in handwritten documents—like the macron as well as the contractions for y^e, y^t, etc.—and so they retained that helpful instructional material.

These early modern texts provide evidence that reading and writing were as much physical as they were cognitive enterprises. Communication depended as much, or more, on the lips and ears as it did on the eyes and hands. Reading meant "translating into speech," an activity that required proper enunciation and dialogue. "Writing" frequently meant "copying," and involved significant physical effort to first prepare the materials—paper, pen, ink—and then to inscribe words in one of several hands available to the writer. The differences between these practices and those to which modern readers are accustomed should prompt us to question further how readers decoded and negotiated the signs and symbols they found on the handwritten page. While dozens of pedagogical texts were available, Edmund Coote's primer *The English Schoolmaster* may best illustrate the early modern conception of reading as largely oral, collaborative, and active, and of writing as an act of deciphering that required the comprehension of multiple codes.

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The Royal Paper Office

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The interdependent relationships of manuscript creation, transmission, and retention are illustrated in five documents relating to the "Paper Office" maintained by Sir Joseph Williamson (1633–1701), Secretary of State and Keeper of the State Papers—the core of what now constitutes the indispensible "SP" class of documents in Britain's National Archives—and the Royal Library during the reign of Charles II. Williamson's position necessitated his staying well informed about current affairs, both domestic and foreign, and to this end he maintained a special office under his Chief Clerk, Henry Ball, from which manuscript "newsletters" were produced and disseminated to a wide range of well-placed recipients, often in exchange for exclusive access to whatever items of news Ball's "correspondents" could provide in return. One of these correspondents was Sir Richard Newdigate, 2nd Baronet, of Arbury Hall, Warwickshire. The Folger Shakespeare Library holds Newdigate's collection of 3,950 newsletters dating from 1674 to 1715.

A surviving report produced by Ball for Williamson in the Autumn of 1674, outlining "The state of yor Honors Paper Office," provides invaluable evidence that helps us to understand some of the internal workings of a late seventeenth-century scriptorium. Ball supervised a small group of scribes who diligently churned out approximately two hundred letters each week, which were sent out according to a predetermined schedule on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays (London's three "post" days), with a few additional letters posted overseas on Mondays and Fridays. About half of Ball's correspondents received one long letter per week, containing whatever nuggets of news had been collected since the previous week's letter. Other correspondents were sent shorter letters by every post, while a few received a short letter sent each Tuesday followed by a medium-length one posted on Saturday. Ball produced two detailed lists of recipients: one that was included with his report, and a second, undated list that differs in some details from the first. These lists give an idea of the considerable extent of Williamson's national and international network of information-gatherers, though they also include the names of some who, having little news to trade, were willing to pay cash for the privilege of keeping abreast of current events.

Curiously, Sir Richard Newdigate's name does not appear anywhere on either list, although the subscriptions on the surviving letters indicate that he was a direct recipient of the communications from Ball's office, and we know that he was receiving letters on a regular thrice-weekly basis at the time Ball's report was drawn up. Other beneficiaries of Ball's correspondence included Sir Richard Bulstrode (whose letters now reside at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin) and, probably beginning in 1678, Narcissus Luttrell, who appears to have digested much of the information the letters contained into the early volumes of his *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs*, a massive chronicle originally compiled for Luttrell's personal use and subsequently published in 1857. Further products of Ball's extensive letter-writing enterprise no doubt exist among manuscript newsletters in other collections, and remain to be identified and collated with the Newdigate and Bulstrode series.

Folger MS. L.c.83 is a typical example of the newsletters that emanated from the Paper Office. Dated 19 September 1674 (a Saturday), it is a bifolium, three pages of which are filled with hastily copied news items—at the end of the third page, the copyist has turned the paper sideways in order to squeeze in two more brief notices. The final, outside page, with its written address (with flourishes), soiled creases, and wax seal retaining a torn stub of paper provides an excellent example of posting practices in late-seventeenth-century England. The letter itself gives a good idea of the mix of domestic news,

commercial and shipping information, foreign military reports, and court gossip that permeates these documents; indeed, they remain an important source of sometimes mundane day-to-day information for historians of the period. This particular letter is interesting in that it notes, on the first page, Williamson's move to a new office at Whitehall Palace, concurrent with his elevation from Under-Secretary to Secretary of State. The promotion followed Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington's appointment as Lord Chamberlain, and Henry Coventry's consequent advancement from the junior to the senior of the two Secretarial positions. In fact, Arlington had recently been under attack in Parliament, and was only too happy to accept the ambitious Williamson's offer of £6,000 for the purchase of the secretaryship. It would seem to be in the wake of this bureaucratic shake-up that Ball's report to Williamson was prepared.

Williamson's position as keeper of the "Paper Office" also made him the official archivist of the Crown and overseer of the state's collective memory as preserved in manuscript form. In this capacity, he was responsible for maintaining government papers in good order, and was often directed to make documents available to high-ranking civil servants and authorized scholarly researchers. An extant 1682 plan entitled "The Order of the Paper office" provides a visual and textual guide to the 35 bookcases in two rooms in which these documents were held. Different "presses" were reserved for documents relating to foreign and domestic affairs, including parliamentary, ecclesiastical, military, and household records, among others; one section even housed official papers of the "Usurpation" or Commonwealth regime. Williamson, who was no longer Secretary when he drew up the report, records the system of sorting papers by subject and then bundling them, either by sub-topic or chronologically by decade. Examples of his annotations include: "Italia. . .All before 1559. as H. VIII Negot*iatio*ns as his Marriage &c are rather placed in Anglia Vete*r*a"; "Germ*ani*a. . .All since 1559. w*i*th *th*e Emper*o*r are g*ene*rally if not universally here"; and "Denmarke. Sweden. Poland. Are g*ene*rally intermixed promiscuously w*i*th German*i*a of *the* same yeares, sometimes they are Bundled & yeared apart but still Lodged in this Classis."

This fascinating document, subsequently bound as item #49 in what is now known as the "State Papers, Various: State Paper Office Documents, Vol. II," provides a helpful reminder of the spatial qualities of manuscripts: modern scholars cite them in footnotes using numerical shelfmarks or call numbers, sometimes forgetting that they are not merely abstract texts, but tangible, three-dimensional objects that sit, for the most part, on a particular shelf in a particular library or archive along a particular street in a particular city, where they must be protected from loss or damage and ordered for ease of access. This applies to ephemeral documents as much as it does to important papers of state: had Sir Richard Newdigate not filed his thousands of newsletters in a drawer or a box somewhere, and had he and his descendants not chosen to retain these bulky bundles of paper rather than use them to line pie dishes or start a fire on a cold morning, we would not have the invaluable collection so carefully preserved at the Folger today.

Another document provides a telling comment on the ephemeral nature of manuscripts, even those that make up an official archive. It comes from a cover letter prefacing a lengthy report on the Paper Office prepared by the lawyer and author John Brydall, now held at the Folger, in which Brydall writes to Sir Robert Southwell in 1691 concerning the nature and contents of the Office's collection. Brydall discusses the wealth of information available to anyone wishing to explore the documents housed in the Paper Office, but concludes with the startling recommendation that

> [the] place would be rendred more serviceable for the public(, ^both^ for the quicker finding out of usefull papers, as **<**also**e>** also for the makeing of more Roome for other**<**s**>** papers of state to be layd up there in time to Come;) If all the Riff Raffe papers by a skilfull, and knowing person ^were^ pickt out, and used as Hereticks were in Queen Maries dayes.

Brydall's glib suggestion may cause the hair of librarians and archivists to stand on end, but it also reminds us that the survival of manuscripts is never assured, and that our vigilant attention is necessary in every case—from the seemingly unimportant personal letter or diary to the contents of great state archives—if we wish to preserve those unique documents that provide an irreplaceable record of our past.

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The tutor to writing and arithmetick.
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The English school-master.
[London]: A. Maxwell, 1670.
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Basse, William, d. 1653?
The pastorals and other works of William Basse never before imprinted, 1653.
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