Women and Seventeenth-Century Manuscript Culture: Miscellanies, Commonplace Books, and Song Books Compiled by English and Scottish Women, 1600-1660

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

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The thesis analyzes the extent to which English and Scottish women participated in the thriving manuscript culture of the first half of the seventeenth century. It considers in detail the manuscripts of four women, paying particular attention to the poetry they have chosen to copy, alter, or create. In the first three chapters the following manuscripts are examined: the commonplace book of Ann Bowyer (Bodleian Library Ashmole MS 51), Lady Anne Southwell's miscellany (Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.b.198), and the miscellany of Constance Aston Fowler (Huntington Library MS HM 904). The fourth chapter examines women's participation in the musical life of England and Scotland, with a special focus on the song book of Lady Margaret Wemyss (National Library of Scotland Dep. 314/23).

Each of these manuscripts reflects in some way the personality of its compiler, but also the literary community of which she formed a part. This thesis considers both the material communities of like-minded people to which these women had access, and also the intellectual literary networks in which women could participate.

Women from the "middling sort," the gentry, and the aristocracy are all represented in the sample of manuscripts examined in the thesis. Puritan, *via media* or "Anglican," and Catholic positions are evident from the manuscripts. The women who compiled them lived in England, Ireland, and Scotland. A remarkably large range of women participated in manuscript culture, but the factors of class, religious affiliation, and location influenced the type of literary worlds which these women could tap into.

Poems circulating in manuscript often invited alteration, appropriation, and response. I argue that manuscript circulation could offer women and men a malleable medium for their reading and writing, but that this type of literary dissemination has particular significance for women, who traditionally were not encouraged to express themselves through the written word.

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Abbreviations
(see Bibliography for complete references)

BL	British Library, London
Bod	Bodleian Library, Oxford
CSPI	*Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland*
Complete Peerage	*The Complete Peerage*, ed. George Edward Cokayne
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
Folger	Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC
Huntington	Huntington Library, San Marino, California
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
NYPL	New York Public Library
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd. ed.)
PRO	Public Record Office, London
STC	*A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed...1475-1640* (2nd. ed.), ed. W.A. Jackson et al
Scots Peerage	*The Scots Peerage*, ed. James Balfour Paul
VCH	*Victoria County History*

Conventions of Transcription

In my transcriptions of the commonplace books, miscellanies, and song books under discussion I have attempted to indicate exactly what appears in the manuscripts. I have retained the original spelling and punctuation. All expanded abbreviations have been printed in italics (e.g. pish = p*er*ish). Letters printed in superscript indicate either abbreviations such as y^{e} (the), wth (with), etc., which I have not expanded, or words which have been inserted between the lines.

I have used the following symbols:

—— (strikethrough)
cover words and letters which have been deleted by the scribe by means of crossing out or erasure. Letters in roman type indicate that the word is clearly visible; letters in italics are educated guesses about what is unclear in the manuscript. Where it has not been possible to determine the letters intended from the context, dots have been supplied to indicate the number of letters which would fit into the space available. A strikethrough above two or three dots (i.e. ‥ or ⋯) indicates that two or three letters have been deleted by the scribe and are not legible.

< > (diamond brackets)
enclose letters which have been supplied in the transcription where the manuscript is deficient through damage, or where letters have been hidden in the binding. Letters in roman type indicate traces of letters which are still visible in the manuscript; letters in italics indicate that no traces of the letters remain in the manuscript. Where it has not been possible to determine the letters intended from the context, dots have been supplied to indicate the number of letters which would fit into the space available.

[ ] (square brackets)
enclose my editorial comments.

Introduction

Women and Manuscript Culture: Becoming "both the Scribe and Author"

A bleak picture is often painted of women's literary activities in the early seventeenth century. The evidence of extant manuscript miscellanies by women, however, demonstrates that some women did have access to at least one rich area of literary life. In certain middle to upper class families in which women were literate, both women and men transcribed, altered, and responded to poetry which was circulating in manuscript at the time, often compiling their own commonplace books, miscellanies, and song books.

In this introduction I shall briefly describe the four manuscripts which comprise the body of this thesis. The terms commonplace book, miscellany, and manuscript culture will then be defined. I will explain how manuscript circulation took place in the early decades of the century, and situate women in an arena which, though slightly outside of the main channels, still offered access to this important facet of textual transmission. The key question of female literacy will be addressed. Placing my views of manuscript culture parallel to Margaret Ezell's, but slightly at odds with Arthur Marotti's and Max Thomas's, I will justify my methodology and theoretical framework. Finally, differences and connections between the four manuscripts under consideration will be considered, leading to speculative conclusions about the effects that the variables of class, religion, and geography had on the opportunities available for women's production and consumption of literature.

In this thesis I shall be examining in detail four manuscripts compiled by women. Chapter One looks at the early seventeenth-century commonplace book of Ann Bowyer (Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 51), a firmly didactic compilation of moral exempla extracted from Drayton, Spenser, and William Warner, among others. Compiled before her marriage to Simon Ashmole in 1617 or earlier, it acted as a repository for proverbs, poems, and handwriting exercises, and shows the presence of

at least one hand in addition to Bowyer's. Chapter Two considers the more complicated case of Lady Anne Southwell's miscellany (Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.b.198). Written by several different scribes in Southwell's employment, as well as partially by her second husband, the manuscript is a testament not only to popular poetry of the day, but a careful record of her own original religious and secular poetry. Combining letters, memoranda, sermons, and original and transcribed poetry, it gives us evidence of Southwell's literary activities, as well as details about her entire life. It is dated 1626, but poetry from before and after that date (until Southwell's death in 1636) has been recorded. The third chapter looks at what may be called a textbook example of a miscellany: Constance Aston Fowler's of the late 1630s and 1640s (Huntington Library MS HM 904). Its contents are purely poetic in nature and record the literary activities of Fowler's courtly, Roman Catholic friends and relatives. Most of it has been written by the young Constance, married but not yet living with her young husband, and by another hand which is probably that of a priest. The fourth and final chapter considers the slightly later manuscript compiled partially by the Scottish Lady Margaret Wemyss (National Library of Scotland MS Dep. 314/23). She and another hand (possibly a teacher) have entered songs with bass viol accompaniment, poems, and lute music into her manuscript from the mid-1640s. Chapter Four prefaces my discussion of the Wemyss song book with a consideration of women's musical activities of the seventeenth century in both England and Scotland.

The terms commonplace book and miscellany are often used interchangeably, but they are in fact very different entities. Peter Beal's definitions are the clearest: a commonplace book is a collection of anecdotes, quotations, or witticisms, often arranged under headings for reference, while miscellanies consist primarily of poetry. Beal defines the former as mainly an educational aid, as a tool for organizing knowledge, and as a forum for noting the vastly popular forms of the day: proverbs, maxims, apothegms, aphorisms, and *sententiae*. Beal posits miscellanies as the pleasurable, as opposed to the useful, side of the genre. These collections of poems are rarely organized in any order (as compared with the methods of organizing

commonplace books advocated by Erasmus, Bacon, Locke, and others). But there are similarities with commonplace books: often poems are given Latin titles, or headings which reveal their subject or theme.[1]

Commonplace books in their purest sense were only very rarely compiled by women; they were the product of a grammar school education and usually written in Latin. The European Latin printed commonplace book has been recently exhaustively studied by Ann Moss.[2] She argues that their method of organizing knowledge shaped the way elite readers approached all fields of inquiry.[3] Moss reminds us that these collections were not comprised of random passages which appealed to the reader, and were not for private consumption. Students read designated, canonical, classical authors, and selected passages not because of a personal preference but because they encapsulated rhetorically sound topics. These passages were not to be privately enjoyed, but rather to be the fodder for further writing and speaking.[4]

Valerie Wayne examines the different methods of commonplace book compilation advocated for boys and girls by the educational writer Juan Luis Vives, whose *De Institutione Foeminae Christianae* was translated into English by Richard Hyrde, and appeared in 1529 under the title *A Very Fruteful and Pleasant Boke Called The Instrvction of a Christen Woman*.[5] Although it predates our study, its position on commonplace books for women has relevance for our later period, not least because it enjoyed considerable popularity, being issued in at least 36 English and Continental editions by the end of the sixteenth century,[6] and because it appears to be the only

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[1] Peter Beal, "Notions in Garrison: The Seventeenth-Century Commonplace Book," *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985-1991*, ed. W. Speed Hill (Binghamton, NY: Renaissance English Text Soc., 1993) 131-47.

[2] Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996). See also Ann Moss, "Commonplace-Rhetoric and Thought-Patterns in Early Modern Culture," *The Recovery of Rhetoric: Persuasive Discourse and Disciplinarity in the Human Sciences*, ed., R.H. Roberts and J.M.M. Good (London: Bristol Classical, 1993) 49-60; and Ann Moss, "Printed Commonplace-Books in the Renaissance," *Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies* 2 (1993) 203-213.

[3] Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books* viii, and Moss, "Commonplace-Rhetoric" 49.

[4] Moss, "Printed Commonplace-Books" 203-04.

[5] Valerie Wayne, "Some Sad Sentence: Vives' *Instruction of a Christian Woman*," *Silent But for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works*, ed. Margaret P. Hannay (Kent, OH: Kent State P, 1985) 15-29.

[6] Wayne 15.

manual which addresses the subject of women's commonplace books. In this work the only type of writing mentioned as appropriate for women is the copying of "some sad sentence prudent and chaste" from the Bible or a philosopher so that she may remember it. Vives advocates quite different plans of study for girls and boys in two of his epistolary treatises of 1523, one written to Queen Catherine of Aragon for her daughter Princess Mary, then seven years of age, and the other written to Charles Mountjoy, the son of William Blount, Lord Mountjoy.[7] Vives did strongly advocate that the language of learning for both sexes should be Latin, but the manner of their learning it was not to be the same. A girl should fill a small notebook, which will become a handbook for her, with sayings which she should memorize. She should translate short speeches into Latin, which should "partly be serious and religious, and in part joyful and courteous;" she should also fill a large notebook with Latin words ("useful for daily conversation, or rare or elegant words"), expressions ("which are witty, graceful, neat, erudite"), and *sententiae* ("weighty, amusing, deep, polite, imaginative, and practical, from which she may seek example for her life").[8] Boys were to copy into their notebooks a greater variety of material in Latin: names from subjects of daily conversation, rare words, idioms, *sententiae*, joyous expressions, witty sayings, proverbs, complex passages, and other matters worthy of note. They were to copy these items for the purpose of internalizing the great words of the ancients, with a view to eventually creating their own work from those truisms.[9] This reinforces the general view of the different purposes of education for women and men: women were to be, in Suzanne Hull's words, chaste, silent, and obedient, and above all good marriage material, while expectations for men had a larger scope.

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[7] These letters were printed in the composite volumes *De Ratione Studii* (1541). Foster Watson has translated relevant passages in his *Vives and the Renascence Education of Women* (London: Edward Arnold, 1912) 137-50 and 241-50. Ann Moss describes these letters in *Printed Commonplace Books* 115-17, claiming that there is very little difference between the programs of study for the girl and the boy, but I agree with Wayne, however, that the programs for the acquisition of writing for both sexes are significantly different.

[8] Watson, *Vives* 144-46.

[9] Watson, *Vives* 243-45.

It is difficult to generalize about commonplace books compiled by girls because so few survive which can be classed as such.[10] First of all, few girls were taught Latin in this period, and girls were not generally allowed to attend grammar schools, where the keeping of commonplace books was *de rigeur*. Moss goes so far as to say that with very few, extremely privileged exceptions, women did not compile commonplace books. She posits women as mere readers (who occasionally did transcribe) "published compilations of morally edifying sentences and examples in translation."[11] Ann Bowyer's manuscript fits this description in several ways. It is not in Latin, and therefore not a pure exemplar of the practice. It is full of pithy sayings, some translated from the Latin, of the type which appear in printed books of this type (discussed in detail in Chapter One). But Bowyer did not merely copy sayings from printed collections of phrase books or dictionaries of quotations; she evidently read some of the authors firsthand, and her book is a record of her engagement with the texts she has read.

Let us now move from commonplace books to miscellanies. I have categorized Anne Southwell's and Constance Aston Fowler's manuscripts as miscellanies, largely due to their significant poetic content. Both record, at least to some extent, the literary activities of a group of family members, friends, and acquaintances. Both also display their compilers' contacts with popular poems circulating in manuscript at the time, like Henry King's and Sir Walter Ralegh's. Fowler's manuscript is comprised of 65 items of poetry, nearly half of which has been written by, about, or to her network of Catholic friends and family. Southwell's manuscript is slightly more difficult to define because it combines several functions. In some folios it resembles a presentation copy of an author's work; in others, it was clearly used as a rough notebook for Southwell and for members of her household staff. Nonetheless, I have elected to call it a miscellany because it demonstrates an engagement with manuscript culture. It is not just an

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[10] The only example I have found which is similar to a traditional commonplace book is Lady Sarah Cowper's of 1673 (Hertfordshire Record Office D/EP F37). Though it is not in Latin, it is arranged into alphabetical headings (such as Love and Woman) under which quotations have been copied.
[11] Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books* viii.

anthology of one poet's work: it contains the work of other poets and reflects Southwell's literary contacts with friends like Lady Cicely Ridgeway and Dr. Daniel Featley.

Lady Margaret Wemyss's book again has links in common with the miscellany tradition, though I have elected to classify her manuscript as a song book. The 27 poems among its pages have been compiled from a number of printed and manuscript sources, many of which were set to music. Earlier pages of the volume record the events of music lessons; Wemyss learned the lute (as did her sister, Jean) and may have been given singing lessons as well, as the Campion and Morley songs written for treble voice with facing bass viol accompaniment indicate. Because Wemyss's manuscript has such strong links with the musical life of mid-seventeenth-century Scotland ("the century of the gifted amateur and the collector"[12]), I have elected to group it in the slightly different category of song book. Miscellanies and song books overlap in many ways (as Mary Hobbs has outlined), but I wish to draw attention in Chapter Four to this other rich area of cultured life in which women could participate.

Manuscript commonplace books, miscellanies, and song books all partake in what has been called manuscript culture. The term manuscript culture refers to a system of transmission which coexisted with, and was ultimately superseded by, print culture. It refers to the ways in which people gained access to literature which was not printed. This literature ranged from the type of poetry circulated in exclusive coteries of the upper classes in which poets like Donne tried to ensure a select readership of their verse (though Donne's poetry was among the most popular circulated in manuscript, reaching not only the courtly Aston family, but also the less elevated Ann Bowyer),[13] to the manuscript newsletters written by correspondents for clients in

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12 Kenneth Elliott and Frederick Rimmer, *A History of Scottish Music* (London: BBC, 1973) 41.

13 On Donne's popularity in manuscript see Alan MacColl, "The Circulation of Donne's Poems in Manuscript," *John Donne: Essays in Celebration*, ed. A.J. Smith (London: Methuen, 1972) 45 and Peter Beal, ed., *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, vol. 1, part 1 (London: Mansell; New York: Bowker, 1980) 243-564. On coteries see Arthur F. Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1986) 3-24, and Chapter Three below on the Aston circle.

London and the provinces who wished to be kept informed of current events,[14] to the sophisticated Restoration scriptoria described by Harold Love which distributed ribald political satires of the day.[15] Manuscript culture encompassed both the individual compiling a notebook for his or her own edification or amusement, and the group of scribes copying the latest tract for a large readership.

I will now consider what is meant by manuscript circulation (the various ways that poetry, in particular, was disseminated in written rather than printed form), the social groups around which this circulation took place, and how women fit into these categories. William Caxton set up the first printing press in 1476 at Westminster, but almost two centuries later much literature was still disseminated in manuscript form. It was not until well after the Restoration that the printed word became uniformly favoured over the handwritten one. We might think of manuscripts as inhabiting a private world, as being the fruit of one person and his or her pen, and of printed texts as part of the public medium, but recent critics have shown that in this period the written word could be circulated to as wide or an even wider public than the printed word. Harold Love has called this publication of one's work through handwritten copies "scribal publication." He distinguishes between three types of scribal publication: the authorial holograph (author publication), the specialist scribe's copy (entrepreneurial publication), and the copy made by an individual who wants to possess a text (user publication). He points out the three agents which do the publishing in these cases: the author, the stationer or scrivener, and the intending reader.[16] Love explains that in the category of user publication we cannot always distinguish between what was scribally published and what remained private. The act of copying a poem for inclusion into a personal commonplace book or miscellany always involved at least two people: the copyist and the provider of the exemplar. But

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[14] On manuscript newsletters and "separates" see Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993) 9-22; Richard Cust, "News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England," *Past and Present* 112 (1986) 60-90; Ann Hughes, *The Causes of the English Civil War* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991) 71-72; and Andrew Mousley, "Self, State, and Seventeenth-Century News," *The Seventeenth Century* 6 (1991) 149-68.

[15] Love 231-83.

[16] Love 46-47.

generally the poem did not stop there: people who collected poems tended to transmit them further themselves. Within a network of people, poems would tend to be circulated either by one person making copies for the group on loose sheets, or by a system of chain copying.[17]

The fashion for miscellanies was at its height from the 1620s to the mid-1640s, and the main centres for their production were Oxford, Cambridge, and the Inns of Court, but particularly Oxford, and particularly Christ Church. Many poets, those from Christ Church and Trinity College, Cambridge, in particular, came from Westminster school where the composition of original verse was fostered.[18]

To these centres of manuscript circulation, the universities and the Inns of Court, we can add a phenomenon which has been studied most recently by Timothy Raylor, the early seventeenth-century club. Raylor has given an account of literary life in London during the Caroline period, building on Martin Butler's assertion that a literary network developed around the private theatres, consisting of a variety of clubs and circles.[19] Raylor presents his particular case, the Order of the Fancy, a drinking club in which members composed songs, ballads, and humorous verses which circulated both around London and at court, as a fusion of two popular social groups in Caroline England: the club and the fraternity.[20] The former tended to be a group of "cultured men, courtiers, and aspiring professionals" who engaged in light-hearted literary production, sometimes in the form of group composition (an example of this type of composition is "The Fart Censured" of 1607, a poem about Sir Henry Ludlow's flatulent outburst in Parliament containing the memorable couplet, "Quoth Sir *Henry Pool*, 'Tis an audacious trick,/ To Fart in the Face of the body Politick").[21] Ben Jonson was involved in clubs based at the Mermaid and at the Devil and St. Dunstan taverns,

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17 Love 79-80.

18 Beal, "Notions in Garrison" 143-44.

19 Martin Butler, *Theatre and Crisis 1632-42* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1984) 100-33. Quoted in Timothy Raylor, *Cavaliers, Clubs, and Literary Culture: Sir John Mennes, James Smith, and the Order of the Fancy* (Newark: U of Delaware P; London: Associated UP, 1994) 63.

20 Raylor 38 and 98-110.

21 *Musarum Deliciae* (London, 1655) 65; quoted in Raylor 74.

while John Hoskyns's group met at the Mitre on Fleet Street. In contrast with clubs, fraternities were more commonly centred around drinking than poetic composition.[22]

All of these literary groups, centred on the universities, the Inns of Court, and the tavern, obviously would not have included women. But women did participate in literary life in general, and in manuscript culture in particular although in admittedly small numbers. There is evidence that women had access to the literary communities based at country estates. The late-sixteenth-century example of Wilton, the home of Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, springs immediately to mind. In addition to writing herself, she encouraged and gave writing projects to poets who would continue to fulfill the high standards enjoined by her brother Sir Philip Sidney.[23] Recipe books also give us a glimpse of the network of women (and men) who exchanged material, though not of a literary nature: recipe books compiled by Lady Ann Fanshawe and the Boyle family now in the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine in London,[24] for example, link reams of names (likely friends and relatives of the compilers) with various medical and cookery receipts. Large numbers of these extant recipe books are attributed to women. Literary manuscripts were sometimes reincarnated as medical and cookery receipt books by later owners.[25]

But I would like to move away from women involved in literary groups--as patrons, collectors of recipes, and writers of poetry--to consider the manuscripts themselves. The accumulation of poems for a personal notebook seems to me to be a pastime that includes acts of both reading and writing. Individuals would read the work of other people and then copy it into their personal repository. The second act, copying, was sometimes a meticulous one of perfect transcription, or, conversely, sometimes an opportunity for alteration or response. At this point simply reading

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22 Raylor 72-81.

23 Margaret P. Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix: Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke* (New York: Oxford UP, 1990) 109.

24 Western MSS 7113 and 1340.

25 Bod MS Don c. 24 is Nicholas Oldisworth's 1644 transcription of poems he had written as an undergraduate at Christ Church. The manuscript was later used by Oldisworth's youngest daughter Margaret as a recipe book. For a description see John Gouws, "Nicholas Oldisworth and MS Don c. 24," *Bodleian Library Record* 15 (1995) 158-65.

another writer's work becomes a site for writing, whether in the act of changing certain tiny details, of "improving" several phrases, or of responding to a poem with a composition of one's own. The act of acquiring a poem for personal ownership takes reading a step further by encouraging people to create new books which the compiler and her descendants could read.

But what chance did women have of being literate at this time? To answer this we need to look at a girl's education, or more commonly, the lack of it. Historians know of the existence of no more than 300 learned women in Europe before 1700. Gerda Lerner cites the closing of the monasteries as having a serious effect on the education of girls; for nearly a century no tradition of learning for girls existed. The education they did receive taught them how to succeed in the marriage market.[26]

The situation was not promising at the beginning of the century: if children had access to a school they would generally attend a petty school first, and then a grammar school. At petty schools, children would be taught first to read and then, often a year or two later, to write; the two skills were not taught in tandem as they are today.[27] Many children would have to leave school before the skill of writing was taught.[28] For girls of lower classes who lived in rural communities opportunities for education were scarcer. Many short-lived schools sprang up in rural communities where children could often acquire basic reading and writing skills, but it is difficult to determine whether any of those students were female.[29] Sometimes reading and writing were taught by parish priests, village shopkeepers, craftsmen, artisans, or (rarely) by parents at home.[30]

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[26] Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness from the Middle Ages to Eighteen Seventy* (New York: Oxford UP, 1993) 29-33.

[27] David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1980) 19-41. Foster Watson explains that even at grammar schools in the early seventeenth century writing did not play a large role in school lessons; if writing was taught at all it was done by a writing master who was paid separately (*The English Grammar Schools to 1660: Their Curriculum and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1908) 186 and 193; quoted in Jean Klene, "Recreating the Letters of Anne Southwell," Hill 247).

[28] Margaret Spufford, "First Steps in Literacy: the Reading and Writing Experiences of the Humblest Seventeenth-Century Spiritual Autobiographers," *Social History* 4 (1979) 412.

[29] Elaine Hobby, *Virtue of Necessity: English Women's Writing 1649-88* (1988; London: Virago; Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1989) 191.

[30] Cressy 36-41.

Many petty schools taught girls and boys, but girls were almost uniformly excluded from a grammar school education, which consisted of the Classics, particularly Latin but also sometimes Greek and Hebrew. Upper class girls were sometimes taught at home by private tutors and governesses, or possibly their mothers, or could be sent to live in a household ("placed out") where they would generally learn reading and writing, and sometimes singing, dancing, needlework, and French.[31] Margaret Hoby, for example, was taken into the Puritan household of Catherine, Countess of Huntingdon, as a girl.[32] Private finishing schools, like Mr. and Mrs. Robert Perwick's in Hackney, which operated between 1637 and 1660, or the Ladies' Hall in Deptford, or Mr. Bevens's Finishing School in Ashford, taught a similar curriculum: music, dancing, needlework, and possibly handwriting or letter-writing, or the art of conversation. By the end of the seventeenth century ladies' academies could be found in many towns.[33] Women were excluded from the universities.

David Cressy has demonstrated that literacy rates of women lagged significantly behind those of men. If we take Cressy's figures as accurate (10% female literacy by 1640),[34] then the number of women who could have participated in the realm of manuscript transmission and circulation is necessarily tiny. Other historians have suggested higher rates for female literacy, however (J. Paul Hunter estimates 15-20% female literacy in 1600, and 30% in 1675), and most agree that the use of signatures as a measure of literacy does not reflect the fact that in early modern society many more people could read than could write.[35]

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[31] Hobby 192; and Norma McMullen, "The Education of English Gentlewomen 1540-1640," *History of Education* 6 (1977) 91-95.

[32] Dorothy M. Meads, ed., *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599-1605* (London: Routledge, 1930) 5.

[33] Germaine Greer et al, *Kissing the Rod: An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Women's Verse* (1988; London: Virago; New York: Noonday, 1989) 3-4.

[34] Cressy 128 and 176. Cressy bases his findings primarily on signed documents: business and court records, probate documents and petitions (62). He uses three types of ecclesiastical records: probated wills, marriage-licence records, and ecclesiastical court depositions (105). Though it is not a perfect indicator, R.S. Schofield has called the ability to sign one's name on a document the best available measure of literacy ("The Measurement of Literacy in Pre-Industrial England," *Literacy in Traditional Societies*, ed. Jack Goody (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1968) 319).

[35] J. Paul Hunter, *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (New York: Norton, 1990) 72-73. Hunter, Suzanne Hull, and Keith Thomas all argue for larger numbers of women who could read than could write, citing the evidence of the growth in numbers of books dedicated to women readers and the fact that much of the teaching of children to read was done by

Social class, occupation, and geography all played roles in the acquisition of literacy. Members of the nobility, gentry, wealthy townsfolk, and to some extent the yeomanry had greater access to private tutors and schools, while those in the lower classes (husbandmen, cottagers, and landless labourers) often could not be spared from working with their families to go to school. Keith Thomas traces the spread of literacy to economic developments, pointing out that people whose jobs were linked with the market economy needed to become literate more quickly than others: "Economic reasons thus help to explain why literacy was greater in the towns than in the country, among traders than among labourers, and among men than among women."[36] Cressy found that literacy varied by region; the least illiteracy was to be found in the midlands and south-east, and particularly London, while greater numbers of illiterate people seemed to live in the north and far south-west; but he points out that these figures vary from parish to parish.[37] Scotland is traditionally believed to have had a higher rate of literacy than England, due to a combination of religious reformers like John Knox who advocated a greater access to education with state legislation which ensured that landowners paid most of the cost. Houston has shown, however, that these notions of an accelerated rate of literacy acquisition must be qualified, and gives Scotland a literacy rate similar to that of England.[38] Given that the Scottish woman I am investigating in the fourth chapter came from an aristocratic family, the fact that she could read and write is not at all surprising.

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women (Suzanne Hull, *Chaste, Silent and Obedient: English Books for Women 1475-1640* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1982) 8-13; and Keith Thomas, "The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England," *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition. Wolfson College Lectures 1985*, ed. Gerd Baumann (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986) 103. Keith Thomas points out that literacy was not a single-step process: in the hierarchy of literacy, reading the printed word came first (which was usually Gothic type, called "black letter"), then reading and writing written script, and finally the acquisition of Latin (100-01).

[36] Thomas 111.

[37] Cressy 75.

[38] Houston's figures for female illiteracy in Scotland and England are even more pessimistic than Cressy's. Before 1650 he states that illiteracy among women was generally worse than 90% and probably closer to 95% or 100%. Between 1640 and 1760, 81% of women were illiterate (R.A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985) 57).

All four of the manuscripts discussed in this thesis have been written in the hand most commonly used by women, the italic hand[39] (with the exception of some late sixteenth-century memoranda on the early pages of Southwell's miscellany). As Samuel Tannenbaum and others have documented, by the end of the sixteenth century most educated men of England could write in both secretary and italic scripts, and often mixed the two, but by the middle of the seventeenth century italic was becoming more widely used.[40] Women, however, were generally taught only the latter, because, as Martin Billingsley explains in his *Pen's Excellencie* of 1618, it is

> the easiest hand that is written with *Pen*, and to be taught in the shortest time: Therefore it is vsually taught to women, forasmuch as they (hauing not the patience to take any great paines, besides phantasticall and humorsome) must be taught that which they may instantly learne: otherwise they are vncertaine of their proceedings, because their minds are (vpon light occasion) easily drawne from the first resolution.[41]

While some seventeenth-century women must have been taught secretary script, all of the material I have seen which can be identified as having been written by a woman is in italic script.

Margaret Ezell has pointed out the tendency of some feminist critics to impose a nineteenth-century model of literature as a commercial activity on pre-1700 literature. Because critics have tended to assume that a woman who wrote was acting subversively, they have said that women were restricted to "private" literary forms such as letters, diaries, and poetry which "remained" unpublished and were intended for only a small uncritical audience, if any. Ezell reminds us that publishing was

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[39] Jean F. Preston and Laetitia Yeandle, *English Handwriting 1400-1650: An Introductory Manual* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992) viii.

[40] Samuel A. Tannenbaum, *The Handwriting of the Renaissance: Being the Development and Characteristics of the Script of Shakspere's Time* (London: Routledge, 1930) 15; Hilary Jenkinson, "Elizabethan Handwritings: A Preliminary Sketch," *The Library* 4th ser. 3 (1922) 23 and 34; Hilary Jenkinson, "The Teaching and Practice of Handwriting in England," *History* 11 (1926) 216.

[41] Martin Billingsley, *The Pens Excellencie (London, 1618)* (Norwood, NJ: Johnson; Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1977) sig. C4; partially quoted in Herbert C. Schulz, "The Teaching of Handwriting in Tudor and Stuart Times," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 6 (1943) 415. Billingsley counters the arguments of those who believe that women should not be taught to write, claiming that women can commit worthy things to paper which will guide them, and that widows who are left estates will not be deceived by advisors (sig. C2-C2v).

atypical for both men and women in this period; manuscript circulation was more common.[42]

The spectrum of public and private is subtle in the area of manuscripts, and in each of the four examined in the thesis the boundaries become blurred. None could be considered completely private entities, because each contains at least two hands, and each is the result at least to some extent of manuscript circulation, which involves a minimum of two people: one who provides the poem and one who copies it. Though several hands appear in both Southwell's and Wemyss's books, their audience and function are quite different. Southwell's is a presentation copy of a writer's life's work, ending with her husband's epitaph on her achievements, a household memoranda book for servants, and a private notebook for Southwell's own revisions of her poetry. Wemyss's is the result primarily of music lessons (solo lute and voice, and possibly bass viol). The manuscript had a practical function of recording a girl's exposure to certain songs, presumably for later practice, or at least as some kind of record. It would also have been used as a performance copy. The songs for treble voice have a bass viol accompaniment written upside down--evidently the accompanist would have faced the singer and read from the same copy. Questions about the use of manuscripts yield fascinating answers.

A recent trend in criticism of manuscript culture has been to stress its fundamentally open nature, versus the essentially closed and fixed one of print.[43] Max Thomas, however, believes that the line between manuscript and print cannot be so firmly demarcated. Using the example of the manuscript of John Lilliat (Bod MS Rawl. poet. 148, compiled between 1589 and 1621), he argues that the focus of reading and writing in this period was on the gathering of *sententiae*. He sees a similar practice in the two sections of Lilliat's volume: in the miscellaneous poetry compiled by Lilliat, and in the printed work by Thomas Waston, *The Hekatompathia or Passionate*

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[42] Margaret J.M. Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1993) 33-34.

[43] Gerald L. Burns, "The Originality of Texts in a Manuscript Culture," *Comparative Literature* 32 (1980) 113-129.

Centurie of Loue (1582), which occupies its middle pages. Both Lilliat and Watson demonstrate an "impulse to the sententious" in their manipulations of other writer's works.[44] Like Marotti, Thomas stresses that poetry is a social process.[45] Given the malleability of poetic texts, Thomas urges us not to privilege the author because poetic discourse at this time was a matter of tapping into a store of commonplaces. He questions whether a poem's original integrity can ever be known, and whether that verification mattered or was even conceivable.[46]

I would not take the plasticity of manuscript culture as far as Marotti and Thomas do: certain individuals wrote poems, they were disseminated in manuscript form, and people recorded the works of those particular authors in their miscellanies.[47] But the fact that people did alter, "improve," and respond to those texts is an important fact of manuscript culture, and has particular relevance for women, who were not usually guided to express themselves through the written word. My approach has been to accumulate information about each of these women's lives and to bring to light archival material which has not generally been discussed. Given my focus on primary sources and little known poetry I have not found current feminist literary theory debates relevant. This project began as an attempt to see whether women did keep commonplace books and miscellanies; culling archival material has led me to focus on the physical objects at a textual rather than theoretical level, and has appeared to be the best way to answer that question.

The differences between the manuscripts are numerous. They range from a didactic, firmly Protestant commonplace book (Bowyer's) to a collection of courtly lyrics compiled by interconnected Catholic families (Fowler's). By the time Constance

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[44] Max W. Thomas, "Reading and Writing the Renaisance Commonplace Book: A Question of Authorship?" *Cardozo Arts and Entertainment Law Journal* 10 (1992) 665-679; and Max W. Thomas, "The Practice of Poetry in Early Modern England," diss., U of Pennsylvania, 1993, 97 and 91.

[45] Thomas, "The Practice of Poetry" 22; Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and The English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1995) 2.

[46] Thomas, "The Practice of Poetry" 22-23 and 12.

[47] Richard B. Wollman has challenged Marotti's notion that authors cheerfully ceded their property rights to their poems once they entered the realm of manuscript circulation. Using evidence from Donne's letters, Wollman argues that Donne was worried about misreadings of his poems and for this reason chose to circulate them among friends ("The 'Press and the Fire': Print and Manuscript Culture in Donne's Circle," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 33 (1993) 85-97).

Aston Fowler was compiling her miscellany in about 1635 her family, newly converted to Roman Catholicism, had firmly allied themselves to some leading Catholic families of the period. Though Roman Catholics were still a persecuted minority in the 1630s, Fowler's miscellany shows that if one was sufficiently well-connected and of a high enough class, one could still have access to important poetry of the day, like that in the Donnean metaphysical style so favoured by the Aston circle. Under the protection of gentry families, Catholicism and its literature (like the poetry of the Jesuit Robert Southwell) could flourish.

The three other compilers of the manuscripts under consideration were Protestant. Bowyer's Puritan leanings are suggested by her extracts from the morally edifying work of Spenser and Drayton, two poets sometimes linked with radical Protestantism. Southwell's views were firmly anti-sectarian; she may have been influenced by the moderate ministers with whom she came into contact in later life. Wemyss's religious position is not easily discernible from her song book since nearly all of her poems deal with love rather than religion. We do know, however, that her father David, second Earl of Wemyss was a prominent Covenanter. The range of these religious positions (Roman Catholic, puritan, centrist "Anglican," and Presbyterian) indicates that given a certain level of literacy and wealth, a woman could participate in manuscript culture regardless of her religious leanings. But religion inevitably dictated to some extent the nature of the materials she was likely to into contact with; some attempt will be made in the following pages to explore the relationship between religion and female access to literary culture.

The daughter of a draper and the daughter of an earl both participated in this aspect of manuscript culture. Three of the women under discussion in this thesis fall into the top levels of pre-industrial society, while one is of more humble status. Lady Margaret Wemyss's family were members of the peerage, Constance Fowler was the daughter of a knight who was later created a baron, and Lady Anne Southwell was the

daughter of a knight and married one.[48] Ann Bowyer was the daughter of an urban craftsman, a draper (though she had distant links with the gentry).[49] Three of the four women under consideration had contacts with the court. The courtly circles in which the Astons and the Wemysses moved led to poems on Buckingham, both (unusually) laudatory, being included in their collections. All of the manuscripts except Bowyer's contain poems that were set to music, reminding us of how closely songs and poems could be linked in this period.

Michael Drayton is the most frequently quoted author in Bowyer's miscellany. She has stripped most of her quotations of their context (most come from his poems on historical and legendary figures) and recorded them for the kernel of moral truth they embody. Interestingly, Michael Drayton was a poet frequently patronized by Sir Walter Aston, the father of the Tixall group. Perhaps nothing shows better the contrast between Bowyer's literary activities and the Astons'. Bowyer gained access to Drayton's works in printed form; the second generation of Astons compiled their manuscripts at "Tixall...the Aston's ancient seat;/ which oft the Muse hath found her safe and sweet retreat."[50] The privilege of the Aston's social position enabled them to have personal contact with writers like Drayton, but interestingly in his 1612 preface to the first part of *Poly-Olbion* he playfully disparages the manuscript circulation so favoured by the Astons:

> In publishing this Essay of my Poeme, there is this great disadvantage against me; that it commeth out at this time, when Verses are wholly deduc't to

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[48] According to Keith Wrightson, the upper levels of English society were ranked in the following order: peers, barons, knights, esquires, and gentlemen. Yeomen were placed below country gentlemen in the rural hierarchy (*English Society 1580-1680* (London: Hutchinson, 1982) 23-27).

[49] In urban society leading merchants and professionals ranked above independent craftsmen who ranked above wage earners. Among the urban crafts and trades wealth usually determined status (Wrightson 36). Bowyer's family must have been quite well-off given that the paper and writing materials required for Ann's and probably her siblings' education were expensive. Her mother was the daughter of a gentleman, and her grandfather on her father's side was a younger son of a gentleman or an esquire (H. Sydney Grazebrook, ed., *The Heraldic Visitations of Staffordshire Made by Sir Richard St. George, Norroy, in 1614, and by Sir William Dugdale, Norroy, in the Years 1663 and 1664, Collections for a History of Staffordshire* 5.2 (1884) 14-15 and 48-49). Grazebrook's Ashmole pedigree lists William Bowyer of Knippersley as an esquire, while his Bowyer pedigree indicates that he was a gentleman.

[50] Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion*, *The Works of Michael Drayton*, ed. J. William Hebel, vol. 4 (Oxford: Shakespeare Head, 1961) song XII, lines 561-62.

> Chambers, and nothing esteem'd in this lunatique Age, but what is kept in Cabinets, and must only passe by Transcription ("To the Generall Reader").

Drayton is here expressing some of the tension between print and manuscript culture. He would have probably been grateful to Bowyer's upwardly mobile family who purchased his poems (probably *The Barons Warres* of 1603, which included his *Englands Heroicall Epistles*), but he must have also been grateful to his patron, and may not have minded that Herbert Aston included two of Drayton's poems in his miscellany, probably obtained through manuscript circulation.

Besides religion and class the manuscripts differ in other ways. Their dates of compilation range from the early years of the seventeenth century to its middle years. The ages of the women who wrote them range from girlhood through early marriage to old age. They were compiled in Staffordshire, Ireland, Middlesex, and the Lowlands of Scotland. Geography is another determining factor in the issue of women's access to literary culture and one which will be considered in what follows. But what unifies them is the fact that each manuscript shows some contact with other literate and literary people. In the case of Fowler and Southwell we can trace distinct networks of like-minded people between whom poetry was circulated. Wemyss's and Bowyer's manuscripts also indicate some contact with manuscript transmission of verse.

Women like those under consideration in this thesis had contact with satellite groups of literate people around particular houses or estates. I have not been able to ascertain where in Coventry Bowyer lived before her marriage (after her marriage she is said to have lived on Breadmarket Street, across from St. Mary's church in the centre of Lichfield), but it must have been with her sister Bridget and other siblings, who may have been the other hands in her commonplace book. At Poulnalong Castle in Ireland, lodgings in Clerkenwell, and Bank House in Acton Southwell met literary people of the day. At Tixall and surrounding estates like Colton, the Astons carried on their literary exchanges. Wemyss Castle was evidently a literary and musical centre. Margaret had access to a poem by James Graham, first Marquis of Montrose (now the

only extant manuscript version of it) and received lute and music lessons with her elder sister Jean; the existence of that community gives credence to the theory that musical and literary life in seventeenth-century moved from the court to the castle once James and his courtiers moved south in 1603.[51]

Manuscript culture has been described in terms of its exclusiveness, and defined as elitist, predominantly royalist, and politically conservative, but in one way it may have been more inclusive: it provided at least middle to upper class women with a place to participate in literary life. While I would not take the idea of the pliability of manuscript culture as far as Marotti and Thomas do, I do think that this model has significance for women. Their own miscellanies could offer women and men a flexible site on which to record and respond to what they were reading. But miscellanies could offer women in particular a space to engage with the written word, when their full participation in literary life was often not encouraged. Henry King's words, written to a lady in her blank "table book," aptly sum up this potential:

> When your faire hand receaves this Little Book
> You must not there for Prose or Verses look.
> Those empty regions which within you see,
> May by your self planted and peopled bee.
> And though wee scarce allow your Sex to prove
> Writers (unlesse the argument be Love)
> Yet without crime or envy You have roome
> Here both the Scribe and Author to become.[52]

King compares the relationship a reader has to a blank notebook with the act of colonization; the lady can plant and people her own imaginary world. She can be not only a copyist of others' works (a scribe) but also a writer of her own (an author). In the following chapters I will investigate the process by which other writers' words become the scribe's own as she alters, improves, or responds to them in verse; the process, in other words, by which the scribe becomes an author. Each of the manuscripts discussed below demonstrates how educated women could participate in literary life of the first half of the seventeenth-century.

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[51] Elliot and Rimmer 41.

[52] Henry King, *The Poems of Henry King*, ed. Margaret Crum (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965) 154.

Chapter One

Sententious Poetry in Ann Bowyer's Commonplace Book

As discussed in the Introduction, notebooks compiled by people in the seventeenth century took many different forms. At one end of the spectrum were the Latin commonplace books compiled by schoolboys, organized into "topics" or "places" under which pithy sayings were recorded. At the other end of the spectrum were the poetical miscellanies compiled for pleasure, which were filled with an apparently random collection of poetry. Ann Bowyer's manuscript (Bodleian Library Ashmole MS 51) falls somewhere in between these two extremes. The majority of the entries in her book are sententious in nature; there are no headings (Virtue, Vice, Women, for example) which might serve to organize the volume into a more typical commonplace book, but most of the entries could be reduced to a one-word theme. In some ways Bowyer's book does not fit the strict definition of a commonplace book; it is in English and not Latin (though there is one word in Greek, "anagrams," which acts as a heading for one entry on folio 4) and her excerpts are, for the most part, in verse (the greatest proportion of its contents take the form of rhyming couplets or slightly longer passages). Bowyer's manuscript has the greatest affinity with a type of commonplace book which could most usefully be called a dictionary of quotations. These books organized poetic extracts into themes, and were popular by the mid-sixteenth century and into the seventeenth, as is discussed below. The existence of Bowyer's commonplace books helps refute Ann Moss's claim that women never participated in commonplace book culture. She posits women as mere readers, who occasionally did transcribe "published compilations of morally edifying sentences and examples in translation."[1] Bowyer, however, did not merely copy sayings from printed collections of phrase books or dictionaries of quotations; she evidently read some of the authors firsthand, and her book is a record of her engagement with the texts she has read.

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[1] Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) viii.

The extent to which Ann Bowyer participated in a public or a private activity needs to be considered, for its significance in the current debate about whether women's literary activity in the seventeenth century was essentially private or public. In some ways, the compilation of a commonplace book is a private activity because it involves the transcription of passages for one's own use. Many of Bowyer's quotations come from printed sources, but some poems, like "The Lie" and "A Valediction: forbidding Mourning," must have come from manuscript ones. Margaret Ezell's work has shown that women could have access to literary networks in manuscript circulation, and that letters, diaries, and poetry in manuscript were not necessarily private forms at all.[2] Using Harold Love's terminology, the compilation of a manuscript commonplace book can be classed as "user publication," in which public and private boundaries are difficult to establish. At least two people were always involved: the provider of the exemplar and the copyist.[3] Some of the attributions in Bowyer's manuscript may relate to family members ("A.B.", "F.B."), or to neighbours or friends ("mari bemont," "S^{r} Willam Sicpworth"). More than one hand appears in the book; perhaps its compilation involved more than one person at a time. Ann Bowyer began writing "A Valediction: forbidding Mourning" but a second hand finished transcribing it. Ann wrote some lines beginning a letter to her sister which were copied by a less mature hand. While Bowyer's manuscript does not indicate a literary circle in which she participated (as in the case of Lady Anne Southwell and Constance Aston Fowler, discussed in Chapters Two and Three), it can be considered as much of a public document as a private one.

A Description of Bodleian Library Ashmole MS 51

Ashmole MS 51 is a 20-leaf quarto (size 195 X 145 mm) in which poems, proverbs, moral exempla, historical information, and handwriting exercises have been

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[2] Margaret J.M. Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1993) 33-35.

[3] Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon 1993) 79-80.

written. It is bound with two other manuscripts, Ashmole MSS 49 and 50. Ashmole MS 49 is a copy of John Ward's poem of 1653 chronicling the Army's role in the events from 1642 till the "present Reuolution;" Ashmole MS 50 is a seventeenth-century transcript of a disputation between a horse, a goose, and a sheep ascribed to the fifteenth-century poet John Lydgate. The manuscripts were evidently bound together long after Elias Ashmole's time, and were probably grouped together due to their uniform size.

Briefly, from folios 1v to the top half of 4v, folio 5, and folio 6 to the top half of 7v poems and generally two-line rhyming couplets appear. On the bottom half of folio 4v (though crossed out), and on the bottom half of 7v and the top half of 8 another scribe has written out the names of various colours and some of their properties in a much messier and less organized manner than the poetry. On folio 5v this hand has written out the story of the miraculous preservation of the body of Thomas Grey, second Marquis of Dorset. Folios 8v to 12 are blank. From 12 to 19v (the last page on which something is written) the book seems to have been used primarily as a handwriting exercise book and is written upside down. The writer evidently inverted the notebook, treated the last page as the first, and wrote her handwriting exercises from folios 19v to 12v. The alphabet appears in different configurations, with different numbers of repeating letters in varying upper and lower case format, on folios 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19. It is always written neatly, with great care in forming each letter. It usually appears in two neatly ruled lines, except in the case of folio 18, where the alphabet has been written out four times, making a total of eight lines on that page, and also in the case of folio 19, where it has been written out eight times, thus making sixteen lines of text. On the verso sides of these latter leaves of the book proverbial sayings tend to be written (although 12v is blank). Folios 13v, 14v, 15v, and 16v all contain two or three neatly written lines that are the beginning of some moral precept, and three of the four of these references are evidently incomplete. On folio 17v a salutatory beginning of a letter has been written four times, and on folio 18v a three-line admonition about the dangers of drinking

wine has been written six times. On folio 19v a chart appears in which the scribe has practised seven different symbols or letters used in calligraphy. Folio 20 is blank.

The book is apparently the commonplace and handwriting book of Ann Bowyer, whose name is written on three pages (ff. 16v, 18v, and 19). In the latter two cases her name appears not in the margins, as other people's names she mentions tend to, but in between the two margins and near the bottom of both pages in a large, confident script, like a signature. Each appearance of the name follows a handwriting exercise, suggesting that the person who wrote out these exercises wrote her name below them. The third time Ann Bowyer's name appears is after a proverbial sentence on folio 16v: "Neuer comimt thine honour to the mishaps of fortune, nor/ neuer offer thy selfe to perill with hope of Remedie. Ann: Bowyr."[4] This statement follows the tone of the many similar moral precepts written out on earlier pages. Some of these can be traced to particular writers (see below) but others may have been coined by Bowyer herself. Four times in the manuscript the initials "A.B." appear as a marginal note; as yet the sayings accompanying these initials have not been traced to a particular writer, and therefore may have been composed by Bowyer.

The Identity of Ann Bowyer

Ann Bowyer was the mother of Elias Ashmole (1617-92), the antiquarian whose collections are preserved in the Bodleian Library and in the Ashmolean Museum.[5] It is not surprising that his mother's commonplace book should appear among his manuscripts. A second item in her hand, identical to Hand A of the commonplace book, has been bound into some miscellaneous papers of Ashmole's (Bodleian Rawlinson MS D. 864, f. 202v).[6] It is the cover of a letter which reads: "To

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[4] Although Ann Bowyer signs her name "Ann Bowyr," I will follow the more common spelling of her family name. All of the sources spell her Christian name with a final "e," but I will follow her spelling of it.

[5] I am grateful to Victoria Staveley for first making this identification.

[6] C.H. Josten, ed., *Elias Ashmole (1617-1692): His Autobiographical and Historical Notes, his Correspondence, and Other Contemporary Sources Relating to his Life and Work*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966) 320.

her very Louing son M^r^ Eliase Ashmol at M^r^ Peter Maninering house at Smalwod giue this [written below the address:] carodg [i.e. carriage] payd."[7]

She was a daughter of Anthony Bowyer, a draper from Coventry, and of his wife Bridget, the only daughter of Robert Fitch, gentleman, of Ansley in Warwickshire.[8] This branch of the Bowyer family descended from the Bowyers of Knippersley in Staffordshire, Anthony's father being the fourth son of William Bowyer who was either an esquire or a gentleman.[9] Elias Ashmole was very interested in his lineage, as his manuscripts outlining his pedigree, and his eventual coat of arms, reveal.[10] Ann had two brothers, John, the vicar of Napton in Warwickshire, and Anthony, who followed his father's trade in London.[11] She also had two sisters. An unamed older sister married John Person, a physician in Coventry who died in 1633. A second sister, Bridget, first married John Moyse, citizen and grocer of London, who died in 1618, and by whom she had three sons, John, Erasmus, and Anthony. Bridget

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[7] This may have been written on an occasion such as 4 September 1637 when Ashmole went to obtain the permission of Eleanor Manwaring's father for their marriage; Ashmole notes on this date: "The 2^d^ tyme I came to Smalewood" (in Ashmole MS 1136, f. 6v; and Josten, vol. 2, 320).

[8] H. Sydney Grazebrook, ed., *The Heraldic Visitations of Staffordshire made by Sir Richard St. George, Norroy, in 1614, and by Sir William Dugdale, Norroy, in the Years 1663 and 1664, Collections for a History of Staffordshire* 5.2 (1884) 13-15; and Josten, vol. 1, pedigree following p. 306. Ansley may be the same place as Allesley, in the hundred of Knightlow, to the west of Coventry. A Robert Fitch, who lived on the site of the castle of Allesley, died in 1588 (*VCH Warwickshire*, vol. 6, 3).

[9] In Grazebrook's Asmole pedigree William Bowyer is listed as an esquire, but in his Bowyer pedigree Bowyer appears as a gentleman (14-15 and 48-49).

[10] Grazebrook 14. Several manuscripts include information about, or coats of arms and pedigrees of, his Bowyer ancestors (Ashmole MSS 833, 834, 836, 840, 842, 846, 858, 862, 1109, 1115, 1121, and 1750). Ashmole MS 833 includes extracts from Sir John Bowyer of Knipersley's title-deeds (pp. 93-156 and 159-213), notes from Dugdale's visitation of 1633, which demonstrate the descent of the Bowyers from Sir William Venables of Bradwell (p. 236), William Flower Norroy's visitation of 1583 with additions to 1601 (p. 243), and a Bowyer pedigree to 1662 (p. 244). Interestingly, the strand from which Ashmole descends directly terminates at his grandparents (Anthony Bowyer and Bridget Fitch) and does not record his mother or himself. His interest is in the first-born sons of his noble relatives from which he can claim his ancestry. The pedigree in Ashmole MS 1750 (f. 15) stops at his great-grandfather, Thomas Bowyer. The original grant of arms from Sir Edward Bysh, from 16 May 1661, is preserved in Ashmole MS 1832; Ashmole mentions it in his autobiographical notes in MS Ashmole 1136, f. 36 (quoted in Josten, vol. 3, 831). See E.A. Greening Lamborn, "The Arms of Elias Ashmole," *Notes and Queries* 188 (1945) 230-31. Josten notes that Elias traced his ancestry on his father's side only to his great-grandfather, John Ashmole, who lived at Elford in Staffordshire. Josten's suggests that the family was of yeoman stock (vol. 1, 11); this may explain Elias's greater interest in his mother's side of the family, with its noble links, though Elias's grandfather, Thomas Ashmole, was recognized as a gentleman, no doubt due to his involvement in public affairs.

[11] Grazebrook 14; and Josten, vol. 1, pedigree. John and Anthony died without issue (Josten, vol 2, 786).

died in 1626 at the age of 48, after eight years of marriage to her second husband, James Pagit, Esquire, Controller of the Pipe in the Court of Exchequer.[12] Ann may have had other sisters; in his autobiographical notes, her son describes his aunt Bridget as "one of my Mothers Sisters" (Ashmole MS 1136, f. 3v). Ann's husband was Simon Ashmole of Lichfield, a saddler, and the son of Thomas Ashmole, twice chief bailiff of Lichfield and also a saddler, and of his wife Anne Hande.[13]

Most of the information available about Ann comes from her son's manuscripts. In the notes which he intended to turn into an autobiography, Ashmole MS 1136,[14] he gives his fullest description of his mother. We are not told the date of his parents' birth or of their marriage, but he tells us about his own birth: "I was borne the 23^{d} of May 1617 (& as my deare & good Mother hath, often told me) neere halfe an houre after 3 a'clock in the Morning" (f. 2).[15] She and Simon must have been married before that date; therefore her commonplace book, signed with her maiden name, probably predates 1617. Indeed, as an analysis of their contents below will show, it can be assigned to the first decade of the seventeenth century.

We are given the tiniest of glimpses of her life. Elias relates that when he was about one year of age he fell into the fire and burned the right side of his forehead, "but my good Mother being neere, presently tooke me up, & applyed something for my Cure (f. 3)." Did Ann Ashmole's skills stretch into the practical medicine often

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[12] Josten, vol. 1, pedigree. The inscription on Bridget's memorial in Tottenham Church has been recorded in H.G. Oldfield and R.R. Dyson, *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Tottenham High-Cross, in the County of Middlesex* (London, 1790) 48. Quoted in Josten, vol. 2, 309 and 312.

[13] Thomas Ashmole was Sheriff in 1593, Junior Bailiff in 1598, and Senior Bailiff in 1604 and 1612. Thomas Ashmole married Anne Hande on 28 July 1578 (Josten, vol. 2, 309; Lichfield Joint Record Office F 20/1/1 (parish registers of St. Mary's, Lichfield); and Ashmole MS 1521, p. 73 (Elias Ashmole's notes from the parish register book of St. Mary's, St. Michael's, and St. Chad's)). Anne Hande has sometimes been confused with an Anne Hunte, who married a Thomas Ashmole at St. Mary's in Lichfield on 28 January 1575/6 (for example, in Grazebrook 14). Ashmole has copied his grandfather Thomas Ashmole's epitaph into Ashmole MS 853, f. 87; he was buried beside his wife in St. Michael's Church, Lichfield, on 11 January 1620 (Lichfield Joint Record Office F 27/1/1 (parish registers of St. Michael's, Lichfield); see also Stebbing Shaw, *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire*, vol. 1 (London, 1798) 340).

[14] Published in 1717 by Charles Burman as *Memoirs of the Life of that Learned Antiquary, Elias Ashmole, Esq; Drawn up by Himself by Way of Diary. With an Appendix of Original Letters*.

[15] Elias Ashmole was baptized on 2 June 1617 at St. Mary's Church (Lichfield Joint Record Office F 20/1/1). The marriage of Ann Bowyer and Simon Ashmole is not recorded in St. Mary's or St. Michael's parish registers.

employed by women?[16] When Elias was eight or ten years old he and his mother were invited to his cousin Blackburne's in Long Parish,[17] where Elias fell from the top of a barn which was under construction (f. 3). Elias Ashmole's benefactor, Thomas Pagit, was the second son of James Pagit (by his first wife Katherine Lewin), the second husband of his mother's sister, Bridget. Thomas "(being much beloved of his Aunt Twisden) came often to Lichfeild when he was young, whose stay there, as it occasioned an acquaintance with my Mother, (sister to his Mother in Law) [i.e. step-mother] so it begat in him an affection toward me" (f. 3v). On 2 July 1633 Ashmole writes, "I began my Journey from Lichfeild; my Father & Mother brought me onward, to the far end of Bassets heath" (f. 5).[18]

It is in Ashmole's entry on his mother's death in 1646[19] that we learn more about her character, albeit in the perhaps inflated terms of exemplary biography:

> M:r Rich: Harison Minister of Tetnall formerly & after of Lichfeild, told me of my Mothers death, & that she died+ [in margin: + about the 8 or 9 of July.] of the Plague not ~~when~~ long before, that Citty ~~*was*~~ being visited this Som*m*er.
>
> She was a discreet, sober, provident woman, and with great patience endured many afflictions. Her Parents had giuen her exceeding good Breeding, & she was excellent at her Needle; w^ch^ (my father being improvident) stood her in great stead. She was competently read in divinity, History and Poetry, and was continually instilling into my Eares, such Religious & Morall Precepts, as my younger years were capable off. Nor did she ever faile to correct my faults, alwaies adding sharpe reproofes & ~~*b*.....~~ good Lectures to boote. She was much esteemed off by persons of Noate with whome she was acquainted. ~~*ss..s..se*~~, she lived in much frendP: among her Neighbours & left a good name behind her. In fine she was truly Religious and Vertuous (f. 19).

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[16] Linda Pollock (in *With Faith and Physic: The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman: Lady Grace Mildmay 1552-1620* (London: Collins, 1993) 2) writes that recent scholarship has uncovered the important roles women played in the provision of medical services.

[17] Josten (vol. 2, 312) suggests that this may be the village of Longparish in Hampshire.

[18] This was about seven miles from Lichfield (Josten, vol. 2, 314).

[19] Using the evidence of Ashmole's ciphers in Ashmole MS 1136 (ff. 139, 177, and 213), Josten proposes the date of Friday, 9 July 1646 for Ann Bowyer's death. A record of her death does not survive among the parish registers of St. Michael's (F 27/1/1 and F 27/1/2) or St. Mary's (F 20/1/1). This is not surprising given that the records are incomplete over the Civil War and Commonwealth periods. Ashmole records, also in cipher, a dream he had of his mother on 10 October, shortly after her death (Ashmole MS 1136, f. 215v). In it she told him she had something to give him, but that she had died waiting for him (Josten, vol. 2, 395).

The plague indeed visited Lichfield during 1645 and 1646; 821 inhabitants of the town died during this epidemic.[20] Ann's marriage to Simon Ashmole, apparently not a happy one, led her to find work in sewing or needlework. Simon, born in 1589, was brought up to be a saddler, but spent much of his life in the army, in Ireland and on the Continent.[21] He died in 1634. Ann may have had an acquaintance with her social superiors. But most interesting for our purposes is the discussion of her education and reading. If Ashmole's report is not wildly inflated, she was well-read and favoured sententious sayings in speech--was this a practice she carried over from her younger days with her commonplace book?

A further Ashmolean manuscript hints at her character, this time through astrology. William Lilley cast the horoscope of Elias's parents in Ashmole MS 421. Under the third and fourth house (entitled "Relations./ short journys./ Parents") the question of why Elias did not have any siblings appears to be raised. The stars tell him that it was his father's fault.[22] Lilley infers much about her personality from his calculations:

> ...So that from hence wee may conjecture that the mother might naturally bee of a Saturnin, sober temperature, not much inclinable to venerious Actions, a carefull prudent person, much assisted by education and wisedome, as is signified by the [symbol for sextile, i.e. 60%] of [symbol for Venus] vnto the [symbol for the moon] w^{ch} aspects qualifies the mother with sufficiency of naturall parts (f. 65v).

Simon Ashmole does not fare as well.

> The fathers nativity from the son*n*s...the father, who beeing posited in an earthly signe, is signified to bee very melancholly, humerous, not of many words, or not much uxorious, the Latitude of of h. manifests him viz: h or the father to bee of a strang temper, apt to bee angry or male Contented, passionate and violent....wherby I conjecture hee was subject vnto many

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[20] Thomas Harwood, *The History and Antiquities of the Church and City of Lichfield* (Gloucester, 1806) 306. According to Harwood each house and person afflicted by the disease was noted so that provisions could be allocated.

[21] Simon was baptized on 18 May 1589 (Josten, vol. 2, 309).

[22] hear though o^{r} natiues mother is signified by the [symbol for the moon] and shee in X with [symbol for Venus]: arguments that shee was capable of bearing children--yet having 8 in the 5.th a barren sign, and [symbol for *cauda draconis*, i.e. the lower node of the moon] therein, and [symbol for Mars] significat^{r} of her husband in [symbol for square, i.e. 90%] of [symbol for the sun]--it is manifest that the defect of much issue was from infirmness of her husband and etc and not from the mother (f. 65). Josten (vol. 1, 306) provides a table of symbols used by Asmole.

> misfortunes during his life--As to Children, haueving the same significat[r] w.[th] the wife, and in a manner the same position, ther can bee no variation of that judgment, w[ch] hath preceded...(f. 66).

Again we are told that the marriage was not a happy one.

The information provided by Elias, however scanty, does give some picture of Ann's married life. It would be interesting to speculate as to how the civil war affected her. The Cathedral Close at Lichfield sustained three attacks; on 5 March 1643 it surrendered to Parliament; on 21 April Prince Rupert's 10-day seige on it began; and on 16 July 1646 the Close surrendered to Parliament.[23] But it is her early life, when she was Ann Bowyer and not Ann Ashmole, which her commonplace book records; we must not read forwards in time.

Hands and Contents

An important question is whether this book is the work of one or several hands. Most of the book appears to be written in the same confident script throughout, though with several notable exceptions. On folio 17v the following has been written out at the top of the page: "Commendations vnto you my Louinge and good sister, these shalbe/ to let you to vnderstand that I haue receiuid youre Letter." This sentence has been copied out three more times with different pens. The second copy has been written out with a wider pen, but it looks as though it is the same hand as the first, because the only differences between them are that the "i" in "Louinge" is undotted in the second one and its script is only very slightly less neat than the first. However, the third and fourth copies differ from the first two much more substantially. The third copy has been written with a scratchy, faded pen in much sloppier writing. The fourth copy is written in a similarly unconfident, awkward style, although in darker ink. The final two copies on this page must have been written by a different hand than the first two; the hesitancy and awkwardness of the script and the many mistakes in transcription suggest that Ann Bowyer may have been teaching someone, perhaps a younger sibling, as is suggested by the subject matter of the sentence. We

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[23] Harwood 305-06.

know that she had a least two sisters; perhaps one of them is the sister to whom Ann, or the person copying her in lines three and four, is writing.

Similarly on folio 18 the alphabet has been written out four times. The first two times could be the same hand, although the first is slightly more confident and sweeping. The third copy is written with a very thin pen and in a smaller script; some of the letters are taller and thinner than the first two, suggesting a different hand. The final copy is much shakier and blockier and is written in a thicker pen. It corresponds very closely to the hand that wrote the third and fourth copies of the greeting on folio 17v. Therefore, it is likely that Ann Bowyer copied out these lines for the purpose not only of practising her own calligraphy, but also of getting other hands to copy them. Perhaps as she was copying out her exercices on folios 17v and 18 she allowed another person to transcribe a few lines of their own.

The smaller handwriting of the third transcription of the alphabet on folio 18 appears again on four more occasions in the body of the miscellany. On folio 5v this more delicate hand has copied out the passage on Thomas Grey, it has written out four lines from William Warner's *Albions England*, which begin "Bee vertuous & asure thy selfe thou canst not then but thriue" on folio 6v, it has taken over from the main hand in the third stanza of Donne's "A Valediction: forbidding Mourning" on folio 7, and it has written out the poem which appears on folio 7v, "Each thing must haue a time, and time doth try mens troth." While Ann Bowyer is the main writer of Ashmole MS 51 (Hand A), another hand with a smaller script and finer pen has taken over at various points in the miscellany (Hand B), and yet another less skilled hand has written a few lines of her handwriting exercises (Hand C). The fact that the first pages and the final pages of this miscellany are definitely in Bowyer's handwriting leads me to believe that the book remained in her possession and did not pass on to another owner.

The handwriting exercises in Bowyer's commonplace book resemble the layout of many printed writing books. Often a pithy saying or proverb has been written in the chosen script above or below the alphabet. At least two handwriting exercises in Bowyer's hand have been obtained from a printed copy-book, *A Booke Containing*

Divers Sortes of Hands by John de Beau Chesne and John Baildon.[24] On folio 14v (reversed) Bowyer has written out the following proverbial phrase facing some calligraphy exercises on folio 15 (reversed): "Quarell not with a mightie mann, Lest thou chaunce to fall into his handes, and make not variaunce with a riche man Lest he." On folio 18v, again facing letters of alphabet, a moral admonition has been written out six times by Bowyer: "wine imodriatlie taken troubleth not mannes reason: But otherwise itt maketh dull vnderstandinge infebleth remembraunce, sendeth in forgetfullness powreth in errours and bringeth in slougesnes." Both of these passages appear under exercises for the italic or roman hand in Chesne and Baildon.[25] The first passage is identical with Bowyer's version except that the sentence is finished in the writing book ("lest he happen to bring vp an hard quarell against them"). The second passage demonstrates a few more alterations on Bowyer's part: she has written "imodriatlie" instead of "inordinatlye," and has reversed the meaning of the first part of the admonition. Her version claims that excess wine does not affect one's reason, but that it does weaken the understanding and memory; Chesne's and Baildon's claims that "Wine inordinatlye taken, troubleth mans reason, maketh dull vnderstanding" and continues as Bowyer's does. Her alteration qualifies the negative effects of wine; this softening of a moral stricture is unusual in her commonplace book. Among the books owned by the Bowyer family, besides those literary works discussed below, must have been this practical manual.

In addition to handwriting exercises, one hand in the commonplace book, Hand B, has written out a detailed list of "Inckes .Or. Colours" on folios 7v-8 (a shortened version of this list has been crossed out on f. 4v). Near the end of the list are a few lines of instruction: "To bind any ~~p..~~ picture that is cut *of* in Satine ~~Ink~~ Inke mouth Glew & licke it wth your tong & rub on the ~~f..lier ...~~ paper & soe lay the paper on it." These may be instructions for staining pictures on satin to use as hangings, one of

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[24] The first edition of this book was in 1571, making it the earliest writing book in English (Ambrose Heal, *The English Writing-Masters and their Copy-Books 1570-1800. A Biographical Dictionary and a Bibliography* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1931) 8).

[25] John de Beau Chesne and John Baildon, *A Booke Containing Divers Sortes of Hands. London, 1602* (Norwood, NJ: Johnson; Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1977) n. pag.

several methods of painting explained by limners like John Gwillim. On folio 53 of his manuscript,[26] is a list of pigments and gums which were available in the late sixteenth century. Many of these overlap with those on Hand B's list.[27] Besides handwriting, at least one of the scribes in this commonplace book practised the art of limning.

Personal Connnections: Sir William Skipwith, the Beaumonts, and The Miraculous Preservation of Thomas Grey

Some of the attributions in the commonplace book may be to friends or family. "S^{r} Willam Sicpworth" appears in the margin on folio 2v. This may refer to Sir William Skipwith, of the Skipwith family of Cotes, Leicestershire.[28] The Skipwith family owned British Library Add. MS 25707, a composite volume of manuscript verse, which includes 60 poems by Donne and several poems signed William Skipwith and Henry Skipwith. Peter Beal suggests that the former may be William Skipwith who died in 1610, or possibly his grandson, or a cousin from Ketsby, Lincolnshire.[29] The two lines in the Bowyer miscellany associated with "Willam Sicpworth" ("Leane it ou Leane it for it is not good/ To bourne the oulld okes & biuld on vndeerwode") do not appear in Add. MS 25707. However, he is also a potential author of "A Funeral Elegy" for William Peter, which was printed in 1612.[30] Another interesting possibility for authorship by a William Skipwith is a leaf included with John Marston's masque,

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[26] *The Way How to Lymme & Howe Thow Shalt Lay thy Colours & Make Syse for Lymminge or to Cowche thy Gold upon Velome or Parchement taken out of a Booke of ye Righte Honourable Oliver Lorde St. John of Bletsho, in Comitat: Bedforde.* This manuscript, written before 1582, is now in the Victoria & Albert Museum Library (Roy Strong and V.J. Murrell, *Artists of the Tudor Court: The Portrait Miniature Rediscovered 1520-1620* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1983) 32).

[27] White leade, Vermilion, Blewe byse (cf. bluo bice in the commonplace book), Verdigrese (cf. Verdigreae), Yealowe orkament (cf. Saforne Ortkment), Lampeblacke (cf. Lambe blacks), Sinop. Lake (cf. Red Lak?), Inde Blewe (cf. Indico), Smalte, Red leade, and Verditur.

[28] I am grateful to Dennis Kay for suggesting this to me.

[29] Peter Beal, ed., *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, vol. 1, part 1, (London: Mansell; New York: Bowker, 1980) 252. Sixteen items attributed to William Skipwith (or W.Sk.) are present in the manuscript (ff. 134-83), as are two poems attributed to Henry Skipwith (ff. 176r-76v).

[30] Donald W. Foster, *Elegy by W.S.: A Study in Attribution* (Newark: U of Delaware P; London: Associated UP, 1989) 272. Foster is attempting to prove that W.S. could be Shakespeare, but lists other candidates in his appendix. The controversy over the authorship of this elegy has recently been reignited in the *Times Literary Supplement*. Richard Abrams (9 Feb. and 22 March 1996) and Donald W. Foster (29 March 1996) argue for Shakespeare's authorship, while Brian Vickers (8 March and 12 April 1996) and Katherine Duncan-Jones (29 March 1996) contest it.

The Entertainment of the Dowager Countess of Derby, in which several short poems are spoken by different ladies as they give presents to the bride. This series of poems is signed W.Sk., which might be not Shakespeare as Peter Levi suggests, but William Skipwith. This suggestion is made more plausible by the fact that the ladies in the masque are all friends or relations of the Earl and Countess of Huntingdon of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, which is on the border of Leicestershire and Derbyshire.[31] Since William Skipwith hails from that vicinity, perhaps a connection can be found between him and the mysterious leaf.

Five poems by Francis Beaumont and at least one poem by John Beaumont have been written in the Skipwith manuscript. The latter is a copy of "Bosworth-ffield," which was printed in 1629 along with more of his poems, including one titled "Vpon his Noble Friend, Sir William Skipwith," suggesting a relationship between the two families.[32] In Bowyer's commonplace book, four passages are attributed to "F.B." (ff. 1v, 2, 2v, and 4) and one is ascribed "mari bemont" (f. 3). Three couplets by "F.B." have not been found to be of Francis Beaumont's work, but the fourth passage so attributed is actually an excerpt from Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, discussed below, p. 45. Below the heading "Anagramma," which is written in Greek on folio 4, Bowyer has written: "Weomenkind ar man's woe/ o man wee weomen ar kind" and "F:B" appears in the margin beside it. The lines below this also have women as their subject matter: "Explod that S & giue y^{t} wom^{e}n dew/ Then you shall find our sentenc is most trew." "F.B." could conceivably be a female member of the Bowyer family. Mary Beaumont may have been a woman or girl known to Ann who coined the couplet ("folly it is to lous againe/ That wich is goten with great paine"), or who passed it on to her. The fact that the names Skipwith and Beaumont (as well as the initials "F.B.") appear in Bowyer's manuscript, may indicate that she had some contact with these families.

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[31] Peter Levi, *The Life and Times of William Shakespeare* (London: Macmillan, 1988) 348-58.

[32] For Francis Beaumont's poems see Beal, vol. 1, part 1, 69-79. The poem to William Skipwith occurs on p. 163 of the printed version of *Bosworth-field* (London, 1629); referred to by Margaret Crum in *The Poems of Henry King* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965) 58.

The date of this manuscript has not been fixed exactly, but at least one portion of it must have been written after 1608. On folio 5v appears a description of the body of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset written by Hand B. After mentioning his titles and the year of his death, the writer describes the amazing circumstances of finding his body perfectly intact 77 years after his decease. At the end of this remarkable story, which she or he has written in the form of an epitaph, the scribe supplies a date and a place: "The Lord Marques Dorset was taken vp in the churchyeard/ of Astly in Warwick Shire at y^{e} new buildinge of the church/ y^{e} 26th of Maie, i608." Obviously, then, at least this page in the book was written after 1608. The passage has probably been copied directly from his monument (it begins, "Heare lyeth..."). Since Bowyer grew up in Coventry, approximately six miles south of the village of Astley (which is, incidentally, just three miles south of Ansley, where Bowyer's mother was born), the person close to her who transcribed this page probably copied the inscription directly from the monument into the book.

However, this story was not limited to being told only in Warwickshire, as the evidence in a book written by William Burton proves. *The Description of Leicester Shire* mentions this event; in fact, Burton writes that he was present at the opening of Grey's coffin. While the accounts in Bowyer's commonplace book and in William Burton's printed account are quite different in terms of sentence structure, organization, and a few minor facts, there are important similarities. Burton describes the body as follows: Grey

> was at the cutting open of the Cerecloth viewed perfect, and found nothing corrupted, the flesh of the body nothing perished or hardned, but in colour, proportion and softnesse, alike to any ordinary corpes newly to be interred, his body large of length, six foote wanting foure inches, his haire yellow, his face broad; which might seeme to be thus preserued by the strong embalming thereof:[33]

The second hand in Bowyer's commonplace book has written very similar words.

Grey

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[33] William Burton, *The Description of Leicester Shire* (London, 1622) sig. G2-G2v.

> was found perfect and sound, *the flesh of y^e^ bodye nothing perished nor hardned, but in colour propotions and softness, like to any ordinary corps* which might seeme to bee thus preserued by reason of *the strong embalming* and for that the vault wherein his corps lay was flowing with water, his stature was tall, being *six foote wanting foure in Inches* and *body large* answerable thereunto, which now heare doth Rest expecting the coming of y^e^ last Day, [emphasis mine]

The hand in Bowyer's manuscript mentions several things that Burton does not. It lists more titles held by Thomas Grey, it mentions his wife (his second wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Wotton),[34] something Burton does not do, and it claims that Grey's body was interred for 77 years and not 78 years as Burton writes. The transcription in Ashmole MS 51 is more detailed; perhaps Burton omitted several lines from the monumental inscription in his account.

Dictionaries of Quotations

One of the major questions to ask regarding Ashmole MS 51 is whether the sources Bowyer uses appeared in printed or manuscript form. Certainly the references that Bowyer provides in the margins are generally to printed works: Euripides; the *Mirror for Magistrates*; Chaucer's *The Manciple's Tale*, *The Man of Laws Tale* and *The Wife of Bath's Prologue*, as well as his translation of *The Romance of the Rose*; Horace; Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey; and Du Bartas. The printed source with which her manuscript has the most in common is the dictionary of quotations.

Mary Thomas Crane has pointed out the popularity of aphoristic compilations in prose and verse which appeared in the later years of the century: H.C.'s *The Forrest of Fancy* (1579), William Fister's *The Welspring of Wittie Conceits* (1584), Robert Greene's *The Royall Exchange* (1590), and *Politeuphuia Wits Common Wealth* (1597). These were aimed at an audience of urban merchants and the lower ranks of the gentry.[35] The publisher John Bodenham was responsible for *Politeuphuia Wits*

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[34] DNB, vol. 8, 647.

[35] Mary Thomas Crane, *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993) 167, and Louis B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (London: Methuen, 1935) 150-54. William G. Crane discusses these books and their predecessors in *Wit and Rhetoric in the Renaissance: The Formal Basis of Elizabethan Prose Style* (New York: Columbia UP, 1937) 33-48.

Common Wealth and three other volumes of this type: *Englands Parnassus: or the Choycest Flowers of our Moderne Poets* (1600), *Bel-vedére, or The Garden of the Muses* (1600) (reprinted as *The Garden of the Muses* in 1610), and *Wits Theater of the Little World* (1599). *Politeuphuia* and *Wits Theater* were in prose (like their popular precursor, Thomas Elyot's *The Banket of Sapience Gathered Oute of Dyuers and Many Godlye Authores* of 1539, which was reprinted in 1542, 1545, and 1557). Though they are in prose, they do contain matter by poets (*Wits Common Wealth* uses Samuel Daniel, Thomas Lodge, and Gervase Markham). Similarly, though *Englands Parnassus* and *Bel-vedére* are primarily in verse, *Bel-vedére* contains at least 800 passages from *Wits Common Wealth* and other prose sources. Bodenham would turn prose into verse for *Bel-vedére* and verse into prose for *Wits Common Wealth* and *Wits Theater*.[36] *Englands Parnassus*, with its rhyming couplets or short passages under alphabetically arranged headings, is closest to Bowyer's presentation. At least 15 of Bowyer's passages (all couplets, with the exception of four lines from *The Faerie Queene*) appear in a similar form in *Englands Parnassus*, but as I will demonstrate below, often Bowyer's variants are closer to the original author's than Allot's versions. At least five of Bowyer's quotations appear in *Bel-vedére*.

While Bowyer may not have known *Englands Parnassus* or *Bel-vedére* (she may have chosen all of her excerpts from the original works), she evidently did know another collection of quotations, Timothe Kendall's *Flovvers of Epigrammes, Ovt of Sundrie the Moste Singular Authours Selected, as well Auncient as Late Writers. Pleasant and Profitable to the Expert Readers of Quicke Capacitie* (1577). On the verso of the first folio, Bowyer has attributed the following two lines to Euripides in the margin: "Who h^{o}pes when he is old good frute to mow/ Hee must in youth apply him selfe good sede to sow." A version of these lines appears as the last item in Kendall's *Flovvers of Epigrammes* (the work directly following it is *Trifles by Timothe*

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[36] Charles Crawford, ed., *Englands Parnassus Compiled by Robert Allot, 1600* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913) xiii-xv.

Kendal Deuised and Written (For the Moste Part) at Sundire Tymes in his Yong and Tender Age):

> A Saiyng of Adrastus, out of Euripides.
> What thyng a man in tender age hath most in vre,
> That same to death alwaies to kepe he shalbe sure:
> Therefore in age who greately longs good fruite to mow:
> In youth he must hym self apply good seede to sowe (sig. O8v).

It is interesting that Bowyer has attributed the lines to Euripides even though she has presumably obtained them from a source at several removes from the original. This method of attribution is similar to that employed elsewhere. "Henry howard Earle of Surrey" (f. 4) does not refer to a poem by Surrey, but to a poem by Michael Drayton in which Surrey is the speaker ("Henry Howard, Earle of Surrey to the Lady Geraldine," one of Drayton's heroical epistles). "S^{r} Roger mortimer" (f. 1v) refers to words spoken by this character in "The Two Rogers, Surnamed Mortimer" in *The Mirror for Magistrates*. Bowyer likely obtained her quotation from "Horis" (f. 2v) from a collection similar to Kendall's ("Breuiti in spech is counted most fitt/ To much repeting cloyeth the wite").

Another dictionary of quotations is useful for our purposes: Francis Meres's *Palladis Tamia. Wits Treasvry Being the Second Part of Wits Common Wealth* (1598). Like its predecessor it is largely a prose collection, and is therefore not likely a direct source for Bowyer. But it is interesting in its comments on Meres's estimation of writers of the time, in "A comparatiue discourse of our English Poets, with the Greeke, Latine, and Italian Poets." Bowyer's compilation reflects contemporary tastes in poetry. One should be careful of attributing too much to Bowyer's personal "taste" because she may have been guided by a tutor towards certain set texts (the phemonenon to which Ann Moss alerts us in schoolboys' compilations of commonplace books). But most of the writers or works which figure in Bowyer's manuscript (Timothy Kendall, *The Mirror for Magistrates*, Spenser, Chaucer, John Heywood, Drayton, Ralegh, and William Warner) form a part of Meres's encomiastic catalogue.

Kendall and John Heywood are included in a list of English epigrammatists (along with Thomas Drant, Thomas Bastard, and John Davies).[37] A proverb on folio 3 of the commonplace book ("Who leueth surty & leaneth to chanes/ When fooules y^{t} doow pipe in ourder y^{t} ma daunes") has been taken from John Heywood's *Dialogue of Proverbs*, the first edition (1546) of which reads: "Who that leaueth suretee, and leaneth to chaunce,/ Whan fooles pipe, by auctoritee he maie daunce."[38] As Hebenicht discusses, this work went through many editions;[39] however, it is doubtful that the published form of the book underwent as many changes as Ann Bowyer's account might suggest. She may have copied her form from another manuscript, she may be recalling from memory, or she may be altering it purposely to suit her own inclination.

Meres lists *The Mirror for Magistrates* as an example of the work of England's best tragedians.[40] Spenser garners high praise on several fronts: as an enricher of the language (along with Drayton and Warner),[41] for his *Faerie Queene* and *Shepheardes Calender*,[42] as one of the two "chiefe heroicall Makers" (the other is Warner),[43] as the best lyric poet in England,[44] and as a poet of love and of pastoral.[45] Chaucer is one of the three "auncient Poets" of England (Gower and Lydgate are the others) and is also singled out for the following praise: "as *Homer* is reputed the Prince of Greek Poets; and *Petrarch* of Italian Poets: so *Chaucer* is accounted the God of English Poets."[46] Ralegh (to whom "The Lie" is usually attributed) is listed among poets skilled at depicting love.[47]

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[37] Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia (1598)* (New York: Scholars' Facsimiles, 1938) sig. Oo4r.

[38] John Heywood, *A Dialogue of Proverbs*, ed. Rudolph E. Habenicht (Berkeley: U of California P, 1963) 178.

[39] Habenicht 90-94. He lists 10 extant sixteenth-century editions.

[40] Meres, sig. Oo3r.

[41] Meres, sig. Nn8r. "[S]o the English tongue is mightily enriched, and gorgeouslie inuested in rare ornaments and resplendent abiliments" by poets like Spenser.

[42] Meres, sig. Nn8v.

[43] Meres, sig. Oo2v.

[44] Meres, sig. Oo3r.

[45] Meres, sig. Oo4r. Spenser is one of the poets who is "the most passionate among vs to bewaile and bemoane the perplexities of Loue."

[46] Meres, sig. Nn7r.

[47] Meres, sig. Oo4r.

Drayton and Warner receive perhaps the greatest number of accolades in Meres's essay. They have both, like Spenser, enriched the English tongue.[48] Drayton is among the best of the lyric and tragic poets,[49] and of those whose subject is love.[50] Specific works are praised: his *Englands Heroicall Epistles* of 1597, his depiction of "the ciuill wars of *Edward* the second, and the Barons" (that is to say his *Mortimeriados* of 1596, revised as *The Barons Warres* in 1603), "his passionate penning the downfals of valiant *Robert of Normandy*, chast *Matilda*, and great *Gaueston*," and his *Poly-Olbion*.[51] His heroical epistles are mentioned earlier as well; Meres praises the translator of the fourth book of the *Aeneid*, Henry Howard, the Earl of Surrey "whom *Michael Drayton* in his *Englands heroycall Epistles* hath eternized for an Epistle to his faire *Geraldine*."[52] Perhaps this epistle became so popular that Surrey himself was associated with it, and that may explain why Bowyer attributed six lines from this epistle on the fourth folio of her commonplace book to him, instead of to Drayton.

Warner, in addition to being a major writer of heroic verse (along with Spenser),[53] is praised for his *Albions England* (of which four lines are quoted in Bowyer's manuscript on folio 6v):

> As *Decius Ausonius Gallus in libris Fastorum*, penned the occurences of y^{e} world from the first creation of it to his time, that is, to the raigne of the Emperor *Gratian*: so *Warner* in his absolute *Albions Englande* hath most admirably penned the historie of his own country from *Noah* to his time, that is, to the raigne of Queene *Elizabeth*; I haue heard him termd of the best wits of both our Vniuersities, our English *Homer*.
>
> As *Euripides* is the most sententious among the Greek Poets: so is *Warner* among our English Poets.

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[48] Meres, sig. Nn8r.
[49] Meres, sig. Oo3r.
[50] Meres, sig. Oo4r.
[51] Meres, sig. Oo1r.
[52] Meres, sig. Nn7v. As J. William Hebel explains (in *The Works of Michael Drayton*, vol. 5 (Oxford: Shakespeare Head, 1961) 130), Surrey was supposed by Drayton's contemporaries to have been in love with Elizabeth Fitzgerald (1528-89), the daughter of the ninth Earl of Kildare. Thomas Nashe drew on this tradition in his *The Unfortunate Traveller* of 1594. Drayton toned down the more fantastic elements of Nashe and added his own research on Geraldine's pedigree.
[53] Meres, sig. Oo1v.

It is this sententiousness which is the key here, and which undoubtedly led the second hand in the manuscript to include four lines from *Albions England* on folio 6v (see discussion below, p. 51).

Chaucer and *The Mirror for Magistrates*

Three editions of Chaucer's complete works appeared during the Renaissance: John Stow's 1561 edition and Thomas Speght's 1598 and 1602 editions.[54] Both of the references to Chaucer which appear on folio 4v correspond very closely with the printed versions, differing only occasionally in spelling. The first excerpt on folio 4v has been taken from *The Wife of Bath's Prologue*:

> who so buildeth his hous all of salowes
> & & pricketh his blind hors oure y^{e} falowes
> & suffreth his wife for to seche hallowes
> he is worthy to be honged on y^{e} gallowes.[55]

Directly beneath this is Bowyer's transcription from *The Man of Laws Tale*, describing the emperor's daughter Custance, which is again almost exactly the same as the printed versions:

> in her is hie beautie without pride
> youth without grenhed or folie
> to all her workes vertue is her guide
> humblenes hath slain in her all tyrannie
> she is a mirro^{u}r of all curtesie
> her hert is very chamber of holinens
> her hand minister of fredome & almes.[56]

Bowyer's choice of these items to transcribe is typical of her interest in morally edifying passages. The first describes a wicked man, the second a virtuous woman. Bowyer has resisted the temptation to alter these passages so that they refer to the reader (something she frequently does, as is discussed below); in this case the stories

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[54] Donald C. Baker, ed., *A Variorum Edition of the Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, vol. 2, part 10 (Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1984) 67-68. The three editions are *The Woorkes of Geffrey Chaucer* (London, 1561), *The Workes of our Antient and Lerned English Poet, Geffrey Chaucer* (London, 1598), and *The Workes of ovr Ancient and Learned English Poet, Geffrey Chaucer* (London, 1602).

[55] This passage appears on sig. G5v of the 1561 and 1598 editions, and on sig. G4 of the 1602 edition. Variants occur only on the level of spelling.

[56] 1561, sig. D6v; 1598, sig. D6v; and 1602, sig. D5v. Variants are again minor ones of spelling only.

stand virtually unaltered. Bowyer sometimes transcribed faithfully from sources and other times altered passages to suit her particular agenda.

Ann Bowyer refers to "Chascer the Romant on the rose" on folio 2v and to "Chauser The Romont on the rose" on folio 3v. However, both of these attributions are erroneous. The first reference is from *The Knight's Tale*, which reads:

> Alas, why playnen men so in commune
> Of purueyance of God, or of fortune
> That yeueth hem full oft in many agise
> Well bette than hem selfe can deuise.[57]

Bowyer's words are strikingly different:

> What is the cas that men complan in comon
> of godes hie prouidenc & folish fortune
> God giueth vnto vs in sundri wis
> far boter then our wits can deuis.

Unlike the earlier two quotations, Bowyer has not closely followed any of the printed editions in her transcription. She has modernized several of the words, changing older words like "hem," "yeueth," and "agise" into more modern alternatives. She has also changed the focus from the masculine "hem" to the gender-neutral "vs," making the passage more morally relevant to the reader, who may have been simply herself.

Similarly, the lines on folio 3v have been wrongly attributed to *The Romance of the Rose*, and are instead found in *The Assemblie of Foules*. Again, Bowyer has made some significant alterations to the 1598 text, which reads:

> For out of the olde feldes, as men saieth
> Cometh all this new corne, fro yere to yere
> And out of old bookes, in good faieth
> Cometh all this newe science, that men lere.[58]

Bowyer's changes to the printed text are numerous. She has written:

> out of oulde feldes as men say ~~haue wee~~
> haue wee our new corne from day to day
> ~~bout~~ but out of oulde boukes in goud fay
> comes our new learning day by day.

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[57] 1561, sig. B3; 1598, sig B3; and 1602, sig. B2v. I have used the 1598 edition as my copy-text.
[58] 1561, sig. Y4v [really Yy4v]; 1598, sig. Yy4v; and 1602, sig. Ss1v.

Bowyer has altered the rhyme scheme, simplifying the words "saieth" and "faieth" to "say" and "fay," and she has removed the older form of learn, "lere." Again, she has also changed the orientation of the narrative voice from the masculine third person to the genderless first person, making the moral lesson in this passage more direct and more inclusive. With her alterations Bowyer is creating a community which is inclusive of women (our wits, our new learning). Though she may have been the only reader of her manuscript, she chose to use the first person plural (rather than the singular), which both personalizes and expands the reference of both passages. She is placing herself in a shared intellectual community by altering these passages to include all people, including women like herself. This move is a very public one.

The final reference to Chaucer appears on folio 2. Ann has quoted a phrase from *The Manciple's Tale* which describes the fears Phebus has about his wife being unfaithful to him: "harde it is to be restraned that/ which nature hath ingraft in ain creture." The three Renaissance editions all vary significantly from this transcription. The 1598 edition has "But God it wote, there may no man enbrace/ As to distrain a thing, which that nature/ Hath naturally set in a creature."[59] Note that Bowyer's construction is passive, impersonal, and implies nothing about the gender of the "creature," which differs from the active, gendered construction, implying a female object. As in the two earlier passages she has elected both to simplify Chaucer's elaborate language and to de-gender it making his point more inclusive. Taking the reference out of its misogynist context it might just as easily refer to Bowyer's shiftless husband as to an errant wife. Bowyer has transformed the seemingly passive activity of copying into an intellectually active process. It is possible that Bowyer obtained these quotations already in modernized form from a dictionary of quotations, like *Englands Parnassus* or *Bel-vedére* (reinforced by her misattributions in two cases to *The Romance of the Rose*) but given that her earlier Chaucer quotations match the printed editions so closely, it is reasonable to suggest that she used it as her source for all of Chaucer.

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[59] 1561, sig. Q5; 1598, sig. Q5; and 1602, sig. P6v.

She may have used the 1602 edition, because three out of the five passages she has chosen are highlighted in that edition with pointing hands in the margin (a well-established manner of drawing attention to something noteworthy on the printed or written page). The 1561 and 1598 editions do not have these hands in the margin. Bowyer may have been influenced to transcribe the passages on the evil husband, knowledge coming from old books, and nature's power over a person's behaviour by these highlights, although the fact that two of the five are not set apart by a hand suggests that Bowyer made her own decisions about the moral worth of the poetry.

Ann Bowyer refers to the "meror of magisstrat^{e}s" in a marginal note once (f. 2), but at least five separate quotations from that source appear in her miscellany. Most of the passages quoted by Bowyer agree with the 1559 edition, if they have not been significantly altered, but on one occasion, discussed below, a variant suggests that Bowyer used a later version (1571, 1574, 1575, or 1587). The first reference occurs on the verso of the first folio. Bowyer writes:

> Riches & pomotion be vane things & vnsure
> The fau^{o}er of a prince is an vntrustie stay
> But Justice hath a fee that will remaine alway

This appears in lines 124-26 of the first story in *The Mirror for Magistrates*, which is told by Robert Tresilian. The 1559 edition corresponds most closely with Bowyer's transcription,[60] but the differences are not huge. In spite of numerous differences in spelling the only different word between the two versions is "shall" in the published version and "will" in Bowyer's.

The second reference occurs directly below the first in the manuscript, and explains one of the more cryptic references in the text. Ann Bowyer has headed the passage "S^{r} Roger mortimer" and then written:

> Wealthe breedeth wrathe in such as we^{a}lth doe want
> And pryd with follie in them that wealthe posses

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[60] Lily B. Campbell, ed., *The Mirror for Magistrates* (1938; Cambridge: Cambridge UP; New York: Barnes, 1960) 79. The lines are as follows: "Ryches and promocion be vaine thynges and vnsure,/ The fauour of a prince is an vntrusty staye,/ But Iustyce hath a fee that shall remayne alwaye."

> Amongst a thowsand shal yow find one skant
> that can in wealthe his hawtie heart supprese.

This passage is taken from the second story which is told by the persona of the Roger Mortimer who was killed in Ireland during the reign of Richard II, rather than the more famous (or infamous) Roger Mortimer, the fourth, who died in 1330. The latter's treasonous activities were dramatized in Christopher Marlowe's "Edward II," and in Ben Jonson's fragment of a play called "Mortimer, his Falle," Elizabeth Cary's *The History of the Most Unfortunate Prince, King Edward the Second*,[61] and Drayton's *Mortimeriados* (1596) and *The Barons Warres* (1603), which are discussed below as sources for Bowyer's commonplace book. There are a few significant differences between the printed versions and the miscellany.[62] Several words are different: Bowyer has left out "For" at the beginning of the passage, she has changed "in suche as it possesse" to "in them that wealthe posses," "him" to "one" in the third line, and "his loftye harte represse" to "his hawtie heart supprese." The next two lines in the miscellany appear later in the same story about the two Roger Mortimers. Bowyer has altered this quotation significantly, but it is still recognizably from the same source. The published source is as follows:

> But seldome ioye continueth trouble voyde,
> In greatest charge cares greatest do ensue,
> The most possest are ever most anoyed.[63]

Bowyer has written: "The greatst wealth of trubles least is voude/ Who most posese are often most annoyd." This passage makes an interesting comparison with the three altered passages from Chaucer; she has changed the text hugely, either because she is recalling from memory, or, more likely, because she is recording something for her own consumption in a genre in which strict attention to a "pure" source was not necessarily the goal.

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[61] DNB, vol. 13, 1033-1041; and Elizabeth Hageman, "Recent Studies in Women Writers of the English Seventeenth Century (1604-1674)," *English Literary Renaissance* 18 (1988) 146.

[62] Campbell 83 (lines 15-18). The passage is as follows: "For welth bredeth wrath, in suche as welth do want,/ And pryde with folly in suche as it possesse,/ Among a thousande shall you fynde hym skant,/ That can in welth his loftye harte represse." Bowyer's "find one skant" contrasts with the 1569 version's "fynde hym skant," and agrees with the reading in the editions of 1571, 1574, 1575, and 1587.

[63] Campbell 87 (lines 92-94).

The other references to *The Mirror for Magistrates* also demonstrate huge alterations to the original text. On folio 2, Bowyer has written: "O craftituning lawers that so your lawes expound/ as that your diaption of fauer still must sound." In contrast, the published version reads: "Alway to his profite where any wurde myght sounde/ That way (all were it wrong) the sens we dyd expounnde."[64] The entire story (the first, told by the character Robert Tresilian, Chief Justice of England) deals with the corruption of judges and lawyers, and therefore there is no question that both passages refer to the same subject matter. Perhaps Bowyer added the subject of the sentence, lawyers, to her transcription because she chose to copy this passage out of context and wanted the subject of the criticism to be obvious. As a large portion of the verse in this miscellany is didactic in nature, it is probable that she would have wanted these moral strictures to be clear.

In a later quotation from the *Mirror* Bowyer similarly inserts the subject of the sentence in a quotation taken out of context. On folio 3v she mentions lawyers again from the same story by Robert Tresilian. Bowyer writes, "Lawers purses of quine or sildom times found empti/ Tearmes offises & ffees fall to them in great plenti." The 1559 version of the *Mirror* has a first person account of the same phenomenon: "Of golde and of syluer our handes were neuer emptye,/ Offices, fermes, and fees, fell to vs in great plentye."[65]

The final reference to the *Mirror* appears on the same folio. Again, Bowyer has changed the subject of the sentence. She writes, "Lat ~~....~~ all learne by exampel past/ That blod will haue bloud ether first or last." This contrasts with the closing words of the Duke of Gloucester's story which limits this advice to those in positions of power: "Take heed ye princes by examples past,/ Blood wyll haue blood, eyther fyrst or last."[66] Again, Bowyer has chosen to make these lessons applicable to a wider audience than the original source suggests.

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[64] Campbell 77 (lines 83-84).
[65] Campbell 76 (lines 48-49).
[66] Campbell 99 (lines 202-03).

Protestant Poems from Printed Sources: Sylvester, Spenser, Drayton, and Warner

David Norbrook has linked Sylvester and Drayton with the "Spenserian" group of poets at James I's court. They were critical of the court and wrote poetry which recalled Spenser's radically Protestant prophetic message. These poets voiced a moral standpoint that was acceptable to a puritan audience.[67] Bowyer seems most interested in the sententiousness of their writing. The passages she has extracted are often divorced from their context and were evidently valued for the moral truth they embody.

Bowyer has quoted four lines from Joshuah Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas's *Divine Weeks and Works*, the first installment of which appeared in 1598. *The First Weeke: Or Birth of the World* was first printed in the 1605 edition of *Bartas his Devine Weekes and Workes*.[68] Du Bartas's Protestantizing of the courtly poetic of the sixteenth century met with approval from an English audience, and led the work to become extremely popular.[69] Bowyer has chosen four lines from "The Seaventh Day of the First Weeke" which chastizes the adulterous woman in the following terms:

> Let her that boundles in her wanton wishes
> Dares spot y^{e} spouse bed with vnlawful kises
> Blush at y^{e} least at palm trees loyalty
> Wich neuer bears vnles her male be by (f. 4).[70]

Vice in both men and women is a fair target for Bowyer's condemnation.

The passages attributed to "A.B" and "F.B." may refer to Bowyer herself or a family member, but at least one of those ascribed to "F.B." have been taken from Spenser. The words on folio 2 have been taken from the opening of the third canto of Book One of *The Faerie Queene*, which reads as follows:

> Nought is there vnder heau'ns wide hollownesse,
> That moues more deare compassion of mind,

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67 David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 1984) 195-214.

68 Josuah Sylvester, trans., *The Divine Weeks and Works of Guillaume de Salluste Sieur Du Bartas*, ed. Susan Snyder, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979) 34.

69 Norbrook 195.

70 No major variants (Sylvester 308-309, lines 521-24).

> Then beautie brought t'vnworthy wretchednesse
> Through enuies snares or fortunes freakes vnkind:[71]

Bowyer has changed the subject of the passage from beauty to women, as the following lines demonstrate:

> Thears nothing vnder heuens hie holynes
> That moues more deare compasson of mind
> Then women brought to wofull wrechednes
> By envious snares & villans toungs vnkind

Bowyer has made some subtle changes in meaning with her alterations. Besides broadening the category from beauty to all women, she has changed "hollownesse" to "holynes," "vnworthy" to "wofull," and "fortunes freakes" to "villans toungs." Each of these substitutions changes the sense of the passage; instead of the cold impartiality of heaven suggested by the word "hollownesse," we have the holiness of it, which takes away the sense of an uncaring destiny towards the beauty, Una. The word "vnworthy," which Hamilton glosses as undeserved, again heightens the sense of pathos in the passage, while Bowyer's "wofull wrechednes" takes away the element of unfairness by using a more generalized word. Finally, the "fortunes freakes vnkind" of the published version emphasizes again how unjustly Una is being punished at this point in the story, when the Redcrosse Knight has left her, believing her to have been unfaithful to him. Bowyer's "villans tongs vnkind" points to the more generalized situation in which a woman's honour is compromised by gossip, rather than following Spenser's depiction of one woman thwarted by an uncaring fate. Bowyer has expanded this quotation to apply to all women.

As has already been suggested, many of the couplets cited in the miscellany are proverbial in nature. Several of these rhyming couplets can be found in Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*. On folio 3 Ann Bowyer has quoted two passages from the May eclogue which read: "Good is no good, but if it be spend:/ God giveth good for none other end" and "Sorrowe ne neede be hastened on:/ For he will come without

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[71] Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A.C. Hamilton (London: Longman, 1977) 55.

calling anone."[72] Bowyer has altered them both slightly, writing: "~~Goooodes~~ goodes ar no goodes if the be not spend/ god giues them vnto vs for no other eand" and "Sorow & care neuer hasten thou on/ for that can com with out caling anon." In both of these examples Bowyer has changed the subject of the quotations: to "vs" in the first instance and to "thou" in the second.

Bowyer appears to make use of the same quotation from *The Shepheardes Calender* twice. At the conclusion of his story about the deception of the Kidde by the Fox, Piers says:

> Such end had the Kidde, for he nould warned be
> Of craft, coloured with simplicitie:
> And such end perdie does all hem remayne,
> That of such falsers freendship bene fayne.[73]

At the top of folio 3v Bowyer quotes the following: "euil hap^{d}es doow ~~d~~allwaes for y^{t} remayne/ That will not warned be of craft collred w^{h} simplis<sti>." On folio 2 she has written: "An ill eand douth allwayes for them remayne." Just as she has often done with Chaucer, Bowyer has elected to remove older forms of words, "perdie" and "hem" in this case, and has replaced them with a more accessible vocabulary.

Another reference to this work occurs on folio 3v of the miscellany: "of hoiny in loue the^{a}r is such stor/ The hoiny is much but y^{t} gaul is mor." This is evidently taken from "Thomalins Embleme" at the end of the March eclogue which reads: "Of Hony and of Gaule in love there is store:/ The Honye is much, but the Gaule is more."[74] At least two later quotations of these lines appear in Renaissance literature; in a letter from Gabriel Harvey to Edmund Spenser, and in Thomas Draxe's book of proverbs.[75] However, neither of these two versions have the variants adopted in

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[72] Edmund Spenser, *The Shepheardes Calender*, *The Yale Edition of the Shorter Poems of Edmund Spenser*, ed. William A. Oram et al (New Haven: Yale UP, 1989) 90 (lines 71-72) and 93 (lines 152-53).

[73] Spenser, *Shepheardes Calender* 98 (lines 302-05).

[74] Spenser, *Shepheardes Calender* 62 (lines 121-22).

[75] Gabriel Harvey, *Three Proper, and Wittie, Familiar Letters: Lately Passed Betvvene Tvvo Vniuersitie Men: Touching the Earthquake in Aprill last, and our English Refourmed Versifying* (London, 1580) sig. E4; and Thomas Draxe, *Bibliotheca Scholastica Instructissima. Or, A Treasurie of Ancient Adagies, and Sententious Prouerbes, Selected out of the English, Greeke, Latine, French, Italian and Spanish. Ranked in Alphabeticall Order, and Suited to One and the Same Sense* (London, 1616) sig. H5v.

Bowyer's transcription; they both basically follow Spenser's original. The presence of this saying in a book of proverbs attests to its popularity.

Again, Bowyer has mixed up lines from the same source in her quotations from the Februarie eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calender*. On folio 1v she has written:

> Who can not suffer y^{t} stormie time
> H<*ow*> shall he liue till the lustie prime
> As lowring wether lookes allwayes downe
> so seemeth age like ~~lookes allwayes downe~~
> good friday to frowne

The first couplet appears at lines 15-16 and the second appears at lines 29-30, with slight differences: Bowyer has substituted "can" for "will," "How shall he live" for "Where will he live," and "age" for "thou" (as well as omitting the "And" and "the" in line 29 and adding "allwayes" before "downe").[76] The change from "thou" to "age" is a significant one, altering the passage from a personal exchange between Cuddie and Thenot to a general comment on old age.

A final significant passage from Spenser shows little change between the original and Bowyer's version. Lines 159-61 of *The Ruines of Time* are as follows:

> Yet it is comfort in great languishment,
> To be bemoned with compassion kinde,
> And mitigates the anguish of the minde.[77]

Bowyer has chosen to omit the "Yet," to add "a" before comfort, and to write "with mitigats" instead of "And mitigates."[78] Likely "with" is an transcription error for "wich."

According to Charles Crawford, Drayton was often quoted by "the men of his time."[79] Women of his time also quoted him; 56 lines of his poetry, all in the form of two- to six-line extracts, have been quoted in Bowyer's manuscript, more than any

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[76] The lines in *The Shepheardes Calender* (40-41) are as follows: "Who will not suffer the stormy time,/ Where will he live tyll the lusty prime?" (lines 15-16) and "And as the lowring Wether lookes downe,/ So semest thou like good fryday to frowne" (lines 29-30).

[77] Edmund Spenser, *The Ruines of Time*, *The Yale Edition of the Shorter Poems of Edmund Spenser*, ed. William A. Oram et al (New Haven: Yale UP, 1989) 239.

[78] Bowyer has written: "It is a comfort in ~~*great languish*~~ment gr^{e}at languishment ~~to be~~/ To be bemonid with compastion kind/ & with mitigats y^{t} anguish of the mind" (f. 4).

[79] Charles Crawford, "Belvedere, Or the Garden of the Muses," *Englische Studien* 43 (1910) 214.

other poet by far (Chaucer is a distant second place with 21 lines).[80] Most of these lines (40) are from *Englands Heroicall Epistles*, first printed in 1597, and based on Ovid's *Heroides*. The *Epistles* consists of verse letters exchanged by lovers from English history, and were the most popular of Drayton's works.[81] An analysis of the variants between Bowyer's excerpts and the printed editions indicates that Bowyer was using either the 1602 or the 1603 edition (included in *The Barons Warres* of that date).[82] She may have owned the single volume which contained both of the works of Drayton from which she quotes. On the recto of the fourth leaf lines have been extracted from the following verse letters: six lines from "Henry Howard, Earle of Surrey, to the Lady Geraldine" (lines 89-92 and 87-88);[83] two from "The Epistle of Rosamond to King Henry the Second" (lines 73-74);[84] and, written sideways on the page, four from "The Lady Jane Gray, to the Lord Gilford Dudley" (lines 67-68 and 115-16).[85] On folio 5, there are two lines from "Queene Katherine to Owen Tudor" (lines 45-46);[86] four from "Queene Margaret to William De-La-Poole, Duke of Suffolke" (lines 153-54 and 53-54);[87] and directly beneath it two lines from "William De-La-Poole, Duke of Suffolke to Queene Margaret" (lines 151-52);[88] four lines from

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[80] I am not including poems which have been included in their entirety, like "A Valediction: forbidding Mourning" (f. 7) and "The Lie" (f. 6).

[81] Hebel, vol. 5, 97. The epistles were quoted 67 times in *Englands Parnassus* (1600), 88 times in *Bel-vedére* (1600), and seven times in Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621). They were frequently referred to in the seventeenth century and often reprinted: five separate editions appeared between 1597 and 1602, and the epistles were printed in *The Barons Warres* (1603) and in all editions of Drayton's works from 1605 onwards.

[82] With the exception of minor differences of spelling, capitalization, punctuation, and contractions, Bowyer's version agrees with the 1602 and 1603 editions of the epistles. I have based this analysis on Hebel's listing of variants; his copy text is the 1619 edition, but he has noted variants from the following editions: 1597, 1598, 1599, 1600, 1602, 1603, 1605, 1608, 1610, 1613, [no date], 1630, and 1637.

[83] No major variants.

[84] No major variants.

[85] line 68: Bowyer and all versions after 1600 have "what exceeds," while those of 1597-1600 have "more then all." Therefore Bowyer must have used a version later than 1600.

[86] No major variants.

[87] line 153: Bowyer follows editions 1597-[no date] in using "us," while 1619 and later editions use "it."

line 54: the 1608 edition has "no" where every other edition has "now," disqualifying the 1608 edition from Bowyer's possible sources.

[88] line 151: Bowyer follows editions 1597-[no date] in writing "patience," while 1619 and later editions have "Suff'rance."

"Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolke, To Mary the French Queene" (lines 179-82);[89] two lines, written on the side of the page, from "Mary, the French Queene, to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolke" (lines 85-86);[90] and 14 lines, 10 of which are written sideways, from "The Lady Jane Grey to the Lord Gilford Dudley" (lines 23-24, 31-34, 97-98, 95-96, 99-100, and 43-44).[91] Most of the passages are severed from their context, and were evidently appreciated for their pithy encapsulation of topics like grief, virtue, hope, vain ambition, and jealousy. The "sententious sayings and eloquent moral reflections" of Drayton's poetry were undoubtedly a large part of the appeal to Bowyer and to her contemporaries.[92]

At the top of folio 7, above Donne's "A Valediction: forbidding Mourning," Bowyer has transcribed 16 lines from Drayton's *The Barons Warres* (1603), his epic poem chronicling the turbulent events between 1321 and 1330.[93] Five of the eight couplets also occur in his earlier version of the poem, *Mortimeriados* (1596).[94] Bowyer's variants in themselves do not indicate which version she used, but the fact that some of the passages only appear in *The Barons Warres* leads to the conclusion that she used that later version of the story. Another Roger Mortimer appears earlier in the commonplace book; Bowyer quotes lines from *The Mirror for Magistrates*

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89 No major variants.

90 line 85: Bowyer's "suspicious" agrees with editions 1602-[no date]; all other editions have "suspicions." This rules out versions before 1602 as Bowyer's probable copy-text.

91 lines 23-24: two significantly different versions of these two lines appear. Bowyer writes: "from strongest woe we hardly language wrest/ y^{e} depth of griefe with words are sounded least." This agrees with editions 1600-1603. Editions 1597-1599, 1605, and 1608 all have "is" at line 24, where Bowyer and editions 1600-1603 have "us." The alternate version, appearing in 1619 and all other editions, is "The depth of woe with words we hardly sound,/ Sorrow is so insensibly profound." Again, either the 1600, 1602, or 1603 edition are the most likely source; but the above footnote suggests that the 1600 edition is not an option.
line 32: Bowyer follows editions 1597-1608 with "is...his" instead of "are...their."
line 95: Bowyer has "y^{e} purest blood polluted is in blood," agreeing with editions 1597-[no date], while all others have "To gaine a Kingdome, who spares their next Blood?"
line 100: editions 1605-1608 have "thing" where all other versions and Bowyer have "things."
By a process of elimination, editions 1602 and 1603 are the most probable candidates for Bowyer's source.

92 Crawford, "Belvedere" 214.

93 The eight couplets are from Canto 2, lines 119-20; Canto 2, lines 247-48; Canto 3, lines 607-08; Canto 3, lines 615-16; Canto 2, lines 135-36; Canto 2, lines 223-24; Canto 4, lines 159-60; Canto 4, 455-56.

94 The five couplets from *Mortimeriados*, which agree with the first, second, fifth, sixth, and eighth couplet from *The Barons Warres*, listed in the above footnote, are as follows: lines 286-87, 356-57, 300-01, 335-36, and 1462-63.

spoken by the Roger Mortimer who met his death in Ireland during the reign of Richard II (f. 1v).

Like *Englands Heroicall Epistles*, *Mortimeriados* was a popular presence in printed dictionaries of quotations.[95] But its enlarged revision, *The Barons Warres*, superseded it; *Mortimeriados* was only reprinted once. The variants between the eight couplets in Bowyer's version and those in *The Barons Warres* indicate that she used one of the following editions: 1603, 1605, 1608, 1610, 1613, or an edition which has no date.[96] It seems reasonable to suggest that Bowyer used the 1603 edition which also contained *Englands Heroicall Epistles*. She may have owned the single volume containing both works from which she extracted the pithy sayings.

Four lines from William Warner's *Albions England* have been transcribed by Hand B on folio 6v. The lines are from King Ethelred the Unready's dying speech to his son Edmund Ironside during Danish attacks on England.[97] These events of 1016 do not, from the point of view of the transcriber, merit recording; it is the moralistic advice, devoid of its context, which the compiler notes. Bowyer shows similar disregard for context in her choice of passages from *The Barons Warres* on folio 7; eight couplets on a variety of moral themes, completely removed from their context or

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95 *Englands Parnassus* contains 58 quotations and *Bel-vedére* contains 86 (Hebel, vol. 5, 42). *Mortimeriados* must be the version used in these volumes because they both date from 1600, while *The Barons Warres* appeared in 1603.

96 Hebel has used edition 1619 as the copy-text, and considered the variants of the following editions: 1603, 1605, 1608, 1610, 1613, [no date], 1630, and 1631. The variants in the eight couplets are as follows:
BW, Canto 2, line 120: editions 1603-[no date] agree with Bowyer in having "mortals cannot," while other versions have "will not let us."
BW, Canto 2, 247-48: Bowyer, and all editions from 1603-[no date], have "consider well" (while 1619 has "Men should performe," at line 247); at line 248 her "our vowes be kept we make" agrees with editions 1603-no date, and contrasts with 1619's "The serious Vowes they make."
BW, Canto 3, 607-08: Bowyer again follows editions 1603-[no date] in having "my state more wretched then it was," instead of 1619's "My state at last, more wretched then."
BW, Canto 3, 615-16: no major variants
BW, Canto 2, 135-36: Bowyer differs from the printed versions in having "y^{t} foote" instead of "thy foote." Her "still" agrees with editions 1603-[no date], and contrasts with 1619's "oft."
BW, Canto 2, 223-24: no major variants
BW, Canto 4, 159-60: no major variants
BW, Canto 4, 455-56: Bowyer has "for when oppresion's vp vnto y^{e} chin/ who lends not hand to thurst him in boldly in" (agreeing with editions 1603-[no date]); 1619 has "For when th'oppress'd is once up to the chin/ Quite over head, all helpe to thrust him in."

97 William Warner, *Albions England. Or Historicall Map of the Same Island* (London, 1586) sig. M3v.

from any hint of the work from which they are extracted, stand valued for the moral truths they express. The lines from *Albions England* appear in the fourth book and the twenty-first chapter.[98] It is difficult to say which edition was used, but it may have been the first (of 1586) because there were only four books and twenty-two chapters in that version.[99]

The passage contrasts the virtuous person, who thrives, with the vicious person, who is like the heedless fly that kills herself and hurts the sight of those who look on her. The differences between the version in Bowyer's miscellany and the printed one are minor, suggesting that the lines were copied from a printed volume and not from a manuscript source far removed from the original.[100]

Poems from Manuscript Sources: Ralegh's "The Lie" and Donne's "A Valediction: forbidding Mourning"

Bowyer has copied out at least eight poems in her commonplace book, three of which have been identified. She has quoted a version of "The Lie," often attributed to Sir Walter Ralegh, on folio 6. The poem was most likely written between 1593 and 1596, since Ralegh fell from favour in 1592 and since transcripts of the poem appear in manuscripts from the 1590s.[101] The poem first appeared anonymously in printed form in the second edition of Francis Davison's *A Poetical Rhapsodie* in 1608. It appeared in the third edition (1611) as well, and was included in Joshuah Sylvester's *Posthumi* of 1633, which added fourteen new verses (which do not appear in any other versions

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98 There are two chapter 21s in all editions after the first two (of 1586 and 1589) which contain three chapter 21s. The passage in which Bowyer's passage occurs is the second chapter 21.

99 The revised STC lists the following editions: 1586 (4 books), 1589 (6 books), 1592 (9 books), 1596 (12 books), 1597 (12 books; a variant of 1596), 1602 (13 books plus an "Epitome"), 1612 (same as 1602), 1606 (books 14-16).

100 The printed versions vary slightly in punctuation, spelling, and capitalization of words, but not in a way that suggests Bowyer favoured one version over another. The major variants between Bowyer's version and the printed ones are as follows:

Bowyer] printed versions
line 1: &] and
line 3: such are they...y^{e}] such they are...the
line 4: y^{t}] that

101 Agnes M.C. Latham, ed., *The Poems of Sir Walter Ralegh* (London: Routledge, 1951) 133.

of the poem) to six of the original.[102] As Arthur Marotti points out, Ralegh's poetry circulated widely in manuscript form, and was often the subject of "radical revision and supplementation." He questions the practice of textual editors of dismissing these alterations as corruptions, and of valuing the "purest" version over the more historically accurate version, reminding us that literary production, reproduction, and reception are all socially mediated.[103]

Max Thomas has very interestingly analyzed the physical layout of the page on which "The Lie" appears. He points out that the poem is arranged into a series of rhymed couplets, and that no dividing mark separates it from the poem which follows ("Happie is he y^{t} standethe free ffrome euerie kinde of toyle"), or from the couplet written sideways on the page ("your grace did promise one a time, to grante me reason for my rym/ but from y^{t} time vnto y^{is} season, I neither hard of rime nor reason"). He states that "the Elizabethan sensibility" who organized this page saw it as cohesive, and that the effect of the page is that the poem is assimilated into these phrases. He asks, "Is this how the copyist *read* a particular poem, and then appropriated it for his (or her?) own use?"[104] The poem below Ralegh's may have been written by Bowyer herself, as I discuss below, but the couplet has been linked with Thomas Churchyard in a Folger Library manuscript.[105] It has not been found among his copious printed works, and so may have come from a manuscript source, perhaps the same as yielded the Ralegh poem.

Bowyer's transcription of Ralegh's poem is very different from any of the printed versions that she might have seen in her lifetime. Peter Beal lists 31 surviving manuscript versions of the poem, of which I have been able to examine eight, plus the

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[102] Latham 128.

[103] Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1995) 145-46.

[104] Max W. Thomas, "The Practice of Poetry in Early Modern England," diss., U of Pennsylvania, 1993, 154-62.

[105] Folger MS X.d.177, a miscellany of jests and lewd poems, c.1595. The couplet (written as four lines) appears twice in this 8-folio booklet, on ff. 3 and 8. The differences between the Folger versions (headed, "churchyards verses to the queen" and "Churchay to y^{e} queene" respectively) and Bowyer's are slight: they have "giue" instead of Bowyer's "grant," and "never" instead of "neither."

Bowyer commonplace book.[106] As compared with the 1611 published version of "The Lie," Bowyer's version includes the first two stanzas of the printed version, lacks the third, includes the fourth and two-thirds of the fifth, lacks stanzas six through twelve, and includes the thirteenth one, the final stanza. A hasty editing job is suggested by the omission of the final sentence of stanza five ("And if they make replie, then giue them all the lie"), and by the compression of the final stanza into two lines, instead of her normal three lines.

None of the manuscripts examined shows exactly the same editing choices as those Bowyer has made. But while no other scribe has omitted such large portions of the text, there are some similarities between Bowyer's transcription and other miscellany versions.[107] The distinctness of manuscript transmission from printed sources can be seen in line seven of Bowyer's transcription. She has written "that rules affaires of state," and all eight of the scribes have done the same, or very nearly the same, thing. The printed version, which has "that mannage the estate" stands alone. Similarly, seven out of the eight scribes have written "those" instead of "them" at line 10 of Bowyer's version. At line nine Bowyer has done something unique; she has written "& as y^{e} dooe replie" instead of the printed and manuscript tradition which read "and if they once reply," or a slight variation on the same. From these variants it seems highly likely that Bowyer did not have a copy of the printed poem before her, but instead participated in the manuscript system of circulation, which presented different variants which she alternately kept and discarded. In fact, it is possible that she had access to BL Harl. MS 6910, because not only do several of the variants in its version of "The Lie" correspond with Bowyer's but, as L.G. Black writes, it also contains in its pages transcriptions of Spenser's *Complaints* and some passages from *The Mirror for Magistrates*.[108] Since Harl. 6910 dates from c.1596-1601,[109] it may be

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[106] Beal, vol. 1, part 2, 390-392. Bod MSS: Douce f. 5 (ff. 11-12), Eng. poet. d. 3 (f. 2v), Firth e. 4 (pp. 3-5), Rawl. poet. 172 (f. 12v), Rawl. poet. 212 (ff. 88-90), and Tanner 306* (f. 188). BL MSS: Harl. 2296 (f. 135) and Harl. 6910 (ff. 141v-2).

[107] For example, Bowyer's use of "theme all" in her third line corresponds with five manuscript versions; "but" in line 5 appears in four; and "or" in line 6 has been used by five of the compilers.

[108] L.G. Black, "Studies in Some Related Manuscript Poetic Miscellanies of the 1580s," vol. 1, diss., U of Oxford, 73-74.

possible that Bowyer consulted it or a common source or intermediary. In Chapter Two we will examine the case of Lady Anne Southwell's version of this poem, which the compiler has similarly creatively altered.

As well as inspiring significant textual variation on the part of transcribers, this Ralegh poem often spurred answering poems or stanzas by its transcribers. The transcription of "The Lie" in Rawl. poet. MS 212 has alternating answering stanzas throughout the poem. Tanner MS 306* has an answering poem set up in the right hand column of the page which closely follows the original, stanza by stanza. The poem in Rawl. poet. MS 172 is followed by several answering poems: two stanzas entitled "Londons Lie," and three more poems called "An aunswere to the lie by Lor of Essex," "An other aunswere by Sr Wal: R:" and "A Replie." Ann Bowyer appears to have done a similar thing with the fifteen lines which follow her severely edited version of Ralegh's poem. She has not indicated a break between the two poems and has let the second follow from the first. The metre of the second poem is erratic, starting off as four lines of iambic heptameter, while the next four lines switch to iambic pentameter, and the final lines switch from six to eight feet, apparently at random. However, the subject matter of the poem seems linked throughout. After the bleak ending of "The Lie," in which the speaker says he does not care if he is stabbed because his soul will not die, Bowyer describes the life of a happy country man, who avoids usury, war, high positions, and courts of law. The next lines describe how all good things must come to an end, and the final seven lines discuss death and the fact that it takes all men, whatever their office. A source for this poem has not as yet been found, raising the possibility that Bowyer herself composed it. While it does not directly answer Ralegh's poem, it does contrast the corruption of public life cited by Ralegh with the peace of retired country life, and ends the same way that Ralegh's poem does, with a discussion of death.

On folio 7 Ann Bowyer has copied out John Donne's "A Valediction: forbidding Mourning." In contrast with her transcription of "The Lie" this version of

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[109] Beal, vol. 1, part 2, 391.

Donne's poem corresponds quite closely with other known versions. Of course, one of the most important things to note about Donne's poetry in general is that, with the exception of the "Anniversaries," the elegy on Prince Henry, and a few lyrics, it did not appear in printed form until 1633, two years after the poet's death.[110] The poem has not been dated with assurance, but Gardner does not share the opinion of a later seventeenth-century compiler of Donne's poetry that the poem was written in 1611 when Donne left his pregnant wife for a time.[111] However, Marotti believes it is correct to associate this poem with Donne's marriage.[112] Donne evidently did not wish his poems, and his lyric poems in particular, to have a large readership; he wanted his poetry to be circulated only in manuscript, although at least twice he collected his poetry together for the purpose of publication (in 1614 and 1619) before deciding against it.[113] In the late 1620s Donne's poems began to reach a large audience; "for twenty years or so, from about 1625 until the mid-1640s (and especially during the ten years following the first edition), they are among the commonest items in manuscript miscellanies."[114] Peter Beal cites 55 surviving manuscript sources for "A Valediction: forbidding Mourning" alone.[115] I have consulted 17 of these versions, plus Ashmole MS 51.[116]

The printed 1633 edition of the poem is fairly close to Ann Bowyer's transcription, which has been taken over by Hand B in the third stanza. There are many differences of spelling between the two versions, but more interestingly there are also several word or phrase changes, which sometimes correspond to other manuscript

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[110] Arthur F. Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1986) x.
[111] Helen Gardner, ed., *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets*, by John Donne (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965) xxix.
[112] Marotti, *John Donne* 137.
[113] Marotti, *John Donne* ix.
[114] Alan MacColl, "The Circulation of Donne's Poems in Manuscript," *John Donne: Essays in Celebration*, ed. A. J. Smith (London: Methuen, 1972) 45.
[115] Beal, vol. 1, part 1, 534-38.
[116] Bod MSS: Eng. poet. e. 99 (ff. 102v-3), Eng. poet. f. 9 (pp. 39-41), Eng. poet. e. 14 (f. 39r-v), Ashmole 38 (p. 121), Eng. poet. e. 37 (pp. 33-4), Rawl. poet. 142 (f. 18v). BL MSS: Harl. 4064 (f. 270r-v), Add. 18647 (ff. 9v-10), Lansdowne 740 (f. 112v), Stowe 961 (ff. 84v-5), Add. 25707 (f. 19), Egerton 2230 (f. 3r-v), Harl. 3511 (f. 37r-v), Stowe 962 (ff. 90v-1), Add. 10309 (ff. 126-7), Harl. 4888 (f. 254), Sloane 1792 (ff. 58v-9).

collections of Donne's verse or miscellany transcriptions, and sometimes appear to be a result of Bowyer's own alterations to the poem.[117]

However, while many of Bowyer's alterations correspond to those in contemporary manuscripts, several of her changes are not found in any of the manuscripts I consulted. She writes "whispering" instead of "And whisper" at the beginning of line 2 and "sight tempests" instead of "sigh-tempests" (line 6). Hand B takes over in the third stanza and similarly makes some unique editorial choices: "sencer" instead of "sense" (line 14), "by cause" instead of "because" (line 15), and "thats fixed foot" instead of "the fixt foot" (line 27). Both BL Add. MS 10309 and Ashmole MS 51 have "leaues" instead of "leanes" (line 31). This last example is the most surprising difference because it changes the sense of the line; instead of the compass leaning and hearkening after the lover who roams far away, Hand B has the compass actually leaving and following the lover. In these minor ways Bowyer and Hand B have made a distinct version of Donne's poem, and have demonstrated the active engagement with a text that was possible in this genre.

The differences between the 1633 "Valediction" and Bowyer's are numerous enough to make it probable that Bowyer in fact never saw the 1633 edition of Donne's poetry. If this commonplace book does indeed predate the birth of her son in 1617 (when she would have been Ann Ashmole and not Ann Bowyer) then she must have had access to an early manuscript version of the poem. Mary Hobbs has pointed out that the decade in which manuscript verse miscellanies were most popular was the 1630s,[118] but all evidence points to a much earlier date for Bowyer's manuscript. Even though Bowyer's transcription does not correspond exactly with the printed versions or the selection of manuscript verse collections or miscellanies of Donne's poem, the significant similarities between several miscellanies and Bowyer's suggest that she had access to the type of manuscript circulation described as scribal publication by Harold

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[117] For example, Bowyer has written "cause" at line 9, as have seven of the manuscripts; like 10 of the manuscripts "of our" appears at line 8; and like seven of the manuscripts "that" have been written at line 32.

[118] Mary Hobbs, "Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellanies and Their Value for Textual Editors," *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700* 1 (1989) 200.

Love. That she had access to manuscript copies of Donne's poem before it became popular in the 1620s, suggests that she had access to a select group in which his poetry was circulating.

A Poem from a Printed Miscellany?: "Each thing must haue a time"

A final poem which has been identified has been written on folio 7v of Bowyer's miscellany by Hand B. Its author is unknown. Versions of it appeared in Tottel's *Miscellany* (1557), in *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions* (1578), and in *The Arundel Harington Manuscript of Tudor Poetry*.[119] The first two of these belong to the category of printed miscellanies which

> presented themselves as a kind of compromise between two coexistent systems of "publication," the circulation of literature in manuscript to restricted audiences and the printing of individual authors' works for different (narrow or wide) readerships.[120]

The version transcribed in Bowyer's commonplace book corresponds most closely to that in the 1578 miscellany. Not including numerous differences in spelling and punctuation there are only two significant variants, both of which occur in the last half of the second line; Bowyer has "and trust in freind=ship groth" while *A Gorgeous Gallery* has "on trust great frenship groth." It is possible that she transcribed her copy from the one in *A Gorgeous Gallery*; its version and her version only differ on two counts, making it the most likely source. Tottel's *Miscellany* and *The Arundel Harington Manuscript of Tudor Poetry* each differ in significant ways from Bowyer's transcription, and therefore neither one is likely to have been her major source of transcription. Bowyer's version adds the following final couplet which does not appear in any of the three known examples: "And soe farwill awhille, this tyme draweth to an end,/ And then I hope that heare I ~~sall~~, shall, enioy my faithfull

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[119] Hyder E. Rollins, ed., *Tottel's Miscellany (1557-1587)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1965) 160; Hyder E. Rollins, ed., *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions (1578)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1926) 47; Ruth Hughey, ed., *The Arundel Harington Manuscript of Tudor Poetry*, vol. 1 (Columbus: Ohio State UP, 1960) 342-43.

[120] Marotti, *John Donne* 7-8.

frein<d>." She may have had access to another manuscript version of the poem which ended with this couplet, but it is equally possible that she coined it herself.

Conclusions

Bowyer came from an upwardly mobile family of urban craftsmen with links to the gentry. Her parents' interest in educating their family was obviously strong. Ann and likely her siblings as well practised their handwriting, with the guidance of copy-books like that of John de Chesne and John Baildon, and possibly with some private tuition. They had access to some kind of limning instruction. Their library must have been reasonably extensive; it contained a copy of Chaucer's complete works, Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*, *The Ruines of Time*, and *The Faerie Queene*, *The Mirror for Magistrates*, Joshuah Sylvester's translation of *The Divine Weeks and Works* of Du Bartas, William Warner's *Albions England*, and Drayton's *Englands Heroicall Epistles* and *The Barons Warres,* among other works. The taste reflected in the choice of many of these works is that of stern moral sententiousness. But Bowyer evidently also had an interest in an English intellectual heritage. *The Faerie Queene*, *Albions England*, *Englands Heriocall Epistles*, and *The Barons Warres* all tell stories about England's development as a nation. Several of the poets (Spenser, Sylvester, Drayton, and possibly Warner) could be said to form a group whose verse was linked with radical religion and politics.

Bowyer often altered the texts she transcribed. She generalized several of the passages she compiled into her commonplace book, making the moral message more applicable to the reader, who may have been just herself and possibly her siblings. She de-gendered and universalized passages from *The Knight's Tale*, *The Assemblie of Foules*, and *The Manciple's Tale*. She twice added the word "lawers" to excerpts from *The Mirror for Magistrates*, making the subject of criticism clearer. Bowyer generalized the moral of the Duke of Gloucester's story from *The Mirror for Magistrates* to apply to all people, not just princes. She changed the subject of a passage from *The Faerie Queene* from beauty to all women whose reputations are

threatened by gossip. She replaced some of Spenser's more archaic words with contemporary equivalents; she also stressed that passages from *The Shepheares Calender* refer to all people. Her alterations of "The Lie" and "A Valediction: forbidding Mourning" sometimes depart from known manuscript versions. She may have written her own proverbs, as the initials "A.B." beside some of them, and her full name after one (f. 16v), suggest. She may have written an answer to "The Lie" and a closing couplet to "Each thing must haue a time."

We need to recognize that when a poem entered the realm of manuscript circulation it would inevitably be changed as it was reproduced, and that this was not generally seen as negative. As I discussed in the Introduction, writing was frequently omitted from the educational curricula of girls in the English Renaissance. For the majority of women then, if they could read at all, this inevitably meant that their relationship with literature was passive. But the medium of commonplace books combined the acts of reading and writing, and it was a socially sanctioned literate activity in which women could participate. Compiling this manuscript was evidently a group activity. One of the hands in the commonplace book not only entered poetry and a monumental inscription from a nearby village, but also finished a poem Bowyer had started ("A Valediction: forbidding Mourning"). This suggests that compiling the book was not necessarily a private endeavour.

Ashmole MS 38's version of Donne's poem makes an interesting comparison with Bowyer's, because it demonstrates the type of rewriting which could take place in more adventurous miscellanies.[121] This version, ascribed to "S Butterris," radically alters the poem, omitting lines and adding adjectives, as the first stanza indicates:

> As dying saints who sweetly pass away
> & whisper to their faynting soules to goe
> & some of theire circumstant frinds doo say
> y^{e} breath now goes, others replye wth noe
> So let vs parte, that our disioyned loue
> no teares floods rayse /2/ nor loud sighe tempest moue (p. 121).

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[121] This manuscript contains miscellaneous poetry compiled by Nicholas Burghe, but it also contains other hands and ascriptions, including those of a woman named "Bridgett" (pp. 9, 30, 39).

While none of Bowyer's changes to Donne's poem are as radical as these, she is participating in a similar tradition. She has certainly rewritten many of her quotations from *The Mirror for Magistrates*, Spenser, and Chaucer, altering the subjects of some passages, the rhyme scheme of others, and the language of many of them. Her deletions of sections of Ralegh's poem and the answering poem appended beneath it are radical rewritings of a text which was being continually rewritten and responded to in manuscript form. At a time when women were not encouraged to write original material, and were sometimes not encouraged even to read, commonplace books provided opportunities for them to engage in both activities. These notebooks could be repositories for meticulously copied out poems, proverbs, and moral exempla; they could also permit a large degree of freedom in both the choice of material transcribed and in the way in which it was altered as it was recorded. Bowyer's book has given us both ends of the spectrum: some of her passages are faithful transcriptions of printed originals (as is the case with two passages from Chaucer, *The Wife of Bath's Prologue* and *The Man of Laws Tale*, and also with the Drayton passages from *Englands Heroicall Epistles*, which were copied from either the 1602 or 1603 edition), while others depart significantly from printed or manuscript versions. It is worth noting that while "A Valediction: forbidding Mourning" and her excerpts from Drayton's "Henry Howard, Earle of Surrey, to the Lady Geraldine" deal with love, much of the rest of the commonplace book is didactic in nature. She has sometimes broadened the scope of the admonitory passages she has transcribed to direct their morals at lawyers, women, or people in general. Her changes to various passages, and her possible authorship of others, were ways in which she could engage intellectually with the text and assert her own opinions. Commonplace books could be much more than compilations of received moral precepts; as the case of Ann Bowyer suggests, they could be the means for creative expression in a society which in general did not value women's writing. Ashmole MS 51 tells us not only what a particular woman from the early seventeenth century read, but also how she read.

Chapter Two

Lady Anne Southwell, Her Manuscript Miscellany, and Literary Communities

The miscellany of Lady Anne Southwell (Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.b.198),[1] entitled "The workes of the Lady Ann Sothwell Decemb: 2º 1626" on the first folio, is an intriguing document for several reasons. In many ways it does not fit the classic definition of a miscellany; in certain sections it more closely resembles a presentation copy of a writer's original poetry than an individual's engagement with the poetry of the time. Southwell's hand is not the main hand in the miscellany. The binding is nineteenth century, which makes it difficult to determine how the original volume was bound. It seems probable that the volume was bound together after Southwell's death by Henry Sibthorpe, Southwell's second husband, who wished it to be a kind of testament to his wife's poetic skills. Nonetheless, I have included it in my study of manuscripts compiled by women because Southwell's hand is present in an editing capacity in a significant portion of the manuscript, and because both original poetry and material by other authors which circulated in manuscript appear in its pages. And, most importantly for my purposes, the manuscript offers evidence of a woman's participation in manuscript culture, a culture where networks of literary people often connected. Folger MS V.b.198 offers the modern reader an extraordinary opportunity to glean information about a seventeenth-century woman's life, her literary activities, and her contacts with other writers and disseminators of literature.

Southwell's miscellany dates from 1587 to 1636, although the portions connected with Lady Anne date from 1626 until her death in 1636. Folger MS V.b.198 is a bound volume of folios measuring 355mm by 233mm (on the outside). The sheets vary in size and their watermarks date from before 1600, with the exception of the final two folios which commemorate Lady Anne Southwell in verse.[2] It was

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[1] An edition of the manuscript has been prepared by Jean Klene of St. Mary's College, IN and will be published by the Medieval and Renaissance Text Society at Binghamton, NY.

[2] Jean Klene, "Recreating the Letters of Lady Anne Southwell," *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985-1991*, ed. W. Speed Hill (Binghamton, NY: Renaissance English Text Soc., 1993) 242; Laetitia Yeandle, Curator of Manuscripts, Folger Library,

offered for sale by Thomas Thorpe in his 1834 catalogue of the Southwell papers, along with "Lectures on the Commandments and Moral Ethics, the Collections of Lady Anne Southwell, Wife of Sir Thomas Southwell, Uncle of Sir Robert Southwell,"[3] which refer to the Decalogue poetry now preserved in British Library Lansdowne MS 740, discussed below. Bound in "Russia leather" during the nineteenth century, Sir T. Phillips sold the miscellany to P.J. and A.E. Dobell in 1908, who sold it to Henry Folger in 1927.[4] Very briefly, the contents of the 74 folios of the miscellany can be divided into several categories: poetry (my primary interest), prose (including letters and sermons), and memoranda or notes of a domestic nature. With a few blank pages in between, poetry appears on folios 1, 2, 5, 7-13, 16-58v, 60, 73, and 74. Of a total of 148 potential pages, Southwell's verses on the Decalogue occupy 59, that is to say approximately 40% of the miscellany.[5] The rest of the poetry is a mixture of shorter religious and love lyrics, elegies, and verse depictions of historical or philosophical matters, some of it almost certainly authored by Southwell. The prose pieces in the miscellany can be divided into letters (two, which appear on ff. 3-3v and 4), philosophical terms (f. 5v), sermons (ff. 66v, 70-70v, and 72), an exposition of Augustine's *City of God* (f. 67), a mini-bestiary (68-68v), and apothegms (ff. 69-69v). The memoranda are military receipts compiled by John Sibthorpe in 1587 and 1588 (ff. 5, 6-6v), inventories of Lady Anne's goods (ff. 59, 60v, and 61), a list of books (ff. 64v-66), and receipts for property rental and domestic wages (ff. 62-64, 71-71v, and 72v).

Hands in Folger MS V.b.198

The main hand in the manuscript is not Southwell's. The angular script found scattered through the manuscript is likely hers, largely because it appears in an editing

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letter to the author, 5 June 1996. See Klene's forthcoming edition for a detailed description of the manuscript.

[3] Thomas Thorpe, *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Southwellianae* ([London], 1834) 532. Apparently a painting of her also survives (521).

[4] Klene, "Letters" 244.

[5] I am including those pages on which Southwell's hand appears (ff. 44v-46, 57-58v) and which, though nearly illegible, appear to form part of the Decalogue poetry.

capacity, adding and deleting the words of other scribes. Her signature appears at the bottom of folio 2. This correcting hand is in evidence on folios 2, 5v, 13, 22v, 29v, 31v-35, 39, 42v-43v, 47v-55, and it is the only hand on the page on folios 44v-46 and 57-58v. She has written several editorial instructions: "thes four uersic [i.e. verses] cum in hear" (f. 34v) and "this must cum next the verses last" (f. 42v). It has also written out one stanza, legibly, at the top of folio 40 (stanza 28 of the poem on the fourth commandment). But several other hands are prominent. One is likely Samuel Rowson's, an employee of the Sibthorpe household who has witnessed several memoranda near the end of the miscellany (ff. 71, 71v, and 72v). His signature matches a significant portion of the manuscript.[6] Among these memoranda, the signatures of various people appear in addition to Rowson's: Robert Johnson, Ann Johnson, Thomas Warburton, and Mary Phillips. The earlier memoranda are receipts from Robert Johnson that he is satisfied that Anne Southwell has paid her rent for the tenements she holds. Later entries are by Ann Johnson, his widow.[7]

Some of the early pages of the book contain the hand of at least one member of the Sibthorpe family, John, whose entries are dated 1587 and 1588 on folios 5, 6, and 6v. His memoranda are of a military nature (each new passage begins, "Reconed wth my Captayne"). He may also be the hand on later pages (ff. 62-64) which contain notes on the payment of various servants; one of these is dated 28 January 1588. Jean Cavanagh's suggestion that the book was first used by members of the Sibthorpe family and that Henry Sibthorpe gave it to Lady Southwell when they were married in 1626 seems plausible.[8]

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[6] His hand is the major hand on the following folios: 7, 11, 22-26v, 28-30v, 60, 66v-70v, and 72. Approximately 26 pages are written by Rowson (about 18% of the manuscript). I am grateful to Laetitia Yeandle for suggesting to me that Rowson's is one of the hands in the miscellany.

[7] The three memoranda on f. 71 list only Lady Anne Southwell as the holder of the tenements owned by Robert Johnson (they are dated 1632, September 1632, and 25 April 1633). The following six memoranda (dating from 10 November 1633 to 25 March 1636) on ff. 71v and 72v list receipts for payment of rent by Captain Henry Sibthorpe and Lady Anne Southwell, his wife. Perhaps Sibthorpe was not resident at Bank House until after 25 April 1633. The final five memoranda (dating from 25 March 1634 to 25 March 1636) postdate Robert Johnson's death, and so record payments only to Ann Johnson.

[8] Jean C. Cavanagh, "The Library of Lady Southwell and Captain Sibthorpe," *Studies in Bibliography* 20 (1967) 244. Thomas Thorpe, in his catalogue of the Southwell manuscripts, asserts that this volume belonged to Colonel John Sibthorpe when he served in Flanders with Robert Dudley,

Henry Sibthorpe's hand is present in at least part of the list of Southwell's books on folios 64v-66 and in the final pages of the manuscript.[9] His signature appears on folios 73 and 74, which were evidently written soon after Southwell's death. On folio 73 we have a transcript of the commendatory verses which appeared on Lady Anne's funeral monument. One poem each was written by Roger Cox, the curate of St. Mary's Church in Acton, the town where Southwell spent the last five years of her life, and Sibthorpe.[10] The folio is arranged into three columns, with the Cox poem on the left and the Sibthorpe poem on the right of the central epitaph, which was apparently prepared by Sibthorpe. This layout replicates the original Southwell monument in St. Mary's (only the epitaph and the board containing Sibthorpe's poem survive today).[11] The hand is likely that of Henry Sibthorpe.

Besides Southwell's, Rowson's, and Sibthorpe's hands, and the late sixteenth-century memoranda, at least two other hands appear in the volume. One rounded, distinctive hand (which is the hand in BL Lansdowne MS 740) also appears on folios 3-3v (which is a copy of Southwell's defence of poetry in a letter to Cicely Ridgeway). This hand may match the hand on folios 1, 8-9v, and 10v. It is the most polished of all the hands, and is the appropriate choice for the particular audience intended for the Lansdowne manuscript. Perhaps that hand was that of her main secretary. A different hand altogether has written most of the Decalogue poetry in her miscellany; perhaps

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Earl of Leicester in January and February of 1587/8. The volume contains reckonings with Leicester for the maintenance of prisoners, etc., at various locales. There are also notes of servants receiving their pay for January 1588/9 (Thorpe 522-23).

[9] Unlike Jean Cavanagh ("Library" 244), I do not believe that all of the library list has been written by Sibthorpe; his hand corresponds with entries 35-76 (ff. 65v-66). His hand may also be behind the main one on the following pages of the manuscript: 5, 10, 16, 18-21v, 59, 73, and 74.

[10] Cox's poem is entitled, "To the never dyeing memorye of that Ladye every way worthie the Lady Anne Southwell whoe vpon the second of October in the yeare of Grace 1636: & of her age 63 Slept Sweetly in the lord this few lynes are dedicated by Roger Cockes a true lover & admirer of her vertues." It begins, "The South winde blew vpon a springing Well." The poem signed "HS" is entitled, "An Epitaph composed to the Eternall memory of the vertuous & well qualifyed Lady the Lady Anne Southwell deceased the second of October 1636." It begins, "Seeking for choycest attributes to Rayse."

[11] Her monument was "A small Monument of Alabaster gilded and beautified with several Devices," with her epitaph written on "a black Stone in Letters of Gold." Sibthorpe's and Cox's poems flanked the monument on two "boards" to the right and left, and on the other side of the chancel lay a brass plate on a rough stone with the single line, "Here lyeth the Body of the Lady *Anne Southwell*" (John Bowack, *The Second Part of the Antiquities of Middlesex* (London, 1706) 51-2).

she had a different servant when she was writing this version of her poems on the ten commandments. Roger Cox is a candidate for either of these two hands; as discussed below he was a major influence on Southwell in the last years of her life, and may have been involved in the recording of the Decalogue poetry.

The Early Years: Devon and Marriage (1574-1603)

Much biographical detail about Anne Southwell is stated in her epitaph. She was the daughter of Sir Thomas Harris of Cornworthy in Devon. County histories back up this claim. Cornworthy, a parish just four and half miles southeast of Totnes, was once a priory of nuns of the order of St. Austin founded by the Edgecumbe family.[12] The priory was purchased by Edward Harris (Sir Thomas's father) and John Williams in about 1560.[13] Thomas Harris, Sergeant at Law, was knighted by King James at his coronation at Whitehall.[14] He married Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry Pomeroy, by whom he had three children: Anne (baptized on 22 August 1574), Edward (13 December 1575), and Honor (6 October 1578).[15] His monument in the parish church of Cornworthy mentions a second son, Christopher, who was apparently killed in the wars at Ostend in Flanders.[16] Sir Edward followed his father's path in becoming a famous lawyer and was appointed Lord Chief Justice of Munster by at least 1602.[17] He was made third Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland on 23 October

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[12] Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of England*, 4th ed., vol. 1 (London, 1840) 623; Richard Polwhele, *The History of Devonshire in Three Volumes*, vol. 1 and 3 (1797 and 1806; London; London: Kohler & Coombes, 1977) 296 and 483 respectively; John Prince, *Danmonii Orientales Illustres: Or, the Worthies of Devon* (Exeter, 1701) 378; Sir William Pole (d. 1635), *Collections Towards a Description of the County of Devon* (London, 1791) 292; and Daniel and Samuel Lysons, *Magna Britannia, a Concise Topographical Account of the Several Counties of Great Britain*, vol. 6 (London, 1822) 141.

[13] The sources conflict slightly. Polwhele, vol. 3, 483, and vol. 1, 266 and 296, writes that the priory was purchased by Edward Harris and John Williams in the second year of Elizabeth's reign; Prince 378 writes that it was purchased by William Harris at the dissolution; Pole 292 claims that Edward Harris purchased the priory at the dissolution; and Lysons, *Magna Britannia* 141 says that it was granted to Edward Harris and John Williams in 1560 or 1561.

[14] Polwhele, vol. 1, 266; and Prince 378.

[15] J.L. Vivian, ed. *The Visitations of the County of Devon, Comprising the Herald's Visitations of 1531, 1564 and 1620* (Exeter, 1889-95) 452.

[16] Prince 379. This may refer to service in the siege of Ostend, 1601-04.

[17] Polwhele, vol. 1, 271; Prince 379; Pole 89 (although Pole writes that Sir Thomas's son had the same name as Sir Thomas). We know that Harris held that position by 1602 because he is mentioned in a "List of Pensions and Annuities" for 1611 as having received £133 6s. 8d. for 1602 (the two years

1623, and died on 4 April 1636.[18] This appointment was criticized by the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Henry Cary, first Viscount Falkland as nepotism in a letter of March 1626. Falkland claimed that the Lord Chancellor appointed Judge Harris to the post because his younger son was seeking the hand of Harris's wealthy widowed niece.[19] Lady Elizabeth Harris, Anne Southwell's mother, founded a school for poor children of both sexes in 1609 and endowed it with land producing a yearly income.[20]

Henry Sibthorpe writes that Lady Southwell's first husband was Sir Thomas Southwell of Spixworth, Norfolk (f. 74). They were married on 24 June 1594 at the Church of St. Clement Danes.[21] A prominent branch of the Southwell family, the Southwells of Woodrising, had long been established in Norfolk. Sir Thomas is descended from this branch, being the nephew of Robert Southwell, the poet and martyr. Sir Thomas was the eldest son of Alice, a daughter of Sir Thomas Cornwallis of Brome in Suffolk, and Richard Southwell, eldest son of Richard Southwell of Horsham St. Faith's in Norfolk.[22] Two sources link Sir Thomas with Suffolk,[23] rather than Norfolk, not surprisingly given the prevalence of Southwells in both counties, and given that Spixworth is nearly on the border between Norfolk and Suffolk. Spixworth came into the hands of the Southwells of Wood-Rising in 1485 but was the property of William Peck by 1612.[24]

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are being compared to demonstrate the rate of increase). See *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland, of the Reign of James I, 1611-1614*, ed. C.W. Russell and John P. Predergast (London, 1877) 115. Harris also appears on a "List of Concordatums" of 1618 as having received, in February 1617, a monetary "reward for the many extraordinary services by him performed at his place these 10 years past." (*CSPI, 1615-1625*, 196) This suggests a slightly shorter term as Chief Justice of Munster.

[18] Mervyn Archdall, ed., *The Peerage of Ireland*, by John Lodge, rev. ed., vol. 6 (Dublin, 1789) 7.

[19] *CSPI, 1625-1632*, 108. This wealthy niece may have been Anne and Thomas's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, who married three times (Archdall 7). The Lord Chancellor was probably Sir Adam Loftus, who was Chancellor and Keeper of the Great Seal from 1619 to 1627 (J.G. Simms, "Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal, 1534-1922," *A New History of Ireland*, ed. T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin, and F.J. Byrne, vol. 9 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984) 509).

[20] Lewis, *England* 623. Lysons suggests that the school did not benefit from Lady Elizabeth's charity until 1634, when she left the parish £100 in her will (*Magna Britannia* 591). Even as late as 1822, when Lysons was writing, the boys at this school were taught reading and arithmetic, while the girls learned knitting and sewing, a pattern we see so often in education during the seventeenth century.

[21] Klene, "Letters" 240-41 (her source is Margaret J. Swarbrick, Chief Archivist of Westminster City Hall).

[22] Charles Parkin, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 10 (London, 1809) 275 and Archdall 6-7.

[23] Vivian 452 and the monument to the Harrises at the church in Cornworthy (Prince 379).

[24] Parkin, vol. 10, 455.

A dramatic episode has been preserved in several letters among the papers of Hatfield House: in the first, of 15 May 1603, Captain John Skinner writes to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, that Mrs. Southwell refused to travel from Berwick to London without escorts for her protection. A list of traveling charges submitted by Southwell's "keeper" Thomas Meade indicates that the trip was made later that month. In the second letter her newly knighted husband petitions to have the Southwell name cleared since the Queen's letters urged his wife's journey. Klene suggests that Southwell was one of the ladies who welcomed Queen Anne at Berwick.[25] Evidently Southwell was not unfamiliar with courtly circles. Her religious poetry scorns the lures of the court, but other poems show her links with it and her attempts to benefit from patronage.[26]

The Middle Years: Munster and Clerkenwell (1604-1631)

Sir Thomas and his brother Anthony moved to the Munster plantation shortly after James I's accession. Sir Thomas was a member of the council of the president of Munster[27] and lived at Poulnalong Castle, near Kinsale, in the county of Cork.

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[25] *Historical Manuscripts Commission Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquess of Salisbury Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, part XV (London: HMSO, 1930) 90-91, 124, and 388; cited in Klene 241-42.

[26] Southwell scorns the woman who "forsakes hir famyly to liue in state" (Folger MS, f. 39v), but her dedicatory poem to the king in Lansdowne MS 740 described below (p. 92) suggests some presence at court, as does Sibthorpe's epitaph: "She Lived/ Publiquely honoured by her soveraigne" (ff. 73 and 74). Her poem to the Duchess of Lennox described below (p. 101) paints Southwell as a beneficiary of the queen's bounty. Thorpe (520-21) claims that Southwell was maid of honour to Queen Elizabeth, but no evidence has been found to support this. She is not listed among women at court in Joan Barbara Greenbaum Goldsmith, *All the Queen's Women: The Changing Place and Perception of Aristocratic Women in Elizabethan England, 1558-1620*, diss., Northwestern U, 1987, Appendix B; nor in Charlotte Isabelle Merton, *The Women Who Served Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth: Ladies, Gentlewomen, and Maids of the Privy Chamber, 1553-1603*, diss., Cambridge U, 1992, Appendix 1. Thorpe may have confused Anne Southwell with three other Southwells who served at court: Nazareth Newton Southwell Lady Paget, Lady Elizabeth Howard Southwell, and her daughter Elizabeth Southwell Dudley. William Tighe (letter to the author, 21 Dec. 1995) suggests that since few lists of the queen's household survive from her reign, Southwell may have held a position at court during one of the intervals of the extant lists. Alternately, she may have served as an unpaid "extraordinary," and would thus not have been recorded on a list of wage payments.

[27] The President of Munster would have been Sir George Carew between April 1600 and September 1603, Sir Henry Brouncker between July 1604 and June 1607, Henry Danvers first Baron Danvers of Dantsey between January 1608 and March 1615, and Donough O'Brien fourth Earl of Thomond between March 1615 and September 1624 (Liam Irwin, "Lords President of Munster and Connacht, 1569-1672," Moody 535). Sir Thomas Southwell's name appears on two documents in "The Counsell booke for the prouince of Mounster contayninge all the Actes. Recordes and entries. of that Provinciall state from the xxth daie of August 1601..." (BL Harl. MS 697). The first, of 24 April 1620, authorizes the Sheriff of the county of Cork to collect £60 from the families of the traitors

Thomas and Anne Southwell had two daughters, Elizabeth and Frances.[28] Anthony and his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Ralph Shelton of Norfolk, settled at Kinsale, where Anthony died in 1623. Anthony's son and grandson, both based in Kinsale, played significant roles in Ireland's later history.[29]

Lady Southwell's second marriage was to Captain Henry Sibthorpe, sergeant major and privy councilor of Munster (f. 74). The Sibthorpes of Essex were a well-established family in Ireland at this time. A John Sibthorpe of Great Bardfield, Essex, was the father of Sir Christopher Sibthorpe (probably the author of *A Friendly Advertisement to the Pretended Catholics of Ireland* (1622), which formed a part of Anne Southwell's and Henry Sibthorpe's library) and Robert Sibthorpe, who became Bishop of Kilfenora.[30] A John Sibthorpe was apparently the third Justice of the King's Bench. He is mentioned among "The names of the Judges and others of the Long Robe that serve His Majesty in Ireland, with their yearly fees and other allowances," dated 1609.[31] In 1607 "Justice Sibthorpe" and other representatives of the Privy Council traveled to the counties of Tyrone and Donegall with an indictment against rebels "for conspiring to take the castle of Dublin, to kill the Lord Deputy and Council, to bring in foreign forces, and to raise a war."[32] A Christopher Sibthorpe was an active judge of His Majesty's Bench in 1608 until he was replaced in 1633 by Hugh

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Murrieghs and Owens, which are to be distributed as rewards to those who bring the heads of the traitors to the Lord President and Council of Munster (f. 104). The second, of 12 April 1620, orders the burgesses of Kinsale to seize all priests, friars, and Jesuits, to put them in safe custody, to seize the houses they used and all the relics therein, and to learn who harbours them (f. 106v). Both Thomas Southwell and Edward Harris (Southwell's brother-in-law) are signatories to these documents.

[28] Elizabeth's first husband may have been a member of the Gray family in Shropshire, a descendant of Lord Powis. Her second was Sir John Dowdall and her third was Donogh O'Brien, son and heir of Sir Daniel O'Brien of Carrigichoulta in county Clare. Frances married William Lenthal of Lachford in Oxfordshire. She had two sons and died in 1643 (Archdall 7). John Lindsay Darling lists only one daughter, Elizabeth (*St. Multose Church, Kinsale* (Cork, 1895) 30). If the passage in the Lansdowne MS described on p. 95 does refer to Southwell's children, then she likely had more than one.

[29] DNB, vol. 18, 708; and Archdall 7-8.

[30] Arthur R. Maddison, *An Account of the Sibthorp Family* (Lincoln, 1896) 8-9.

[31] *CSPI, 1608-1610,* 338.

[32] *CSPI, 1606-1608*, 361. In the following volume (*CSPI, 1606-1608*) there is a list of "Extraordinary Charge of Ireland, Oct. 1, 1607 - Sept. 30, 1608," which includes Justice Sibthorpe twice, being awarded first £46 for traveling expenses, and then £20 for "finding sundry indictments against the fugitive Earls" (73 and 75).

Cressy.[33] Because John's name appears only once in the *Calendar of State Papers*, it is likely a mistake for Christopher. Both are called third Justice of the King's Bench within a few years of each other, an unlikely occurrence. Christopher's father, John, may have been the author of folios 5, 6, and 6v of this manuscript.

Anne Southwell's second husband, Captain Henry Sibthorpe, may have been related to the above-mentioned branch of Sibthorpes which apparently "flourished for more than a century, when it gradually fell into decadence."[34] Alternately, he may have been a younger son of John Sibthorpe of Laneham, Nottinghamshire.[35] Sibthorpe's military career bloomed after 1618 when Sir Dudley Carleton, Lord Ambassador at the Hague, granted John Chamberlain's request on behalf of Henry's uncle, John West, to "see him well placed in some companie."[36] In a letter of 4 October 1627 to the king, Henry Cary, Viscount Falkland supports Sibthorpe's petition to be given a command, reminding Charles that Sibthorpe led a company in the Cadiz expedition and that he kept that company for two years in Ireland until it was delivered to Sir Ralph Bingley for the expedition to France.[37] He was an officer under Sir Edward Villiers in Youghal as of at least 1 August 1626 and his company was billeted at Cork from 1 September

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[33] *CSPI, 1608-1610,* 112 and 233; *CSPI, 1611-14*, 79 (where he is described as "an honest man, well liked of in the country"), 112 (where he is called the Third Justice), 316 (where he is one of 40 gentlemen petitioning to create the plantation of Fermanough in the county of Sligo in 1612), 405; *CSPI, 1615-1625*, 124; *CSPI, 1625-1632*, 129, 137, 256, 275, 538; *CSPI, 1633-1647,* 4 (where his place on the Irish bench is being replaced in 1633 by Cressy) and 47.

[34] Maddison, *Sibthorp Family* 9.

[35] The Sibthorpe arms which Daniel Lysons gives for Anne Southwell match those of the Sibthorpes of Laneham, Nottinghamshire (Tom Harper Smith, letter to the author, 16 Jan. 1996; Daniel Lysons, *The Environs of London*, vol. 2 (London, 1795) 8). Those arms are "argent two bars gules a border sable" (i.e. two red bars on a silver or white background enclosed in a black border). The arms for Sir Christopher Sibthorpe, Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland are the same, except with a mullet (the rowel of a spur) added to them (Bernard Burke, *The General Armory of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales* (London, 1884) 926). If Lyson is correct in his description of Sibthorpe's arms, Henry was probably related to the Sibthorpes of Laneham rather than the Essex branch. John Sibthorpe of Laneham was born in 1546 and married Rosamund Bellamy in 1578. A Henry does not figure among their children, however (their offspring are listed as Robert, Gervase, Agnes, William, and George) (Arthur R. Maddison, ed., *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol. 3 (London: Harleian Soc., 1904) 877).

[36] Norman Egbert McClure, ed., *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Soc., 1939) 166. In a letter of June 25, 1625, Chamberlain expresses to Carleton both John West's and Henry Sibthorpe's gratefulness for Carleton's favours (624).

[37] *CSPI, 1625-32*, 273. This refers to the disastrous Cadiz expedition of October-November 1625 under Sir Edward Cecil (Richard W. Stewart, "Arms and Expeditions: The Ordnance Office and the Assaults on Cadiz (1625) and the Isle of Rhé (1627)," *War and Government in Britain, 1598-1650*, ed. Mark Charles Fissel (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1991) 115-121; and Charles Dalton, *Life and Times of General Sir Edward Cecil*, vol. 2 (London, 1885) 152-97).

1626 to 10 August 1627.[38] We know that Sibthorpe and Lady Anne were married in 1626 and that Sir Thomas Southwell had been based in the county of Cork until his death in 1626; Anne and Henry probably met when he was staying in Cork. Given the evidence of the list of books of Lady Southwell, Captain Sibthorpe lived until at least 1650; he is probably the Henry Sibthorpe of St. Dunstan in the West, London whose will was proved on 16 December 1672.[39]

Henry Sibthorpe and Anne Southwell were married for ten years until her death in Acton, Middlesex, on 2 October 1636 (f. 74). They may have left Ireland soon after the last recorded payment to Sibthorpe from the Corporation of Cork on 12 December 1627. They moved to Clerkenwell, an area of London they left in 1631.[40] They must have lived together at Acton for approximately five years, as the inventory on folios 59 and 60v illustrates. It is entitled "An Inventorye of the Lady Anne Southwells goods sent from hir dwellinge at Clerkenwell to hir howse at Acton, inventoried by me John Bowker. & witnessed by Margaret Mitton. & Mary Musgraue." The dates associated with this inventory are from 1631: 23 and 26 April; 10, 12, and 14 May; "The weeke before whitsunday"; and 7 June. On folio 61 the "Apparell of my Ladyes sent the 14 of June to Acton in a Trunke" lists later dates in June and July when these items, mostly clothing, were moved. "A List of my Bookes" (f. 64v-66) enumerates an impressive

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[38] *CSPI, 1625-32*, 145 and 261. See 158, 165, 172, 173, 194, 206, 220, and 293 for receipts and records of salary payment.

[39] Cavanagh, "Library," 244. Thorpe (521) asserts that he died in London in or about 1664. Tom Harper Smith (letter to the author, 16 Jan. 1996) suggests that Henry Sibthorpe died in 1672. In his will (PRO, PROB 11/340), written 30 December 1670, he describes an obligation dated 13 January 1638/9 entered into by William Viscount Grandison, Edward Hyde Earl of Clarendon, and others in the penal sum of £1,200 for the payment of £624 owed to him. He divided this sum into bequests for his West cousins, his Crosby cousins, his friend Colonel Edward Gray of Grays Inn, his friend Mrs. Anne Francklyn and her daughter Alice, his landlord Mr. Bryan Sharpe and his wife Frances, John Cooke his attorney (so that he could assist Sibthorpe's executor, Charles Francklyn, in procuring the money owed to him), his servant Joan Muleyes, and the poor of the parish. To his executor Francklyn, Sibthorpe left the residue of his estate, as well as his "Little Truncke with the Bookes conteyned therein." Perhaps one of the books was Anne Southwell's miscellany. Support is given to the theory that the Henry Sibthorpe who wrote this will is our Henry Sibthorpe by the fact that he had cousins named West; our Sibthorpe had an uncle John West who helped him secure a post early in his career (see footnote 36).

[40] *CSPI, 1625-32*, 293. Perhaps Anne Southwell came to have links with Clerkenwell through her first husband. Sir Thomas Southwell's grandfather on his father's side, Richard, had a house in Clerkenwell, as did a branch of his mother's family, the Cornwallises (Nancy Pollard Brown, "Paperchase: The Dissemination of Catholic Texts in Elizabethan England," *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700* 1 (1989) 132).

collection of 110 books, many of which belonged directly to Lady Southwell (and not her husband, as was often the case in family libraries). Evidence for this view can be found both in the poems and notes in the manuscript which demonstrate the wide range of her reading in religion, history, philosophy, and natural science, and in the inventory on f. 60v which lists "2 Truncks of bookes" on 12 May and "2 Truncks one of bookes" on 14 May.[41] The inventory of books is headed "A List of my Bookes" and may have been written by Southwell's husband in three stages (the late 1630s, the 1640s, and after the death of Charles I) as Cavanagh suggests, but I can only confidently link Sibthorpe's hand with the middle section of the list.[42] The books can be divided into different categories: approximately one-third (35 titles) are religious, 20 titles are literary in nature (particularly poetry), 10 are translations of classical or medieval works, 22 are translations from modern languages (although some may be in the original language; the presence of a "french Testament" suggests that one of them could read that language), 14 are military books (evidently belonging to the captain), and others have a specific family interest (such as "S^{r} Chr: Sybthorps booke ag^{t} Popery"). Cavanagh finds their library fairly representative of the interests of educated lay people.[43]

Two extant letters written by Southwell survive from this period, although not in the miscellany. One is a letter of October 1623 to Sir Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, in which she asks him to restore the lands of Sir Richard Edgecombe, and the second, written one month later, is on the same subject to Sir Thomas Browne, Sir Richard Boyle's cousin (not the English writer).[44]

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[41] Cavanagh points out that the manuscript contains notes on philosophical terms called "predicables" (f. 5v), Seneca's "booke of Prouidence" paraphrased (f. 8), an abstract of the lives of the Roman emperors taken from Pliny and Suetonius (f. 30v, which relates to #7 on the list of books), notes from St. Augustine and other writers (f. 66v-67), notes on various beasts (f. 68-68v), and a collection of "Apothegmes" (f. 69-69v) ("Library" 243).

[42] See footnote 9.

[43] Cavanagh, "Library" 244-46.

[44] Klene, "Letters" 247-248. These unpublished letters form part of the Lismore papers, now at Chatsworth in Derbyshire (243).

Irish Connections in the Miscellany

Anne Southwell's acquaintance was a wide one, judging from the personal references in her miscellany. Many names are connected with Ireland: Lord Falkland, the Lord Deputy of Ireland (f. 4), the first Earl of Castlehaven (f. 7), Dr. Adams the Bishop of Limerick (f.18), and Cicely Ridgeway in three guises: the Lady Ridgeway (f. 3), the Countess of Londonderry (f. 19v), and Cassandra Mackwilliams, the wife of Sir Thomas Ridgeway, Earl of Londonderry (f. 21).

The first Earl of Castlehaven, George Touchet, once governor of Utrecht, was the father of the notorious second Earl who was executed on 14 May 1631 after a trial by his peers which revealed the extent of his degenerate sexual practices. Touchet was wounded at the siege of Kinsale on 24 December 1601. He was a planter in Ulster, and on 6 September 1616 was created a peer of Ireland as Baron Audley of Orier, in the county of Armaugh, and Earl of Castlehaven, in the county of Cork.[45] Perhaps that connection with Cork led to Southwell's acquaintance with Earl. Southwell's poem addressed to him, evidently written before 1617 when he died, is entitled "<Dauids> Confiden<ce i>n <prayer> he prayeth for <remissi>on of sinns and <for helpe i>n affliction" (f. 7). Although it is difficult to read the author's name in the top right hand corner of the page, the words "writen by the ladie Anne <.....>" lead me to assert Southwell's authorship.[46] The poem is a translation of Psalm 25,[47] a prayer of David's asking for guidance and protection. The stress in this psalm on the speaker's sin and on his afflictions and distress may be a direct reference to Touchet's own guilt in some affair, but it is not linked in any obvious way with its addressee. If Anne Southwell is indeed the author of this translation this raises questions about her sources. Like Sir Philip and Mary Sidney, Southwell probably worked not directly from the Hebrew but from other translations and commentaries.[48]

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[45] DNB, vol. 19, 1004; *Complete Peerage*, vol. 3, 86.

[46] Thorpe transcribes the words as " the Ladie Amie Brun..." (522).

[47] Jean Klene, e-mail to the author, 13 April 1996.

[48] R.E. Pritchard, ed., *The Sidney Psalms*, by Mary Sidney and Sir Philip Sidney (Manchester: Carcanet, 1992) 11. Sir John Davies produced a version of the Psalms in manuscript in 1624, likely also from translations (Robert Krueger, ed., *The Poems of Sir John Davies* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975) 421). Davies was the husband of Lady Eleanor Davies, the prophet discussed below (p. 75) who may

On the other hand, Southwell's verse epistle to "Doctor Adam BPP of Limerick" (ff. 18-19) may be responding to a situation in which the Bishop needs guidance. Dr. Bernard Adams was the Bishop of Limerick from April 1604 until his death on 22 March 1626.[49] Southwell states that her project in this poem is to describe how Adam (whom she calls the first priest, prophet, and king) fell from grace and how he might rise again. What follows is a complex exploration of multiple trinities: understanding, memory, and will (the trinity which God created in man); suggestion, consent, custom, weakness, blindness, and defiled thought (the six monsters who almost destroyed Adam), opinionated, idle, and burdensome chimeras (which invaded man's memory), and concupiscence of flesh, lust of the eyes, and pride of life (which invaded the will). She tells Adam to rise, describing the three thrones which will guide his ascension: faith, hope, and love. She leaves Adam expecting to hear him sing an hallelujah to God. Southwell may not be addressing only the Biblical Adam but also Bishop Adams, who may have experienced a similar fall from grace.

In a letter to the "deputye ffalkland of Ireland," dated 1628, she writes that although Falkland says he is "depriued of all," she and Captain Sibthorpe are among his servants. Fortune gave him his position and fortune took it away; Southwell honours him for his goodness and not his fortunes. Henry Cary first Viscount Falkland, was sworn in as Lord Deputy of Ireland on 18 September 1622. He was forced to relinquish his authority in 1629 due to several controversial acts in his final years in office, one of which was his attempt to deprive the Byrnes of Wicklow of their lands.[50]

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have had contact with Southwell in Ireland. There are no obvious similarities between Southwell's and Davies's versions, and Southwell appears to have written a version of just one psalm, while Davies wrote a sequence.

[49] Brendan Bradshaw, J.C. Simms, and C.J. Woods, "Bishops of the Church of Ireland from 1534," Moody 420. Thorpe erroneously puts the end of the Bishop's term at 1636 (522). Adams wrote three tracts on the union of the crowns of England and Scotland (printed in 1604, 1605, and 1641), a treatise on alchemy (printed in 1621), and a discourse on the Sacrament (printed in 1630). A further work, *Pax Vobis, A Treastise on the Unity and Peace of the Church*, has never been printed (Henry Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae. The Succession of the Prelates and Members of the Cathedral Bodies of Ireland*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Dublin, 1851) 383).

[50] DNB, vol. 3, 1149-1151; *Complete Peerage*, vol. 5, 239-40. The letter has been wrongly dated 1628 by another hand (possibly Sibthorpe's). It must date from after 1 April 1629.

Falkland had earlier interceded on Sibthorpe's behalf to the king.[51] What is most interesting for our purposes, though, is the question of whether Cary's wife, Elizabeth, had any contact with Anne Southwell. She accompanied her husband to Dublin at his appointment but left in 1625 after they quarreled when he learned that she had become a Roman Catholic.[52] Elizabeth Cary was a playwright, translator, and poet, best known now for her play *The Tragedie of Mariam, The Faere Queene of Iewry* (printed 1613, but written possibly as early as 1602-05). She was linked with the Sidney circle in dedications by John Davies of Hereford, Michael Drayton, and Richard More (the editor of *England's Helicon*). While she lived in Ireland Richard Beling dedicated his *Sixth Book to the Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (1624) to her.[53]

Another woman Southwell may have known while in Ireland was Lady Eleanor Davies, the prophet. She was the fifth daughter of George Touchet, first Earl of Castlehaven (to whom Southwell addressed a poem, discussed above) and his wife Lucy, daughter of James Mervin of Fonthill Gifford in Wiltshire. She began hearing the voice of the prophet Daniel in 1625 when she was 35 years of age, and wrote more than 50 pamphlets before her death in 1652. Sometime between 1600 and 1605 Lady Eleanor and her mother joined her father in Ireland. Touchet returned often to London, and his family may have as well. Eleanor married Sir John Davies, Attorney-General of Ireland, in 1609.[54] Davies did not live solely in Dublin; he built Castle Curlews and Castlederg in County Tyrone. It is difficult to say how much time he or his wife may have spent at either place; both spent extensive periods in England, finally

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[51] See p. 70. Klene points out that Southwell and Sibthorpe must have been grateful to Falkland for this intervention ("Letters" 250).

[52] DNB, vol. 3, 1151. Diane Purkiss explains that the date of her conversion to Catholicism is unknown, but suggests that living in Catholic Ireland may have been an influence (Diane Purkiss, ed., *Renaissance Women: The Plays of Elizabeth Cary. The Poems of Aemilia Lanyer* (London: Pickering, 1994) xiv.

[53] Marta Straznicky, "'Profane Stoical Paradoxes': *The Tragedie of Mariam* and Sidnean Closet Drama," *English Literary Renaissance* 24 (1994) 104-08; and Purkiss xiii.

[54] Esther S. Cope, ed., *Prophetic Writings of Lady Eleanor Davies* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1995) xi-xii; Esther S. Cope, *Handmaid of the Holy Spirit: Dame Eleanor Davies, Never Soe Mad A Ladie* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1992) 15-16. Cope writes, "With her marriage to Sir John Davies in the spring of 1609, Lady Eleanor entered a social circle in Ireland that included key figures among the English officials there" (*Handmaid* 19). She does not, however, give any specifics.

returning to London in 1619 when Davies was relieved of his duties in Ireland.[55] Southwell may have known Eleanor Davies's husband (who was a poet as well as a lawyer)[56] through the political contacts of her husband Thomas; she certainly knew Eleanor's father.

Southwell may not have known Viscountess Falkland or Lady Eleanor Davies but she evidently did know Lady Ridgeway, as three separate items in the manuscript indicate. The two women were geographically linked; Anne and Sir Thomas Ridgeway, Cicely's husband, both came from Devon, and both lived in Ireland. Like Thomas Southwell, Ridgeway was employed by James I in Ireland, where he became a member of the Privy Council, the Deputy Treasurer, the Commander General, and the Treasurer at Wars. He became Earl of Londonderry on 23 August 1623.[57] Cicely MacWilliam was the fifth daughter of Henry MacWilliam and Mary, Lady Cheke of Stambourne Hall, Essex.[58] The two women may have met when they were both apparently maids of honour to Queen Elizabeth.[59]

On folios 3 to 3v Southwell chides Lady Ridgeway for her hatred of poetry,[60] something Ridgeway evidently expressed in a previous letter to Southwell. Southwell's response is an accomplished defence of poetry in which she counters all of Ridgeways' objections. Ridgeway said that she uses prose as her ancestors did; Southwell responds by leading Ridgeway "vpp the streame of all mankind" to the first father, God, whose creation was poetically composed.[61] Ridgeway said that poetry is a

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55 Cope, *Handmaid* 20-23.

56 See footnote 48.

57 Prince 549; DNB, vol. 16, 1165-67; *Complete Peerage*, vol. 8, 105-06.

58 William Tighe (letter to the author, 21 Dec. 1995); his source is Lady Cheke's inquisition post mortem.

59 In Vivian's *Visitations of...Devon* Cecily is called a maid of honour to Queen Elizabeth (647) but she does not appear among Goldsmith's or Merton's lists (see footnote 26). See William Tighe's caveat about these lists in the same footnote. Three women of her maiden name did serve at court: Margaret Mackwilliams, Lady Mary Cheke Mackwilliam, and Elizabeth Mackwilliam. The first two women are Cicely's sister and mother.

60 This letter has been discussed in Jean C. Cavanagh, "Lady Southwell's Defense of Poetry," *English Literary Renaissance* 14 (1984) 284 ff.

61 In her Decalogue poetry Southwell picks up this prose versus poetry argument by giving a justification for rhyme:

> Nor am I soe affected vnto rime
> but as it is a help to memorye
> because it doth com*m*aund a larger time

fiction and that fiction is a lie; Southwell's Sidnean response stresses that poetry lays down a pattern of what man *should* be. Southwell urges Ridgeway not to judge all poetry by the same standard; if her chastity has been offended by "some wanton venus or Adonis" she should not brand all poetry as disgraceful. She seems to be scorning Christopher Marlowe with the statement, "To heare a Hero & Leander or some such other busye nothing, might bee a meanes to skandalize this art." She urges Ridgeway to listen to David, "that sweete singer of Israell," whose explication of God's power in creating, mercy in redeeming, and wisdom in preserving, are "as it were the Com*m*a, Co<lon,> & Period to euery stanzae."[62] Southwell's affection for a tripartite structure in her arguments recurs throughout her religious poetry, no doubt because "the goulden number numbred three/ is best expressed in the holy trynatye".[63] Poetry is divine; "It is the subiect, that com*m*ends or condemn<s> the art."

What is perhaps most interesting of all is Southwell's use of female examples in this defence. The image she uses to describe poetry is that of a silk thread which strings Ridgeway's chain of pearls together, and which, when broken, causes her jewels to disappear into the rushes. Her two Biblical examples are of women. The prostitute Rahab concealed the Israelite spies and in turn was saved when they destroyed Jericho (Joshua 2-6). Southwell cites this as an example of a good lie, to which she compares poetry (which she imagines Ridgeway calling a lie). Southwell alludes also to the story of Saul's daughter Michal who scorned her husband David for leaping and dancing before the ark (2 Samuel 6). She was punished with barrenness because she did not see that he was dancing before the Lord. Michal is not unlike Lady Ridgeway in her scorn for what she does not understand properly; perhaps Southwell thought that this

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to wrapp up sence in measures quantitye
nor marres it truth, but giues wittes fire more fuell
& from an Ingott formes a curious Jewell (Lansdowne MS 740, f. 161).

[62] Southwell similarly uses grammatical imagery in her Decalogue poetry, but for a different purpose. She castigates vain swearers who punctuate their speech with oaths: "othes are the comaes, colons, period,/ of theyr discours" (Lansdowne MS 740, f. 149).

[63] Folger MS, f. 41. See above, p. 74, for her use of it in her poem to Bishop Adams. In a version of her poem on the third commandment she asks God, "most almightye, powerfull & im*m*ense," to keep King James safe: "bee thou his tower his fortresse, & defence" (Lansdowne MS 740, f. 151v). Groupings of three adjectives or nouns in this manner is common in Southwell's work.

specifically female figure might make her point more strongly. At several points in her religious poetry Southwell uses Biblical women to justify her own writing (see p. 95 below).

This theme of the divinity of poets is also touched on in "An Elegie written by the Lady A:S: to the Countesse of London Derrye supposeinge hir to be dead by hir longe silence" (ff. 19v-20v). Southwell addresses her poem to the Countess's soul, imagining that it is now up within the spheres. Southwell asks the soul to tell her what it sees in a series of ingenious questions, including whether the stars are "Knobbs uppon the Spheres?/ Or shredds compos'd of Phoebus goulden hayres?" and whether they are holes through which good souls pass. She wants to know the state and shape of celestial bodies, and particularly the nature of angels. This poem, full of startling images, ends with the couplet, "yow Incke, and pap*er* be hir passinge bell,/ The Sexton to his knell, be ~~Answer'd well~~ Anne Southwell." Although this alteration is not in Southwell's hand, it is likely that she decided to edit the final line to conclude the poem with her name.[64]

On the following page an epitaph to the Countess appears. In the title Southwell or her scribe erroneously calls Ridgeway "Cassandra Mackwill*ia*ms" (f. 21). Cicely had both a sister and a daughter named Cassandra.[65] This error is not surprising given the loose attribution and identification so often found in miscellanies of this type and given that a hand other than Southwell's transcribed the poem. Southwell laments that she was prophetic in her last poem in pretending that the Countess had died. Signs in nature alerted her that something was wrong: the world looked like "an vnbayted hooke" (an image she uses also in her elegy on the Countess of Somerset, f. 23), and like a dry well. Only when she saw the Earl mourning his "pearl" did she

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[64] This punning on one's own name was not uncommon; Dyer ("My song, if anie aske whose greivous Case is such,/ *Dy er* thou let his name be knowne: his folly shewes to much") and Greville ("Let no man aske my name, nor what else I should be;/ for Greiv-Ill, paine, forlorne estate doe best decipher me") both used this technique (Edward Dyer, *At the Court of Queen Elizabeth: The Life and Lyrics of Sir Edward Dyer*, ed. Ralph M. Sargeant (London: Oxford UP, 1935) 187 and Fulke Greville, *Poems and Dramas of Fulke Greville First Lord Brooke*, ed. Geoffrey Bullough, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Tweeddale Court; London: 98 Great Russell St., [1939]) 134).

[65] DNB, vol. 16, 1167 and Tighe.

realize what had happened. Because Cicely Ridgeway died in 1627 and her husband died in 1631, this poem, in which Ridgeway is depicted mourning his wife, must fall between these two dates.

The Later Years: Acton (1631-36)

It is not a great distance from Clerkenwell, an area just south of Islington in north London, to Acton, five miles west of London. Roger Cox was the assistant curate at St. Mary's church for most of Dr. Daniel Featley's term as rector, 1628-42.[66] He is undoubtedly the "Mr. Coxe (the Lecturer of Acton)" whom Lady Southwell praises in her poem on folio 21 for his book on the birth of Christ. Tom Harper Smith has identified this as Cox's *Hebdomada Sacra* of 1630, which comprises meditations for each day of the week based on chapter two of St. Matthew's gospel: the birth of Jesus, the journey of the wise men, Herod's machinations, the wise men's arrival, the angel telling Joseph of Herod's plan whereupon the holy family enters Egypt, the massacre of the innocents and Rachel's sorrow, and the angel telling Joseph of Herod's death and their subsequent journey to Nazareth.[67] Although Cox is a frequent presence in the manuscript Southwell does not seem to have been his patron. The sole patron to whom Cox refers in his dedicatory epistle is James, Lord Strange. This is likely James Stanley, the nephew of Ferdinando Stanley, fifth Earl of Derby and Lord Strange, a prominent patron of the arts. James, the seventh Earl, also known for his patronage, was executed in 1651 for his royalist sympathies.[68]

Roger Cox's literary output was significant. Besides the *Hebdomada Sacra* he also wrote a pamphlet in response to Sir Edward Peyton's *A discourse concerning the*

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66 *VCH Middlesex*, vol. 7, 36.

67 T. and A. Harper Smith, *Acton People 1200-1700* (Acton: Local History Soc., 1989) 6. The full title is Roger Cocks, *Hebdomada Sacra: A Weekes Devotion: Or, Seven Poeticall Meditations, Vpon the Second Chapter of St. Matthewes Gospell* (London, 1630).

68 DNB, vol. 18, 954-955 and 958-60; *Complete Peerage*, vol. 4, 212-15. He married Charlotte de la Trémoille in 1626, remembered perhaps primarily for her spirited defence of Lathom House, Lancashire, against the Parliamentarians in 1643-44 (DNB, vol. 18, 935-6).

fitnesse of the posture of 1642 (number 52 on the library list).[69] He wrote at least one poem in the Folger miscellany: his punning elegy on Lady Anne Southwell, beginning, "The South winde blew vpon a springing Well" (f. 73). At least two of his sermons appear in the miscellany as well, including a funeral sermon about Robert Johnson, the court musician discussed below.[70]

Roger Cox was a contemporary of George Herbert at Trinity College, Cambridge.[71] Both poets contributed a Latin poem to a printed volume commemorating the death of Henry, Prince of Wales in 1612.[72] Cambridge was a stronghold of Calvinism at this time but Cox may have come into contact at an early stage with Herbert's emerging middle of the road Protestantism, exemplified in the poem "The British Church."[73] Cox may then have filtered these ideas to Southwell, for similarities with Herbert in both style and doctrine are sometimes apparent in her writing. Her concern about the erosion of the true church by its conflicting sects[74] echoes Herbert's in "Church-rents and Schisms." A direct correspondence in this case is uncertain, however, because *The Temple* was first published in 1633 (Herbert's poems did not have a large circulation in manuscript) and perhaps some of the Decalogue poetry was written while Southwell lived in Ireland, meaning that it may date from before 1628 when Southwell probably moved back to England.[75] But other

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[69] Its full title is *An Answer to a Book Set Forth By Sir Edward Peyton, Knight and Baronet, Carrying this Title, A Discourse Concerning the Fitnesse of the Posture, Necessary to be Used, in Taking the Bread and Wine at the Sacrament* (London, 1642).

[70] Folio 66v is headed "Master Cocke's Lecturer of Acton sermon preached on the 3rd of ffebruary 1632." An exposition of Matthew 11: 16-17 follows. Roger Cox's funeral sermon on Robert Johnson, who died on 18 November 1633 and was buried on the 21st, appears on folio 72. Tom Harper Smith suggests that folios 67 and 70-70v were also written by Roger Cox. The first is a commentary on Augustine's *City of God*, of which Southwell did not own a copy (but from which ideas from the early pages of Book One have been noted), and the second is a sermon headed "How that the law of the Gospell is more perfect then all other lawes" (Smith, letters to the author, 26 April and 8 May 1995).

[71] Cox was registered as a scholar at Trinity in 1611, and obtained his B.A. in 1611/12; Herbert matriculated at Trinity on 18 December 1609, obtained his B.A. on 17 February 1613, became a fellow and held various academic positions into the 1620s (John Venn and J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, part 1, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1922) 408; Amy M. Charles, *A Life of George Herbert* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1977) 15-16).

[72] Smith, *Acton People* 6. Herbert's and Cox's poems appear in *Epicedivm Cantabrigiense, In Obitum Immaturum, Semperque; Deflendum, Henrici, Illustrissimi Principis Walliae, &c.* (Cambridge, 1612) sig. I3-4 and O3.

[73] Louis L. Martz, ed., *George Herbert and Henry Vaughan* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1986) xvii-xx.

[74] In BL Lansdowne MS 740, ff. 165-66v.

[75] See footnote 101.

poems were written while in Acton in the final five years of her life (the poems to Roger Cox and on the death of Gustavus Adolphus, for example, on ff. 21 and 22) and may have been influenced more directly by Herbert's practice of lyric poetry. The Southwell-Sibthorpe library contained *The Temple*, but it is listed among the later items of the library (number 105), and so may not have been owned by Anne Southwell.[76]

Southwell had some kind of literary relationship with an unnamed neighbour and Daniel Featley, given the evidence of two verse epistles in the miscellany. The letter to Bishop Adams of Limerick (ff. 18-19) and the poem on folios 26 to 26v share significant passages. Like the epistle to Bishop Adams, this poem is aimed at a specific audience, a person she calls "My noble neighbour" (as opposed to "Good reuerend Father," her term of address to the Bishop). Whereas two lines on folio 18 tell the reader to correct the poem, twelve lines on folio 26 tell her neighbour to correct it and/or to pass it on to Dr. Featley.[77] This neighbour would probably have been Roger Cox, the only conceivable person who would have had Featley's ear given Featley's limited contact with the parish. Daniel Featley was the rector of St. Mary's from 1627 until his arrest in 1642 for his views. As well as being a Puritan preacher who was loyal to the Church of England, he was a scholar, writer, and prominent disputer, both in Europe and England.[78] One of his works, published posthumously, appears in the Sibthorpes' library list: *Dippers Dipt. Or the Anabaptists Duck'd and Plung'd Over*

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[76] Cavanagh ("Library," 254) suggests that it is the fifth edition of Herbert's poems (1638) because it is listed as an octavo volume while earlier editions appeared in duodecimo.

[77] f. 18: Good reuerend Father I will doe my best
and where I fayle doe yow supply the rest
f. 26: My noble Neighbour I will doe my best
and wheare I faile, please you supplye the rest,
Whoe hath a minde and hoards it vp in store
is poorer then a beggar at the doore
Let your cleare Judgment, and well tempered soule
Condemne, amend, or rattifye this scrole
Twi'll prooue your fairest Monument and when
your Marble ffailes, liue with the best of men
If you haue lost your fflowinge sweete humiddities
and in a dust disdaine theise quantities
Pass it to oure beloued Doctor Featlye
his tongue dropps honnye, and can do it neatlye

[78] T. and A. Harper Smith, *A Brief History of Acton* (Acton: Local History Soc., 1993) 7.

Head and Eares (1645-60). Copies of many of his letters and theological pieces exist in a Bodleian manuscript but none are addressed to Anne Southwell.[79]

Apparently Featley left the running of the parish to Cox while he was busy in Lambeth, Westminster, and Chelsea.[80] Evidently Cox, if he is the "noble Neighbour," had enough contact with Featley to enable Southwell to ask him to act as a type of literary mediator between herself and Featley. This person must have been male because on folio 26v Southwell's address makes a female audience impossible: "S^{r} giue mee leaue to plead my Grandams cause." A quick comparison between both poems shows that the opening six lines of the Bishop Adams letter are the same as the final six lines of the Cox poem. Most of the rest of folio 26 is the same as folio 18, but at folio 26v the focus changes to a defence of Eve.[81] Southwell's addressee seems to have held negative views of women's capacities: she hopes to draw him from his heresy in thinking that women have little wit and are fit only to serve men. Her arguments include the idea that women's bodies are the gold which was extracted from men's clay, and that God would not make a fool as a helper for Adam; if anything, *both* Adam and Eve were fools in Paradise. Southwell writes that Adam slept while this mystery was occurring (an idea she picks up in her humorous poem, "All maried men desire to haue good wifes" (f. 16): "This is a misterie, perhaps too deepe/ for blockish Adam that was

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[79] Bod MS Rawl. D. 47. Copies of five love-letters from Featley to a "M^{rs} Anne" appear on ff. 48v-52, but this is not the twice-married Anne Southwell. The recipient of Featley's affection was a Frenchwoman named Anne Mouline to whose virginity Featley alludes.

[80] Smith, *Acton People* 6.

[81] Southwell's apology for Eve joins the ranks of other early modern women's justifications of their "Grandam." Aemilia Lanyer has Pilate's wife take a slightly different tack in focusing only on the fall (and not their creation). Pilate's wife contrasts the "simply good" Eve who was cunningly deceived with Adam who lacked discretion; Eve erred for knowledge, but Adam fell because the apple was fair. Lanyer describes Eve as the giver of knowledge: "Yet Men will boast of Knowledge, which he tooke/ From *Eves* faire hand, as from a learned Booke" (*The Poems of Aemilia Lanyer: Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*, ed. Susanne Woods (New York: Oxford UP, 1993) 84-87). Rachel Speght, Ester Sowernam, and Joane Sharp were three of the women (though the last two may be pseudonyms) who responded to Joseph Swetnam's *Arraignment of Women* with defences of their sex. In their prose discussions, Speght and Sowernam address the issue of the creation of women, countering Swetnam's insults (Rachel Speght, *A Movzell for Melastomvs* (London, 1617) sig. C2v-E2; and Ester Sowernam, *Ester Hath Hang'd Haman* (London, 1617) sig. B3-C2). Sharp, in verse, claims that woman was a helper when Adam fell because by her blessed seed mankind was freed from hell. Her body came from a rib, but her soul came from God; women were the last creation and therefore the best. Sharp compares men with the serpent (Joane Sharp, "A Defence of Women, against the Author of the Arraignment of Women," Sowernam sig. H1-3).

falen a sleepe"). She adds that people who do not understand Eve also sleep (a concept taken up again in her Decalogue poetry: "Adam did sleepe whilst ~~hee~~ god built your fayre frame/ & hee still sleepes that would haue you thus lame" (Lansdowne MS, f. 163)).

The Robert Johnson referred to on later pages in the manuscript was lutenist to James I, musician to Prince Henry, and lutenist and court composer to Charles I. He composed music for songs for the plays of Shakespeare (*Cymbeline*, *A Winter's Tale*, and *The Tempest*), Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Middleton, as well as for masques.[82] He came from an old Acton family and probably set up house in the village before 1620 when his first child by his wife Ann was baptized. He was churchwarden in 1622 and an active member until his last mention in the churchwardens' books in 1631. The Johnsons and their five children moved to the Rectory in the churchyard in 1627 from Bank House, which they later let to Lady Anne Southwell and her husband (see their memoranda on ff. 71-71v and 72v). His widow, Ann Johnson, has written receipts (dated 1634-36) in the later pages of the manuscript indicating that both Lady Southwell and Captain Sibthorpe have paid their rent for the tenements "scituated vpon the Stean in Acton" (f. 71v).[83] The Steyne was a croft or close which existed in 1522 and which later gave its name to the area north of the church and nearby houses.[84] He died on 18 November 1633. His funeral sermon, given by Roger Cox, appears on folio 72 of the miscellany. After Lady Anne died in 1636, Johnson's widow Ann sold both houses and all her property.[85]

Evidence in the manuscript tells us that Southwell had contact with Roger Cox, Daniel Featley, and Robert and Ann Johnson, but it is also likely that she knew other

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[82] Smith, *Acton People* 2-3. The plays (besides Shakespeare's which are mentioned above) for which he composed songs include Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*, and five plays by Beaumont and Fletcher (*The Captain, Valentinian, The Mad Lover, The Chances,* and *The Lover's Progress*). He composed dances for Jonson's masque *Oberon* and set Ferrabosco's songs to the lute in Jonson's *Love Freed From Ignorance and Folly*, and collaborated on George Campion's *Memorable Masque* and Thomas Campion's *Lord's Masque* (Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 9 (London: Macmillan, 1980) 681).

[83] See footnote 7.

[84] *VCH Middlesex*, vol. 7, 8.

[85] Smith, *Acton People* 2-3.

notable Acton figures. Two women were contemporaries of Southwell's in Acton. Lady Alice Dudley (1579-1669) donated communion plate to St. Mary's.[86] She was the daughter of Thomas Legh of Warwickshire, whose estate was close to Kenilworth Castle, where Robert Dudley, the so-called illegitimate son of the Earl of Leicester, lived. They married in 1596. After unsuccessfully claiming his legitimacy, he left her and five daughters in 1605 for Florence with Elizabeth Southwell, the daughter of Robert Southwell of Woodrising, Norfolk. Alice raised her young family, making good marriages for them, and eventually became a wealthy woman with estates in Warwickshire and Staffordshire. She was created Duchess Dudley on 23 May 1645, a title which was confirmed by Charles II in 1660.[87] St. Mary's church at Acton was one of several churches which benefited from Lady Alice's charity, presumably because she may have spent her summers there in the rectory built by Rector Kendall and lived in by Robert Johnson.[88] Given the proximity of the rectory to Bank House, it is likely that if Dudley spent her summers in Acton before 1636 she and Southwell knew each other.

A second prominent woman likely known to Southwell was Lady Catherine Conway, widow of Edward Conway, Chief Secretary of State to both James I and Charles I and President of the Council. Like the Sibthorpes, the Conways had an Irish connection; Sir Edward was created Viscount Killultagh of Killultagh in county Antrim in 1626 and Viscount Conway of Conway Castle in Carnarvonshire in 1627. There is some dispute over the identity of Conway's second wife, but she was most likely the Catherine whose first husband was John Fust, a member of the Grocers' Company. She married Conway in 1619 and died in 1639.[89] Smith has suggested that a likely

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[86] *VCH Middlesex*, vol. 7, 36-37; Smith, *Acton People* 8-10.

[87] DNB, vol. 6, 122-3.

[88] Bowack 59; and Smith, *Acton People* 8-10. In his biography of Lady Dudley (*A Mirrour of Christianity, and a Miracle of Charity; Or, a True and Exact Narrative of the Life and Death of the Most Virtuous Lady Alice Dutchess Duddeley* (London, 1669)), Robert Boreman lists the church of Acton in Middlesex as one of the many churches which she supported financially (24).

[89] T. and A. Harper Smith, *St. Mary's Acton: A Guide* (Acton: Local History Soc., 1985) 4; Bowack 49-50; and *VCH Middlesex*, vol. 7, 36-37. Lady Conway bequeathed a rent charge for the teaching of six poor children (*VCH Middlesex*, vol. 7, 42). See DNB, vol. 4, 975-6, although that source has his wife's name as Dorothy. A piece of evidence can be gleaned from a letter of 1st March 1638, in which Lady Brilliana Harley writes to her son Edward that he should write a letter to "my lady Conway": "I

place where these people would have met was at church. Bank House was provided with a special pew at St. Mary's.[90]

Poetry Copied into the Miscellany

Much of the poetry in Southwell's miscellany appears to be of her own creation. At least a few poems, however, have been located among printed and manuscript sources. The first, second, and fourth poems on folio 1 appear in song books printed in 1605 and 1609 by Robert Jones and Alfonso Ferrabosco. One poem by Sir Arthur Gorges, two by Henry King, and one by Sir Walter Ralegh also appear in her pages, unattributed in the first three cases and misattributed to Anne Southwell in the fourth.

Each of the five poems on the first folio is called a "Sonnett." Mary Hobbs observes that when this appellation is used in a verse miscellany it tends to refer to a song with a musical setting and that it can imply a source from a specific song book.[91] This appears to be the case here. The first song, beginning "ffly from the world, o fly, thow poore distrest," has been set to music in Ferrabosco's *Ayres* of 1609 and in Jones's 1605 edition of airs (*Ultimum Vale*). Robert Johnson likely knew Ferrabosco due to their similar positions at court.[92] The first poem in the manuscript is different in several ways from the printed versions. Only one word has been altered ("Tiring" has been changed to "Troubling" in line 4, not radically altering the sense of the line), but only one half of the song has been written in Southwell's miscellany (verse two is

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thinke the carryer goo by Acton, wheare my lady Conway dwells, when they goo to Loundon." (Brilliana Harley, *Letters of the Lady Brilliana Harley,* ed. Thomas Taylor Lewis (London: Camden Soc., 1854) 33). This Lady Conway must have been Harley's stepmother; Harley was the second daughter of Sir Edward Conway and Dorothy Tracy. Brilliana Harley compiled her own commonplace book, now in the Nottingham University Library Portland Collection.

[90] Smith, *Acton People* 5.

[91] Mary Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1992) 107 and 114.

[92] Ferrabosco was an English composer of Italian descent (before 1578-1628), who was an instructor to Prince Henry and then Prince Charles after Henry's death, and who collaborated with Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones on court masques. When Charles acceded to the throne two posts were added to Ferrabosco's existing ones of King's Musician and Royal Teacher: Composer of Music in Ordinary and Composer of Music to the King (Sadie, vol. 6, 482).

omitted). The first verse in the printed song book has been repeated at various points, most likely to fit the accompanying music.[93]

The second poem, beginning "When I sitt reading all alone that secret booke," which appears in Jones's *A Musicall Dreame. Or the Fourth Booke of Ayres* of 1609, has also been altered. A few words have been changed ("spots" in the printed version becomes "blotts" at line 3, "knowes my fault" becomes "showes my Guilt" at line 5 of the miscellany's copy, and "griefes" becomes "woes" at line 7), but none of these is radical. One and a half lines have been dropped from Southwell's version. The corrections in this poem (even though they are not in Southwell's hand) follow the printed version almost to the letter, suggesting that the scribe, or Southwell herself, had the volume close to hand as s/he was compiling the miscellany. Three corrections in the final line lead it to read exactly like the printed version.[94]

The fourth poem, "If in the flesh where thow indrench'd do'st ly," also appears in Jones's 1609 edition of airs. As with the first poem on this folio, only the first verse (of two) has been transcribed. There are enough alterations to merit mention: "canst rear up" at line 2 of the printed version is "cold'st lift vpp" in Southwell's miscellany, "Carry my thoughts up to the sacred sky" of line 3 is instead "Carry thy selfe vpp to that azur'd sky," and line 4's "heavenly hallowed springs" are "sacred=Cristall springes" in Southwell. These differences suggest that Southwell or her scribe may have had an alternate version of the song available to them, or that they elected to "improve" the lyrics Jones set to music.

At least two authoritative versions exist of the Arthur Gorges poem, "Like to a lampe wherein the light is dead" (f. 10v), a sonnet in which a lover lists 12 things deprived of a necessary component, and compares them to the effect on himself of his beloved's absence. One version (in BL MS Egerton 3165), in Gorges's "vannetyes," the title he gave his collection of youthful love poems, was written in the 1580s; but a

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[93] For example, where Southwell has "O Thoughts that guide vs being blynd," the printed version reads, "O thoughts, O thoughts that guide vs being blinde. O thoughts that guide vs being blinde, that guide vs being blinde."

[94] "Death me ~~will~~ from ME ~~vnlese~~ will lose, myselfe ~~from~~ Am all my foes."

later version appeared appended to *The Olympian Catastrophe* of 1612, his memorial to Prince Henry (Huntington MS Ellesmere 1130).[95] The variants are significant between Southwell's and Gorges's versions: three lines in Southwell do not appear in either of Gorges's versions.[96] Evidently this sonnet had a long life from its composition in the 1580s through its altered versions in the seventeenth century.

The two Henry King poems transcribed into Southwell's miscellany, his elegies on his wife and on Gustavus Adolphus (ff. 21v and 24), also exhibit alterations from printed versions. King's case is more complicated because the only printed edition to appear in his lifetime was unauthorized, and it is this volume upon which some modern editors have misguidedly based their canon of King's poetry. King's poetry enjoyed a large circulation in manuscript. Margaret Crum and Mary Hobbs have found six authoritative manuscripts; isolated poems appear often in seventeenth-century manuscripts, and are generally earlier versions of King's poems before he revised them.[97] Comparing Crum's version (based on a collation of three of the major King manuscripts and many miscellaneous contemporary copies) with Southwell's again yield subtle changes between the two. Instead of being entitled "An Exequy To his Matchlesse never to be forgotten Freind," the poem has been called "An Elegie writen by m.^{r} Barnard brother to m.^{rs} Jern<ingham> y^{t} dy<ed at> Ac<ton>." This indicates that the poem was appropriated by a brother to mourn a sister who was probably known to Southwell. This poem, written in Henry Sibthorpe's hand, was probably

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[95] Helen Estabrook Sandison, ed., *The Poems of Sir Arthur Gorges* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1953) xxviii and xlix. The closing couplet of the latter version, "The Lamentation of Richmond," suggests that the poem may have been used to mourn both Queen Elizabeth and the prince ("Such I poore Richmond seene too every eye/ Synce my *Astreas* flyght unto the skye"). Astrea was a common appellation for the queen; "the sonnet has thus probably evolved from a pre-1590 amorous exercise through a lament for a queen in 1603 to one for an heir-apparent in 1613." The scribe may have copied this poem at a different time from the rest of the narrative (238-39).

[96] Southwell's final three lines do not appear in Gorges: "Or as the Hart wherein no Joy is left/ Such to my sence all worldly Pleasures be/ When bitter Absence reaues thy selfe from me." Many of the lines in the poem appear in a different order among the three versions; interestingly, Southwell's line 6 does not appear in Egerton 3165, but does appear in Ellesmere 1130, while Southwell's line 4 does not appear in Ellesmere but does appear in Egerton. This suggests that a composite version of the sonnet was circulating in manuscript which Southwell (or the scribe at this point in her miscellany) may have altered even further.

[97] Margaret Crum, "Notes on the Physical Characteristics of some Manuscripts of the Poems of Donne and of Henry King," *The Library* 16 (1961) 121-22 and 126; and Mary Hobbs, "The Poems of Henry King: Another Authoritative Manuscript," *The Library* 31 (1976) 127.

known to the scribe as King's and has sustained very few changes. A few interesting but minor alterations appear between Crum's and Southwell's versions ("Deare Losse" becomes "Deare loue" in line 7, and "hast the Victory" becomes "halfe ye victorye" at line 107). The only significant difference occurs at line 67, where "With a most free and bounteous grief" has become in Southwell's transcription "most freely though thou see mee weepe." But Crum points out in her notes that at least two miscellanies, BL MS Egerton 2725 and Trinity College Cambridge MS R. 3. 12, contain this exact variation. This substitution allows lines 67 and 68 to rhyme, resolving the grief/keep assonance of the printed version.[98] The most significant alteration in Southwell's versions of both this poem and "An Elegy Upon the most victorious King of Sweden Gustavus Adolphus" follows a strain in other manuscript versions.

This reliance on known sources contrasts with Southwell's more original treatment of Ralegh's "The Lie." Southwell's hand appears twice in the poem as she makes her corrections to the scribal copy. In the first line of the second stanza on the right hand side of the page the line: "Tell schooles they want profoundnes" has been altered by Southwell's hand. After crossing out some of the line ("they," "want," and "nes") Southwell has written "ar not sounde" above the last half of the sentence. Why "they" has been crossed out and "profound" has been left is a mystery; surely the sense of the revised line is: Tell schools they are not sound. This revision makes lines one and three of the stanza rhyme. Perhaps Southwell's first erasure of the "nes" of "profoundenes" was an attempt to make the line rhyme, and then she realized that the whole phrase would need altering to make sense.

Ralegh's poem was a popular presence in miscellanies of the early seventeenth century. Answering poems were written to "The Lie," and it was often significantly altered as it was transcribed. Lady Southwell's version of the poem (transcribed by an amanuensis, but corrected in her own hand, as mentioned above) is a significant departure from known manuscript and printed copies in several ways. Using the 1611 printed version (which appeared anonymously in the third edition of Francis Davison's

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[98] Margaret Crum, ed. *The Poems of Henry King* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965) 68-72 and 197-98.

A Poetical Rhapsodie) as a benchmark, we can enumerate the major differences. Southwell has copied stanzas one through five, then eleven, then a combination of stanzas nine and ten, then invented one of her own, and then ended with stanza thirteen, the final stanza of the printed version. She has eliminated the other stanzas. This in itself is not unheard of in the ten manuscript versions of the poem I have been able to examine (Bodleian MS Ashmole 51, the miscellany of Ann Bowyer, which is the subject of Chapter One of this thesis, omits stanzas three, one-third of stanza five, and stanzas six through twelve), but some of her phrases I have not encountered anywhere else. For example, she uses the word "deny" (in lieu of the more common "reply" and "lie") three times in the poem. In addition, in one stanza she uses alternating lines from stanzas nine and ten of the printed version. Stanza eight of Southwell's version only very slightly echoes stanza ten of the printed version, with its "-ay" rhyme and the word "fortune." Its other images are Southwell's own:

> Tell beautie it is a flourish
> Tell tyme it steales a way
> Tell ~~faults~~ thoughts they all must p*er*ish
> And fortune doth betray
> And yf they this deny
> Then giue them all the lye

In spite of this creativity her version is identical to the versions of this poem in the miscellanies I have examined in the way that all of them have "that rules affaires of state" (or a very slight variation on this) in line two of stanza four, instead of the printed version's "that mannage the estate." Similarly, Southwell has followed the majority by writing "those" instead of "them" at line one of stanza five. These facts remind us of the distinctness of manuscript transmission from printed sources.

Southwell's Religious Poetry

The largest amount of Southwell's poetry is religious in nature, and based specifically on the Decalogue, not a common topic for poetry.[99] In the miscellany she

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[99] Slightly later in the century An Collins addressed this topic in her poem "The Discourse." She describes the process the Christian must undergo for faith to be planted in his or her heart. God must

has written poems of multiple six-line stanzas, rhyming ababcc, for the first commandment, Thou shalt have no other gods before me (50 stanzas possibly--although she leaves the topic frequently), the second commandment, Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image (13 stanzas), the third, Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain (20 stanzas), the fourth, Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy (70 stanzas), the seventh, Thou shalt not commit adultery (45 stanzas), the eighth, Thou shalt not steal (10, and possibly many more, all numbered differently, fading into 9 stanzas written by Southwell). Early in the volume she has written 14 stanzas on the fifth commandment, Honour thy father and thy mother. Southwell's authorship of these poems is substantiated by the presence of Decalogue poetry in a British Library manuscript.

BL Lansdowne MS 740 is a miscellaneous quarto volume with at least seven discrete sections, which have apparently been bound together randomly and at a date significantly later than that of their contents: a collection of excerpts from Greek writers in Greek; a copy of an old Scottish poem believed to be by James V, "Christ's Kirk on the Green"; poems "of a ludicrous nature"; a Latin poem, "Iter Boreale," by Richard Eedes, Dean of Worcester, which was never printed; lists of books and their costs; a large section of poetry from the time of James I, including poems by John Donne and Sir Thomas Overbury; and Southwell's poems with later ones by Dryden and others. We need to ask whether it was sheer chance that Southwell's poetry appears in this volume, or whether she may have had contact with some of the other poets represented. Given that the volume is comprised of discrete booklets which were later bound together, a direct relationship is unlikely.

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first take the hammer of his law (i.e. the ten commandments) and break the heart; the seduced soul will then feel awe and submit; it will see its sin and sorrow over it; and in this state of humility it will be prepared for God. Each of the ten commandments are described in a 7-line stanza, rhyming ababbcc. This form is not too far from Southwell's for her Decalogue poetry, but otherwise the poetry is strikingly different. Southwell is less interested in the individual soul's embracing of God and more in the myriad ways that humanity breaks from God's laws (An Collins, *Divine Songs and Meditacions* (London, 1653) sig. B1v-C6).

The Lansdowne manuscript gives us what Jean Klene has called "revisions" of meditations found in her miscellany.[100] In the Lansdowne manuscript they are headed Precepts 3 and 4; the first spends 101 stanzas discussing the third commandment and the second takes 109 stanzas to explore the fourth commandment. Southwell wrote about both of these themes (not taking the Lord's name in vain and keeping the sabbath day holy) in the miscellany (in 20 and 70 stanzas respectively). But few of the 210 stanzas in the Lansdowne manuscript correspond with the miscellany. From an examination of the manuscript it appears that in Precept 3 only stanzas 1, 3, 4, and 5 correspond with relevant stanzas in the miscellany (i.e. with ff. 35-35v, stanzas 1-4), and in Precept 4 only stanzas 1-9 are similar to the miscellany (i.e. ff. 37-38, stanzas 1, 2, 4, 3, 5, 9, 10, 11, and 12 respectively). Thus most of the poetry in the Lansdowne manuscript does not have a source in the Folger miscellany. It is likely that the Lansdowne manuscript is later, since it is a clearer presentation copy, with a dedicatory poem to the king and a poem commending Southwell framing the work, and with no insertions by Southwell's hand (although there are corrections in another hand). It is conceivable that the main hand is Roger Cox's and that the correcting hand is Sibthorpe's (see a discussion of their hands on pp. 65-66). This manuscript may have been prepared after her death by the two men to commemorate her poetic accomplishments. Several references in the Lansdowne manuscript suggest that this poetry was composed while Southwell lived in Ireland,[101] but it is perhaps more likely that it was composed towards the end of her life, when she still indeed had links with Ireland, but was living under the influence of the moderate Roger Cox. Perhaps portions were composed in Ireland and then revised at a later date.

In general, the tone of the Lansdowne manuscript is much more strongly condemnatory of other religions than any of her verses in the Folger miscellany,

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100 Klene, "Letters" 243.

101 References to Ireland appear both early and late in the Lansdowne manuscript: "yf in Hibernia god will haue mee dye" (f. 148), and "at home a surplesse [of radical sects] makes them sitt & mourne/ but heere fiue churchmens s^{t}ates serues not one turne" (f. 165v). In the first passage, she expresses her contempt and pity for the Irish, calling them wretched souls who experience mad fits, saying "the Pope doth cozen them of wealth & wittes." In the following stanza she prays to God to "giue them more light/ & cutt of theyr seducer from his throane" (f. 148).

reflecting her desire for one true church. The Pope and Roman Catholics are favourite targets (for example, the above mentioned attack on the Pope in Ireland (see footnote 101); and the passage that states that if the Pope, a Turk, Moor, or Saracen took the name of the Lord in vain God would not be ashamed because "this chaffe & stuble is not counted his" (f. 149v)). But in Precept 4 she attacks even more strongly radical sects like the Family of Love: "But these deformd reformers of the word/ scandale the church & hurte the publick peace/ more then the popish bulles or Romane sword" (f. 165v). She implores the Lord to send his sowers to glean his wheat "Least sectes & schismes & ~~fowell~~ fowlest heresyes/ choake vp thy seed wth sad calamityes" (f. 166). Her venom is also vented on "such as haue bene traynd vp in christian lore/ & fall away to blinded papistrye" (f. 146v). Southwell would undoubtedly have censured the Astons of Tixall even more strongly than did their Protestant aunt, Anne Sadleir (see Chapter Three, pp. 149-51). Like Anne Sadleir as well, Southwell makes grand claims of her learning in religious matters ("for I by booke haue trauelld all the world/ to find out the religions of all landes" (f. 151v)).

Other differences between the versions in the Folger and Lansdowne manuscripts are the prefatory dedication to the king before Southwell's poetry in the Lansdowne manuscript (f. 142), indicating that it was intended to be a formal copy, with a particular audience in mind, in contrast with the rougher versions of the poetry in the Folger miscellany. Addressed "To the kinges most excellent Ma^{tye}," it praises him in rhymed couplets, and is signed "of your ma^{tyes} most humble & faithfull subiect Anne Southwell." This praise of the king recalls her eulogistic stanzas in the poem on the fourth commandment in the Folger manuscript (f. 42v). In both, the king is praised for his accomplishments not just in ruling peacefully but in the arts as well ("in whome all artes reside" [Lansdowne MS]; "Witnesse his books, his woorks, his pyety" [Folger MS]). Though Southwell could be addressing either James I or Charles I, James is more likely her intended subject, given his works on the art of government, theology, and his poetry in Latin, Scots, and English. He is also compared with God ("I know in God there doth noe ill abide/ nor in his true Epitome, noe pride" [Lansdowne MS];

"Immytates that threefolde deytye" [Folger MS]), though interestingly that tendency is checked in the Folger manuscript. Directly after she asks God to preserve "this fowntayne and his springs" she asks forgiveness for crowning Ovid's idols with Jehovah's name; she must not "try Seneca and Paule with one tutchstone/ waygh Aristotell with wise Solomon" (f. 43; these lines and others surrounding it also appear on ff. 28-28v in her poem on the first commandment). The intention of Southwell to gain royal attention necessitated that no similar reservations about praising mere earthlings appeared in the dedicatory epistle of the Lansdowne manuscript.

The hand of the Lansdowne manuscript corresponds with one of the major hands of the Folger miscellany (the hand that appears on ff. 3-3v and possibly others), suggesting that the scribe was a member of Southwell's immediate circle. As I mentioned above, this may have been Roger Cox. The person behind this hand may have been the author of the poem which ends Southwell's portion of the Lansdowne manuscript (f. 167v). It is a poem praising Southwell's "deuine poem" (the top left hand corner of the page is torn, making the first eleven lines incomplete). Her gender is constantly stressed in his praises. She is able to "draw" anything through her "needles eye" and she always improves on her "pattern" when she imitates. The poet uses imagery of needlework and sewing (typical female activities at this time) to express her poetic talents. She knows what a lady can and should do and excels in doing it. Though she is decked with jewels, she knows that true honour comes from within. The final six lines in particular situate her as a woman poet:

> whose worth compared wth others of her sex
> they'rs like the concaue are, hers the convex
> In this, these graue & holy meditations
> were not her worke but her sweet recreations
> Hence other Ladyes neede not then despayre
> to bee as easely wise, as fine & fayre

What is stressed is her virtue, her *sprezzatura* in composing her "recreations," and the possibility of her being a role model for other women. Earlier in the Lansdowne manuscript Southwell has been scathing on the topic of the person "who writes for

pence" and reinforces the notion that she writes purely to express God's bounty for no audience but herself: "for mee, I write but to my self & mee/ what gods good grace doth in my soule imprint" (f. 161). The presence of these words in what is clearly a presentation copy for a royal audience casts doubt on their veracity, but disclaimers like these were common in works by Renaissance writers. She is reinforcing the apparent selectness of manuscript circulation, while probably being fully aware that these pages, dedicated to the king, might reach other readers. The poem on Southwell is signed with an "H" (it matches other upper case h's in the manuscript). The only obvious name in Southwell's circle beginning with that letter would be her that of her second husband, Henry Sibthorpe, but his hand does not match this one. The scribe may have copied it into this manuscript from a separate sheet by Sibthorpe.

Although the main hand in the Lansdowne manuscript cannot securely be matched with a person in Southwell's circle, the hand of Samuel Rowson appears once in the Lansdowne manuscript. It has written one stanza on the reverse of the dedicatory poem to the king (f. 142v). This stanza is the same as the ninth stanza in the Folger manuscript's versification of the first commandment (f. 28v), and refers to Christ, but given that it has been copied on a sheet addressed to the king, it may refer as well to her desire to be one of his "court."[102]

In general Southwell refers to herself more in the Lansdowne version, giving some of her images a compelling immediacy. For instance, she describes the terror of Judgment Day which comes to her when she is awake and asleep: "& now mee thinkes the fire doth catch my paper" (f. 144v). The effect of personal references like "I haue confined my penne to to few lines" (f. 143v) and "But I am almost past my hundreds bound" [referring to stanzas] (f. 153) draw attention to Southwell's practice of writing this poetry. This can be seen most strikingly in her references to the circumstances of

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102 wth feet of clay to enter the most hollye
or watrye balles to stare against y^{e} Sunne
alas it is but blinde presumptuous follie
a parchase sought, by w^{ch} wee are vndonne
if off thy court I am, there will I rest
leau~~eing sacred~~ ^{secret} councell to thy sacred brest

her poetic composition, in which she refers to what may be her children as "you litle brattes that hange about my knees" (f. 145). She gives them these poems to learn by, but "the fault is yours, they are soe dull & muddy/ they haue bene to much toss'ed in your fond toyle" (f. 145v). She describes the games she must play with them, leaving free "skarce one but half hower out of fower & twentye/ ...Thus hurryed yett I send/ these forced lines in all your hoobubly [i.e. hubbub] penned." This vivid picture of a young mother's stolen moments away from her children (she and Thomas Southwell had two daughters) reinforce her unapologetic self-presentation as a female poet.

One major way in which Southwell draws attention to herself as a woman is in her use of female Biblical figures to justify her own writing:

> & now meethinkes I heare some ~~gallant~~ ~~gozeling~~ wizzard say
> how dares this foolish woman bee soe bold
> ask Jahells nayle y^{t} Siseraes head did stay
> & Judiths sword ~~....~~ that made ~~.~~ her hott loue cold
> Hee that enabled them, enables mee.
> yf thou seeke knowledge ~~will~~ hee'l enable thee
> (Lansdowne MS, f. 158v).

By calling on powerful women from the Bible who have triumphed over the enemies of their people (Jael, who drove a tent peg through the skull of Sisera, King Jabin of Canaan's commander (Judges 4: 17-22) and Judith who cut off the head of Holofernes, the general of Nebuchadnezzar, under the pretence of seducing him (this story is the subject of the apocryphal Book of Judith)), Southwell attempts to legitimate her own "bold[ness]" in writing. She sees her writing endeavour as inspired by God. In another passage she looks also to the deeds of other women which will her "sex or song approue" (Folger MS, f. 44), praising Deborah who sang to God after the Israelites destroyed King Jabin (Judges 5: 1-31). Southwell links herself not only with a powerful Biblical woman, but with a known poet.[103] Deborah, as a judge and ruler of the Israelites, was a key figure for female authority and one to whom Queen Elizabeth was often compared. Southwell laments the abuse from men that a woman

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[103] The Song of Deborah is usually considered by Biblical scholars to be one of the earliest examples of Hebrew poetry (Geoffrey W. Bromiley, ed., *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1979) 904).

writer endures ("Dare you but write.../ they'l crittickize vppon the smallest word"), but calls her the owl that these bats and crows (men) can only wonder at (Lansdowne MS, f. 163v). Southwell's attempt to establish a network of strong Biblical women as a justification for her own poetic endeavour parallels the strategies of other contemporary women poets like Aemilia Lanyer. All of the material surrounding Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* is addressed to a solely female audience and in her relation of Christ's Passion she digresses on the exemplary behaviour of the women involved.[104] She thus creates a community of good women composed of Biblical, fictional, and historical figures.

Southwell alludes not only to key stories in the Christian faith (the crucifixion of Christ, for example) but to a variety of more obscure Old and New Testament sources, like the death of Abimilech (Lansdowne MS, f. 154v; Judges 9: 7-21). Southwell uses the story of Rebecca's twins, Jacob and Esau, struggling in her womb (Genesis 25: 20 ff.) several times. The first is in her poem on Roger Cox's *Hebdomada Sacra* (f. 21). In this poem (in which imagery of wombs, mirrors, twins, and reflections dominate) she writes that goodness and constancy must be partners; if either grows apart, both wither like Rebecca's twins who tried to murder each other in the womb. Rebecca's twins appear once again in Southwell's poem on the church at folio 23v. This theme of struggling opposites appears several times in her poetry: "Can envye and true loue, liue in one brest/ can Doue's and Serpents harbour in one nest?" (f. 23v and f. 11, with slightly different wording).[105] Jacob and Esau are one of a series of antagonistic concepts presented in the earlier poem, "Only eight soules, the waued tost Church did keepe" (f. 23v); others are Michael and the dragon, the ark of the covenant and Dagon, Jehovah and Melchon, and truth and falsehood. Most of this

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[104] Dedicatory poems and prose address three royal patronesses, six aristocratic ladies, "all vertuous Ladies in generall," and "the Vertuous Reader." In the body of the poem Lanyer expands on the roles played by Pilate's wife (who defends Eve in a lengthy apology; see footnote 81), the daughters of Jerusalem, and the Virgin Mary.

[105] The latter poem, which begins "Nature, mistris off affection/ gaue my loue to thy protection/ Wher it hath receiued infection/ and is dying" (f. 11), refers to a love relationship rather than to the state of the church. Jean Klene has suggested that this may refer to Southwell's own domestic situation with her first husband ("Lady Anne Southwell 'play[ing] the Critick:' Revising the Bible" (MLA Convention, Chicago, 27-30 Dec. 1995) 3).

imagery reflects her desire for one true church and her distress at the religious conflict of her time. As we can see from her manipulation of the story of Jacob and Esau, Southwell utilizes passages in the Bible to suit the needs of her poetry. She uses the story of Jacob and Esau to explain oppositions between the properties of envy and love, and to express religious strife and even domestic conflict. One of her most notable revisions is of 1 Corinthians 7, in which Paul writes, addressing men, "it is better to marry than to burn." Southwell changes it to a female perspective in her poem on the seventh commandment (Thou shalt not commit adultery): "tis betor dy a uergin then to marry" (f. 48).[106]

Southwell not only extensively uses exempla from Scripture; her very language is steeped in Biblical phrases. She has used the language of the parable of the sower in her description of the sects, schisms, and heresies which she fears will "choake" God's seed (Luke 8: 7 and 14) (see above, p. 92). She urges her readers not to let their spirits fall "in the mire," but to allow God to raise them like he did David (Psalms 40: 2). She also had access to some interpretative teaching which stretched beyond the Bible. Examples of this are found in her use of the seven days of creation as a symbol for the seven periods of history, each lasting 1000 years ("Gods first weekes worke doth as a symbole stand/ of all the time that is to come & past," ff. 157v-158v), and in the 720 names the rabbis gave to the Lord (f. 159).

Her extensive knowledge of the Bible and theological matters should not surprise us, given that many educated women of this period were well-versed in religion, and given her contact with Roger Cox and Daniel Featley outlined above. Some of her Decalogue poetry may date from her years in Ireland, presumably before she knew either man, but most of it was probably written in Acton, under the influence of Cox. One of Southwell's recurring images is of a tripartite structure reminiscent of the Trinity (see footnote 63). Towards the end of the miscellany several sermons appear.

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106 Klene, "Revising the Bible" 8. The line has extra force in that it is written in Southwell's own hand. She has deleted "wee hould youre sex oure soule and bodyes foe" in favour of a specific statement against marriage.

Southwell's Additional Sources: Classical, Philosophical, and Bestial

Many of Southwell's references can be traced to classical sources, often mythological rather than historical in origin. To name just a few, she mentions Cadmus's teeth (f. 18), Ixion's wheel (f. 18v), and the "bratts" of Opps (f. 19v). As discussed above (p. 93), in her poems on the first and fourth commandments she states the danger of wanting to "crowne Ouids Idolls wth Jehouaes name" and of reading "vain fables" instead of the Bible; she says that we judge Seneca and St. Paul by the same standard, we weigh Aristotle with Solomon (ff. 28 and 43). While the strength of her religious conviction cannot be doubted, she does not scorn the classics in practice. Her poem paraphrasing Seneca's book of providence and her list of Aristotle's predicables and predicaments, as well as the fact that two works of Seneca appear in the Sibthorpes' library list, show that she could make fruitful use of potentially contentious material.

Early in the miscellany, on folio 5v, a scribe has listed five "predicables" and 10 "predicaments." Southwell is the mind behind this entry because her handwriting appears at the beginning of the list: she has written "5 pre" and a more familiar hand, probably Rowson's, has finished the entry. Her categories correspond quite closely with classical models, but she probably obtained them from a contemporary source or at least a translation (besides a few Latin words in a love poem on folio 25 we have no evidence that she knew Latin). The five predicables she lists correspond to Aristotle's list which was altered by Porphyry and the early schoolmen: genus (she has "The general worde"), species ("The kinde"), difference, property, and accident ("The thing chauncing or cleuing to the substance"). Similarly her 10 predicaments have Aristotle as their source, although she has switched their order.[107]

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[107] OED. Aristotle's were: 1. substance or being, 2. quantity, 3. quality, 4. relation, 5. place, 6. time, 7. posture, 8. having or possession, 9. action, 10. passion. Southwell's first four are identical, but then she alters the order and wording of the final six concepts: her fifth, "The Maner of doing," corresponds with Aristotle's ninth; her sixth, "The Suffering," is similar to his tenth; her seventh, "When," is his sixth; her eighth, "Where," is his fifth; her ninth, "The Settelling," may relate to his eighth; and her tenth, "The Apparailing," corresponds with his seventh.

Southwell's knowledge of philosophical concepts stretched beyond this example. In her religious poetry she claims that knowledge is "the genus, or the primatiue" of God, and that its "speties or deryvatiue"s are fear, hope, trust, service, and perfect love (f. 32). In her contemplation of the fourth commandment she mentions that metaphysicians, stoics, sceptics, and "Parrapeteticks" have all expressed little truth, and that arithmetic and "geomettrick arte" are means by which God reveals himself. Lights climb by the art of perspective, and lines of longitude are immortality, whose parallels "from the optick lynes of maiesty" reflect a thousand faces from one glass and reflect a thousand lines and spaces from one point (ff. 41-42). Music, astronomy, physics, and geography (which she calls the four branches of rational philosophy) all express God's truth; he is ruled by ethics, politics, and economics. This panegyric leads naturally to a parallel with that "blest Augustus" who rules Britain; who is celebrated for his books, works, and piety, and for his great forgiveness in pardoning those who sought his death (ff. 41-42). In a passage describing women's duties, Southwell says women must not reach beyond their station. To illustrate that point she says it would be as ridiculous as asking a baby to "make sillagismes in barbara or selarent," (barbara being the first mood of the first figure of syllogisms, and celarent being the second) (f. 51). But Southwell's sophisticated knowledge, reflected in comparisons such as these, distance her from the women she is addressing.

On folios 68 to 68v a scribe has written brief descriptions of various animals, whose source is cited as a book on the nature of four-footed beasts translated by Edward Topsell from the Latin.[108] The book in question is Topsell's *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes* of 1607, which is translated from the work of Conrad Gesner and others.[109] After her mention of her source she has explained her method, "I

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[108] The top of the page is cut off but the following is legible: "A Booke of the nature of foure footed bests <.....> in lattin, and translated into English by Edward Topsell wherin tha<....> to shew the glorye of God in his Creation, and the nature of bestes how fa<r> they are profittable seruicable, and medicinable, poysonable hurtfu<l> and pernitiouse to man...."

[109] Muriel St. Clare Byrne notes the popular taste for "wonder-books," including Topsell on her list, in *Elizabethan Life in Town and Country* (1925; London: Methuen; Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1987) 243-255. Louis B. Wright explains that Topsell's volumes "united zoology and morality to the complete satisfaction of Puritan readers" (*Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (London: Methuen, 1935) 572).

haueing survayed the booke haue for my o<wn> memorye sett downe some perticulers that I best affect." Most of her twelve references to animals (fabulous and otherwise) do indeed seem to be the result of remembering passages from Topsell's volume. Occasionally she embellishes an entry (saying the Manticora has three double rows of teeth "like a sawe") or passes judgment on an entry (for example, on the bison or wild bull: "I finde no other propertye in him but an extream heat in his fflesh and bloud and that whersoeuer he lickes he killes"). There are a few factual errors (for example, she has made the Manticora as fast as a hare, instead of Topsell's hart, and she has combined Topsell's references to Aristophanes and Apollonius, in his entry on the Lamia, into Aristotle). In the case of the Lamia, some of Southwell's description does not appear in Topsell. In her manuscript, the creature has long hair, a tail which is like a horse, body like a panther, scales like a fish, and hind feet like an ox. None of these qualities are explicitly stated in Topsell's verbal description, but the engraving of the beast demonstrates each of these features. Perhaps Southwell or her scribe had the picture before her as they wrote.[110] In her description of the cat, Southwell does appear to have had the volume before her, as the almost identical phrasing illustrates.[111]

Southwell evidently had access to Topsell's second volume, *The Historie of Serpents. Or, the Second Booke of Liuing Creatures* (London, 1608). Her entry "of the land Tortiss or Turtle" has been extracted from the lengthy sections on the tortoise,

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[110] She appears to have done this as well in the Rhinoceros section (sig. Hhh4), mentioning the animal's ears which are like a swine's and its head which is like a horse's, attributes she likely gleaned from the accompanying engraving.

[111] Topsell, sig. K4v: The Egyptians haue obserued in the eies of a cat, the encrease of the Moone-light, for with the Moone they shine more fully at the ful, and more dimly in the change and wain, and the male-cat doth also vary his eyes with the Sunne; for when the sunne ariseth, the apple of his eie is long; toward noone it is round, and at the euening it cannot beseene at all, but the whole eie sheweth alike.
Folger MS, f. 68v: the Egiptians doe obserue in the eyes of a catt the increase of the moonelight for with the moone the shine more fully at the full, and more dimly in the change and waine and the male catt doth also vary his eyes with the sunne, for when the sunne ariseth the apple of his eye is longe, towardes noone it is round and at the euening it cannot bee seen at all, but the whole eye sheweth alike.

and her final passage on the hydra also comes from this volume.[112] Southwell may have owned both volumes at one time, though neither appears in her library list.

Southwell's Engagement with Public Life: Poems and Parlour Games

As we have seen above, Southwell treaded a precarious line between private devotional poet and royal flatterer. Other poems, not religious in nature, are addressed to public figures like the Duchess of Lennox (f. 22), mark important events in Protestant hagiography like the deaths of the kings of Sweden and Bohemia (f. 22), and praise popular poets like Francis Quarles (f. 17). Her engagement with public life may have stretched into involvement in the courtly "Newes" games surrounding the publication *Sir Thomas Ouerburie his wife*. The Duchess of Lennox may not have been a personal acquaintance; Southwell's poem may have been an attempt to curry favour. In her poem to the Duchess (probably Catherine Clifton, who married Esmé, the third Duke in 1607),[113] Southwell asks that her regards be given to the princess and ends by drawing attention to her own position: "Nor shall I faile; to let the world to knowe/ How much vnto; her gracefull grace; I owe." Southwell's elaborate compliment reinforces her own high standing in the courtly community.

On the same page appear two poems on heroes of the Protestant cause, which are worth examining both for the light they shed on the practice of composing elegies on public figures, and for the way in which Southwell constructs herself as a poet. The kings of Bohemia and Sweden both died in the autumn of 1632 at separate battles during what has been called the Swedish phase of the Thirty Years War.[114] The Elector Palatine Frederick I was the husband of Elizabeth, the daughter of James I, whom he married in 1613.[115] In the elegy on the King of Bohemia, Southwell focuses

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[112] sig. Ee5-Ee6 and S5-S5v.

[113] James Balfour Paul, ed., *The Scots Peerage Founded on Wood's Edition of Sir Robert Douglas's Peerage of Scotland*, vol. 5 (Edinburgh: Douglas, 1908) 358. Catherine married James second Earl of Abercorn in about 1632, so may have stopped being known as the Duchess of Lennox at that point. The fourth Duke did not marry until 1637, after Southwell's death. The poem may date from 1632 since the two poems on the same page, on the deaths of the kings of Bohemia and Sweden, commemorate events of 1632.

[114] Stephen J. Lee, *The Thirty Years War* (London: Routledge, 1991) 6.

[115] DNB, vol. 6, 652-655; Alison Plowden, *The Stuart Princesses* (Stroud: Sutton, 1996) 22-25.

on the grief of his wife, whom she calls goodness distressed. Gustavus Adolphus, the son of Charles IX of Sweden, succeeded him as king in 1611, and campaigned on the Continent from 1621. After the great victory at Breitenfield in 1631 he became the embodiment of the Protestant cause, and a huge industry built up around him, involving the mass production of ivory reliefs, silver statues, gold rings, pendants, and medallions.[116] Literary tributes abounded as well. In England Aurelian Townshend and Thomas Carew conducted a verse correspondence on the subject, and ten elegies were appended to the beginning of the third part of *The Swedish Intelligencer* (one being Henry King's, which has been copied into Southwell's miscellany).[117] It is not inappropriate that Southwell's elegies on Frederick and Gustavus should appear near each other in her miscellany because of the way the two figures became linked in the popular imagination; Frederick was later remembered as "the prince for whom *Gustavus* fell."[118] Southwell evidently saw herself as equal to the task of eulogizing these great men.

Besides political figures, Southwell also eulogized a poet, Francis Quarles, in an acrostic beginning, "F..ayne would I dye whil'st thy braue muse doth liue" (f. 17). His pen gives life to the dullest things, and any poet who does not follow his muse and who thinks that God will bless "Loose ballads or Hyperbolizeinge Rymes" is mistaken. His phoenix will be enthroned in God's breast. Southwell is obviously focusing on his religious poetry in her praises; probably on his Biblical paraphrases and meditations written in the 1620s which were well received.[119] Southwell is taking her words to heart about following Quarles's religious muse; by association her work may be seen to be worthy of similar praise. Besides her participation in the community of writers and

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116 Geoffrey Parker, *The Thirty Years' War* (London: Routledge, 1984) 322, plates 11 and 14.

117 Ethel Seaton, *Literary Relations of England and Scandinavia in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1935) 84-86; *The Swedish Intelligencer. The Third Part* (London, 1633).

118 One of the ten elegies (poem 3) in *The Swedish Intelligencer* commemorated the King of Bohemia; its last line is the above; quoted in Seaton 83 and Parker 131.

119 These paraphrases include *A Feast for Wormes. Set Forth in a Poeme of the History of Ionah* (1626), *Hadassa: Or the History of Queene Ester: With Meditations Thereupon, Diuine and Morall* (1621), and *Iob Militant: With Meditations Divine and Morall* (1624) (*The Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Francis Quarles*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart, vol. 2 (N.p.: printed for private circulation, 1880).

theologians at Acton, and possibly in the court of James I, Southwell is situating herself in a community of like-minded poets, whose works praise God in the Protestantism of the middle way which Southwell so firmly supported.

Southwell's work seems to have appeared not only in manuscripts but also in printed material. Jean Klene suggests that she may have been the "A.S." who contributed to the second impression of *A Wife Novv the Widdow of Sir Thomas Overbvrye. Being a Most Exquisite and Singular Poem of the Choice of a Wife. Wherevnto are Added Many Witty Characters, and Conceited Newes, Written by Himselfe and other Learned Gentlemen his Friends* (1614). "A.S." provided "Answers" to Sir Thomas Overbury's "Newes from Court" and to John Donne's "Newes from the very Countrey." She may also have been the author of "Certaine Edicts from a Parliament in *Eutopia*; Written by the Lady *Southwell*" which first appeared in the sixth impression of 1616, renamed *Sir Thomas Ouerburie his wife*.[120] Louise Schleiner describes the parlour games, "Newes" and "Edicts," which this volume of witty sayings records. "Newes" required the player to produce clever sayings on a theme, like the court, as if they were "newes from" that place, incorporating gossip and political intrigue. "Edicts" were a series of criticisms of male and female behaviour laid out as laws. Schleiner claims that Anne Southwell was associated with a coterie group which played these games at Queen Anne's court; the group included Overbury, Donne, Lucy Russell Countess of Bedford, and Cicely Bulstrode.[121] James Savage posits 1609, when Cicely Bulstrode died, as the likely date when the "Newes" games stopped. These items had some circulation in manuscript, because Sir Henry Wotton's commonplace book, "Table Talk," which must have been

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[120] Klene, "Letters" 243. Various candidates have been proposed for these attributions: Louise Schleiner agrees that A.S. may be Anne Southwell but discounts James E. Savage's suggestion that A.S. is Lady Anne Clifford (her first husband was Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset). She agrees with Savage that the highly placed Lady Elizabeth Southwell (wrongly called Frances by Savage) is a candidate for authorship of the Edicts (Louise Schleiner, *Tudor and Stuart Women Writers* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1994) 265-66 n. 1; James E. Savage, ed., *The "Conceited Newes" of Sir Thomas Overbury And His Friends. A Facsimile Reproduction of the Ninth Impression of 1616 of Sir Thomas Ouerbury His Wife* (Gainesville, FL: Scholars' Facsimiles, 1968) xxxviii-xli).

[121] Schleiner 107-116.

compiled in 1610 or earlier, contains 34 items of "Newes" from Overbury, Donne, and Rudyerd, which did not appear in printed form until 1614.[122]

No evidence has been found as yet which firmly links Southwell with this group of poets and courtiers. Southwell may have had some contact with Donne and Overbury; as we saw earlier, poetry by both men appeared in Lansdowne MS 740, bound together with Southwell's. There is a link, albeit indirect, between Overbury and Southwell in the Folger miscellany: Southwell has written an elegy on the death of Frances Howard, the woman who was charged (with her lover and future husband Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset) with Overbury's murder (f. 23).[123] A few verbal echoes in Southwell's miscellany, discussed below, strengthen the case for her authorship of these passages, but her contact with this group can only remain speculative at this point.

The response to Donne's "Newes" is headed "Answere to the very Country Newes." In the answer "A.S." has written, "That life, death, and time, do with short cudgels dance the Matachine," which sounds very like Southwell's letter to Viscount Falkland on folio 4 of the miscellany: "Yo^{r} perspicuous eye sees dayly, how Nature, chance, and death doe dance the Matechyne about all Mortalls till they haue stript vs of those borrowed plumes y^{t} begett admiration onely in Ignorance."[124] A verbal echo also appears in the "Edicts" of the 1616 edition; "corriuall" (meaning a rival in a position of equality) appears at least twice in Southwell's miscellany (ff. 29v and 33).[125] Her "Answere to the very Country Newes" ends with a reference to the writer's place of residence: "That I liuing neere the Church-yard, where many are buried of the Pest, yet my infection commeth from Spaine, and it is feared it will disperse further into the Kingdome." Southwell had a house in London at Clerkenwell, an area indeed near St. Paul's, from which she moved in 1631. She probably obtained this house after her second marriage when she moved back to England, but she may

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122 Savage xxvi and xliv-xlv.

123 Southwell's tribute hints at none of this scandal.

124 Klene has noted this echo ("Letters" 251). She has defined the Matechyne as an Arabian dance.

125 Schleiner sees the "Newes" style in several of Southwell's works: her letter to Cicely Ridgeway and her witty poem, "All maried men desire to haue good wifes" (117-18).

have had earlier connections with a neighbourhood like Clerkenwell as early as 1609, when she was apparently writing this.[126]

Conclusions

Lady Anne Southwell's manuscript originated in the family of her second husband. Its final pages are in the hand of this husband. The main scribe of the manuscript was probably her servant Samuel Rowson. But in spite of this strong male presence, Southwell was the controlling sensibility behind most of the manuscript, as her editing indicates. Her reading stretched beyond even the list of the books in the library she shared with her husband and to which he later added books himself: she knew the work of popular poets like King, Ralegh, Quarles, and Marlowe (whom she critiques in her letter to Cicely Ridgeway), books of songs (by Ferrabosco and Jones), theological and philosophical works (including St. Augustine and Seneca), historical works (she wrote a poem based on Pliny's *Lives of the Roman Emperors*), a bestiary (by Topsell), and the Bible and related theological material. She wrote poems on and letters to her circle of acquaintances (the Countess of Londonderry, Viscount Falkland, the first Earl of Castlehaven, the Bishop of Limerick, Roger Cox, and Robert Johnson) and on more public figures (the Duchess of Lennox, the Countess of Somerset, and the kings of Bohemia and Sweden). She wrote a defence of poetry. She wrote short religious and love lyrics, and a substantial collection of Decalogue poetry. A specifically female voice emerges in her varied use of stories of women from the Bible, in her reasoned defences of the female sex, and in the authority for her own writing which she extracts from the divinely inspired women of Scripture.

We have glimpses of a literary network around St. Mary's Church in Acton: she wished a poem to be corrected and improved by both her "noble Neighbour," probably Roger Cox, and the rector of St. Mary's, Daniel Featley, and she wrote a poem commemorating the work of Cox, the curate. She conducted a correspondence with a female friend, Cicely Ridgeway, on the value of poetry. She may have known

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[126] See footnote 40.

Elizabeth Cary or Eleanor Davies when they were both in Ireland. She may have participated in the courtly "Newes" games of Sir Thomas Overbury, John Donne, the Countess of Bedford, Cicely Bulstrode, and others. These literary contacts remind us that manuscript compilations could be the fruit of exchange and were often not the "private" forms assumed by some feminist critics who view the appearance of women's writing in manuscript rather than print as a manifestation of their being silenced. At various points her manuscript seems intended for some kind of audience: much of the poetry is beautifully presented in a neat italic script, and Southwell's own corrections are minimal. But at other points her own hand takes over for entire pages, resulting in nearly illegible additions to her Decalogue poetry, which were no doubt intended to be her own private annotations and not to be seen by other eyes. The varying degrees of private and public writing found in many manuscript miscellanies of this period often foil our attempts at neat categorization.

Southwell's miscellany compares favourably with other extant examples compiled by women; it is permeated by a strong religious voice, and offers evidence of access to some type of literary community. Her religious poetry also situates her in an imagined literary community--an intellectual one, shared with strong women of the Bible, and with other religious poets like Quarles, Cox, and George Herbert. Manuscript miscellanies are valuable documents of a vanished culture based on the written rather than the printed word, a culture in which women like Lady Anne Southwell could participate.

Chapter Three

Manuscript Circulation and Roman Catholicism in Staffordshire: Constance Aston Fowler and the Tixall Circle

In the early nineteenth century the antiquarian Arthur Clifford published two collections relating to the Aston family of Tixall in Staffordshire of the seventeenth century, *Tixall Poetry* and *Tixall Letters*. Most of the letters printed in 1815 are now in the British Library, but several letters from two Aston brothers to their aunt, Anne Sadleir, survive among her papers in Trinity College Library, Cambridge, and have not been discussed in print before.[1] Clifford describes four collections of poetry connected with the family on which he has based his edition of poetry: a small quarto without a cover, on the outermost leaf of which is "Her. Aston, 1653," which he has classified as poems collected by Herbert Aston; a smaller quarto, also without a cover, whose first poem is "Mrs. Thimelby on the Death of her only Child," which Clifford believes to be poems primarily written by Gertrude Aston Thimelby; a small folio covered with parchment on the outside of which is written "William Turner his booke, 1662" and on the inside of which is written "Catherin Gage's book," which Clifford has described as poems collected by Catherine Gage, Lady Aston; and miscellaneous poems, found on loose leaves.[2] The three collections of poetry he describes, those compiled by Herbert Aston, Gertrude Thimelby, and Catherine Gage, have not yet been located. Much of the contents of Tixall Library was sold on 6 and 7 November 1899, but none of these manuscripts appears in the over 700 items listed for sale.[3]

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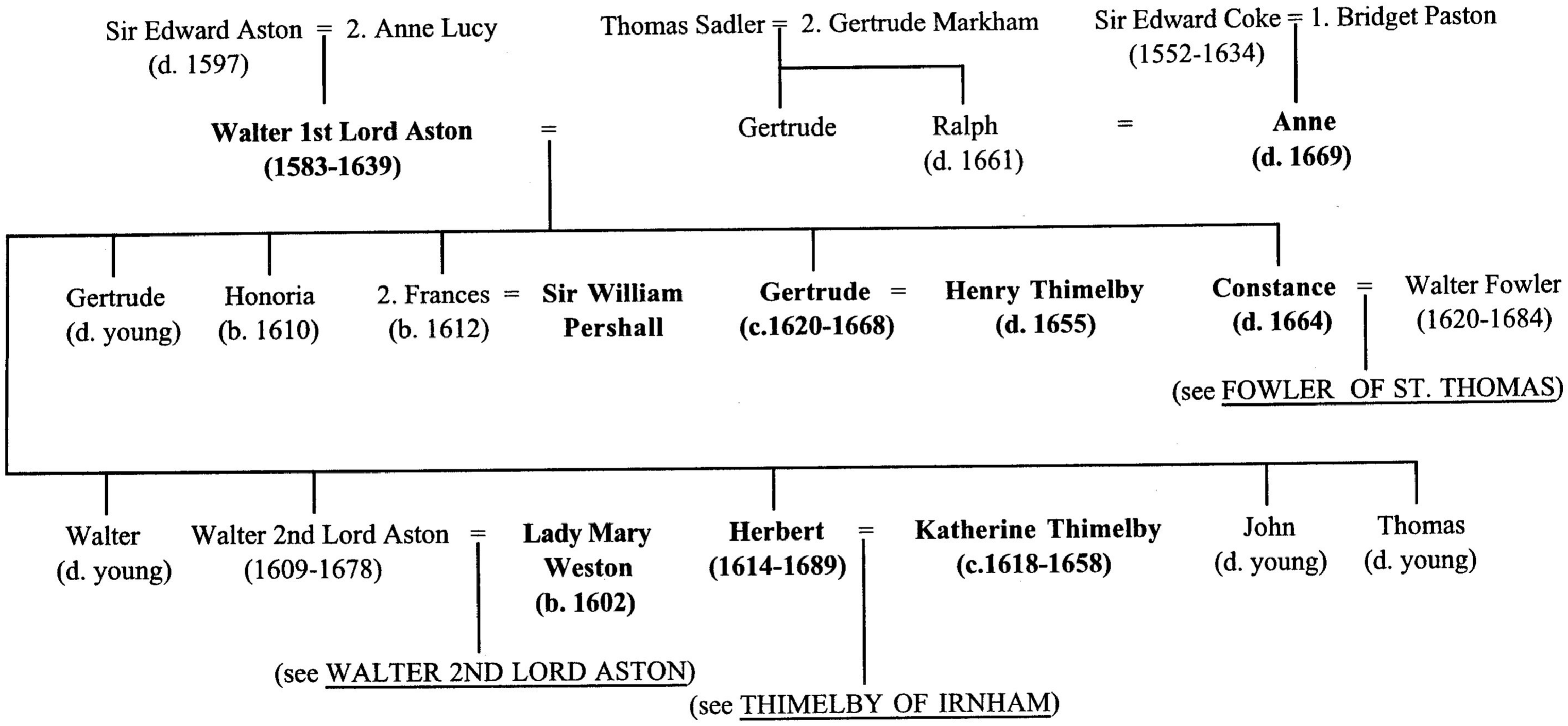
[1] Arthur Clifford, ed., *Tixall Letters; or the Correspondence of The Aston Family, and Their Friends, During the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1815). British Museum Add. MSS 36444-36452. The first eight volumes are largely letters to and from Sir Walter Aston on his diplomatic missions to Spain; the final volume contains personal letters of the Aston family, most of which are printed in Clifford. Four letters from Walter, second Lord Aston, three from his brother Herbert Aston, and one from Walter, third Lord Aston to their aunt, Anne Sadleir, as well as two letters from Sadleir to Herbert Aston, are on the early folios of Trinity College Library, Cambridge MS R 5.5 (ff. 1-11). Nine letters from Walter, second Lord Aston on his attempt to sell Standon, the property he inherited from Sadleir, are printed in G.P.M., ed., "A Bundle of Walter, Lord Aston's Letters, 1671-73," *Collections for a History of Staffordshire* (1941) 127-36.

[2] Arthur Clifford, ed., *Tixall Poetry* (Edinburgh, 1813) x-xiii. The first poem in Gage's volume is dedicated to her, making it possible that Turner compiled at least some of the volume.

[3] *The Tixall Library Catalogue of Valuable Books & Manuscripts Late the Property of Sir F.A.T.C. Constable, Bart. (of Burton Constable and Aston Hall, North Ferriby, East Yorks.) Formed Originally*

FAMILY TREES

ASTON OF TIXALL

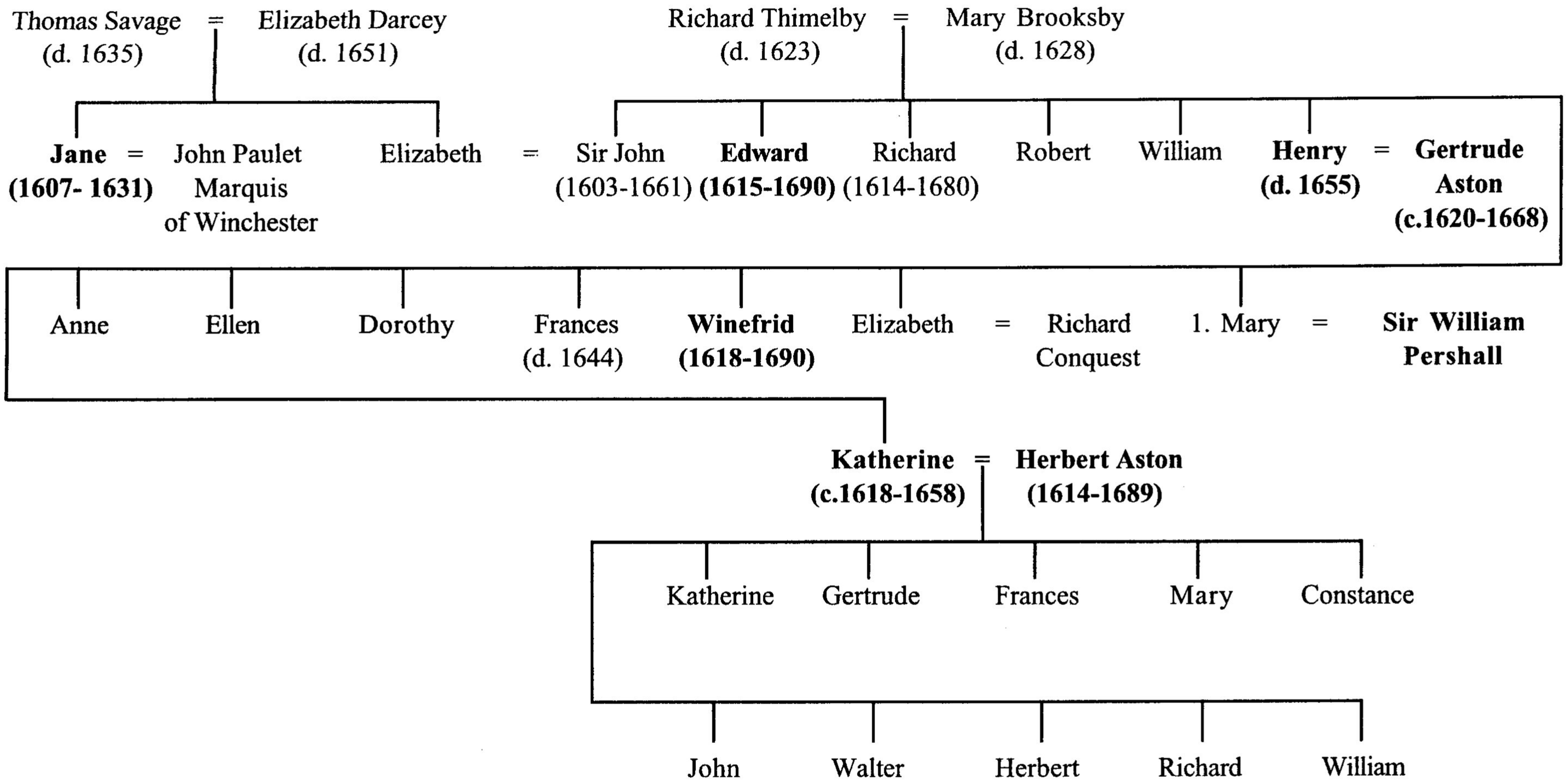


FOWLER OF ST. THOMAS

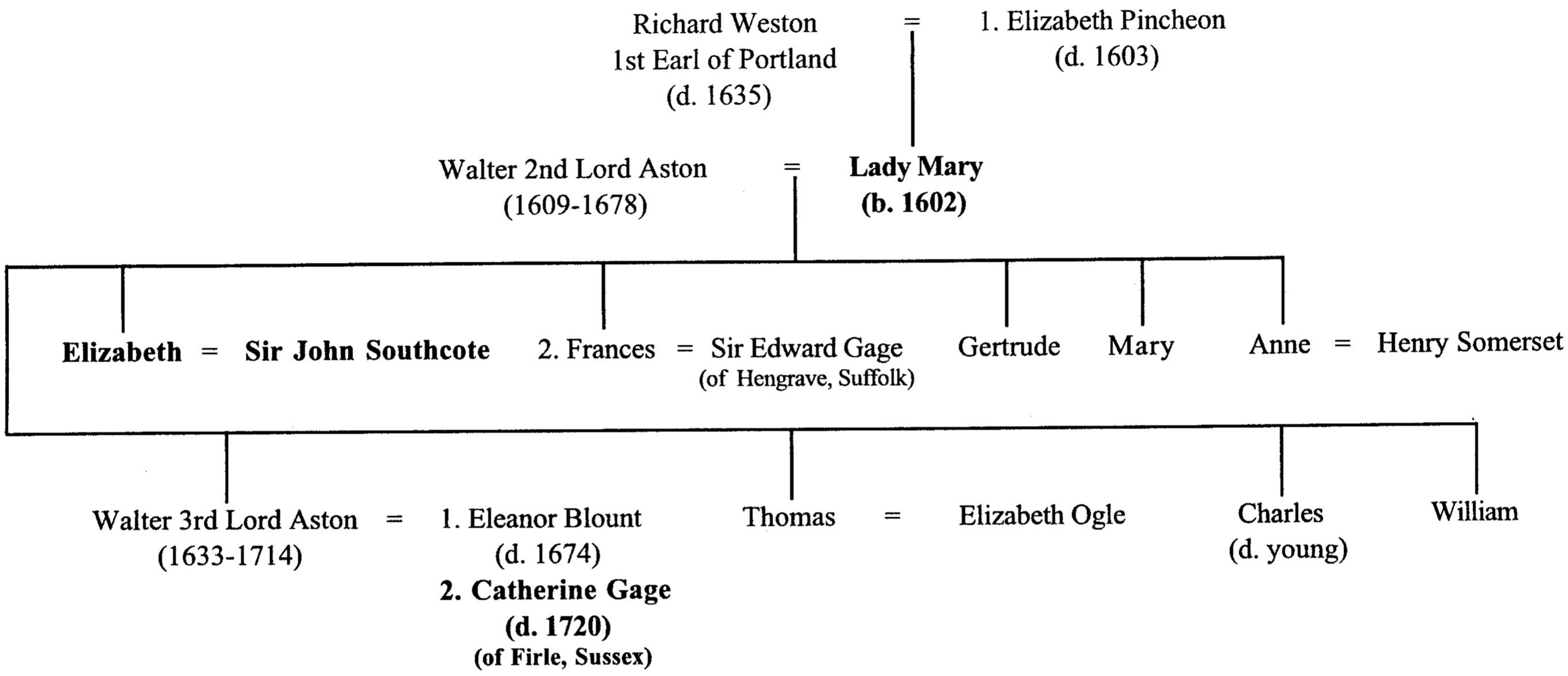
Walter Fowler (d. 1622) = Mary Sheldon

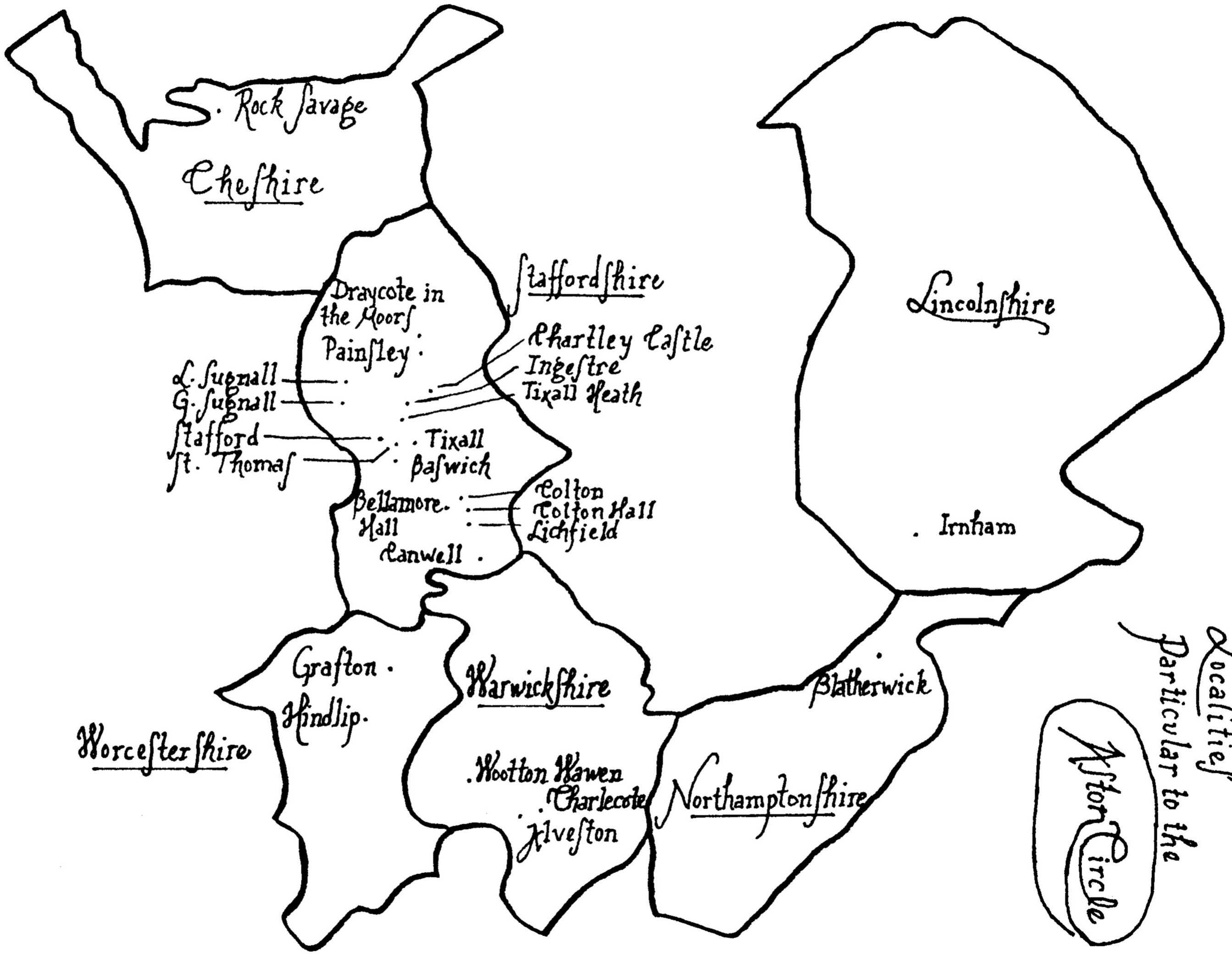
- Anne = John Draycote (d. c.1630)
  - Philip (d. 1659) = **Lady Frances Weston (1612-1636)**
    - Walter (1620-1684) = **Constance Aston (d. 1664)**
      - Constance (d. young)
      - Dorothy = John Grove
      - Walter (b. 1645) = Mary Heveningham (d. 1694)
      - Edward (d. young)
      - William (d. 1716) = Katherine Harewell (d. 1711)
      - Brian (d. young)
      - Thomas = Elizabeth Clarke (d. 1728)
      - Francis (d. young)
    - Edward (d. young)
  - Gertrude (d. 1700)
  - Constance (d. 1666)
  - Mary (d. 1675)
  - Magdalen = Mr. Casey
- Edward (d. 1625) = 2. Dorothy Eyre
  - Grace = Richard Canning
  - Anne = Richard Lacon
  - Mary

THIMELBY OF IRNHAM



WALTER 2ND LORD ASTON





A Map of Localities Particular to the

1674

Sources for the Map

The map is not to scale; it is an approximate representation of the counties relevant to Chapter Three.

Parker, Frederick, ed. "Collections for a History of Pirehill Hundred by Walter Chetwynd of Ingestre, Esq. A.D. 1679," *Staffordshire Historical Collections* ns 12 (1909): 1-273. (Contains a facsimile of a map of Pirehill Hundred, Staffordshire.)

Plot, Robert. *The Natural History of Stafford-shire*. Oxford, 1686. (Contains a map of Staffordshire.)

Speed, John. *The Counties of Britain: A Tudor Atlas by John Speed.* London: Pavillion Books in association with the British Library, 1995. (Contains facsimiles of the maps from Speed's *Theatrum Imperii Magnae Britanniae* (1616)).

A Description of Huntington MS HM 904

Since the Tixall Library sale two manuscripts not explicitly described by Clifford have surfaced: Constance Aston Fowler's (Huntington Library, San Marino, California, HM 904) and her brother Herbert Aston's (Beinecke Library, Yale University, Osborn MS b. 4). Fowler's miscellany is a quarto bound in contemporary sprinkled calf, blind and gold tooled, with two holes on the front and back cover for fore-edge ties no longer present. The manuscript contains on 200 leaves 65 items entirely in verse. It has no title page, and over half of its leaves are blank (folios 1-5, 53-135v, 139v-143, and 159v-182). It was probably compiled during the period 1635-55.[4] The main of the two hands in the book is Constance's (it matches the hand of her letters). LaBelle suggests that the second hand may be that of Gertrude Aston, her sister, or of Winefrid Thimelby, the sister of Constance's sister-in-law and close friend, Katherine Thimelby.[5] But the hand does not match any of the hands among the Aston family correspondence.[6] It is identical to the hand in an explicitly Roman Catholic collection of verse, Bodleian Library MS Eng. poet. b. 5. As discussed below, two possible candidates for this hand are Thomas Fairfax of Wootton Wawen in Warwickshire, or a possibly a priest connected with the Fairfax family. All of the

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by Sir Walter Aston, First Lord Aston, Ambassador to Spain Temp. K. James I Comprising a Large Number of Important English Historical & Heraldic Manuscripts...Which will be Sold by Auction, by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge... ([London], 6 and 7 Nov. 1899).

[4] Jenijoy LaBelle, "The Huntington Aston Manuscript," *The Book Collector* 29 (1980) 543. LaBelle suggests these dates given the evidence of certain poems: the pastoral eclogue on Lady Dorothy Shirley's death could not have been written before 1636, and the epitaph on Ben Jonson must postdate 1637. The poems attributed to Katherine Thimelby would have probably been inscribed Katherine Aston after her marriage to Constance's brother. LaBelle places this in 1638, though evidence is contradictory in the Aston correspondence. A letter of Walter Lord Aston to his new daughter-in-law is dated "9 of xber 1638" (Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 148-49; BL Add. MS 36452, f. 36), but in a letter of 31 July 1639 Constance is still plotting to bring about the marriage of her brother and her best friend (vol. 1, 128-33; ff. 29-30v). This date may be a mistake for 1638, since Walter Lord Aston's second embassy, on which Herbert accompanied his father, ended in 1638. In a postscript to a letter to Sir William Pershall, Katherine refers to her wedding anniversary as St. Simon and St. Jude's day (28 October) (*Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 166).

[5] For a detailed description of Huntington MS HM 904 see LaBelle, "The Huntington Aston Manuscript" 543-44. Also, Sara S. Hodson, Curator of Literary Manuscripts, Huntington Library, letter to the author, 24 May 1996. I have not been able to examine Huntington MS HM 904; I have worked solely from microfilm.

[6] BL Add. MS 36452. No letters survive in Gertrude's hand, making it impossible to test LaBelle's conjecture.

material it has transcribed is religious, and specifically Roman Catholic, in nature. Constance's hand appears on the following folios: 6, 8-15v, 24v-34v, 46v-52v, 136-139, 143v-159, and 182v-195v. The second hand is less frequent, but alternates with Constance's at several points, indicating a shared compilation: 7-7v, 16-24, and 35-46 (a total of 14 poems). A third hand has written the final item of the miscellany, a pastoral eclogue on the death of "Lawra," Lady Dorothy Shirley, by Sir William Pershall (ff. 196-200v). Unlike LaBelle, I do not believe that this is the same hand as the second hand in the manuscript. It matches the hand of Pershall, whose letter of condolence to Herbert Aston on the death of his wife, Katherine Thimelby, in 1658 appears among the Aston family correspondence.[7]

All of the poems written by the second scribe are religious in nature, but the poems transcribed by Constance can be categorized as love lyrics, religious lyrics, elegies, epistles, light verse, shaped verse, songs, pastoral eclogues, encomiums, sonnets, and translations from Spanish. This apparently random compilation is unified by the fact that at least two thirds of these poems in Constance's hand are written by or about a relative or friend of the Astons, reminding us of the personal nature of many of these poetic compilations.[8] Authors of the poetry in the volume include Constance's brother Herbert Aston, her brother-in-law Sir William Pershall, her friend Lady Dorothy Shirley and Shirley's husband William Stafford, her father's diplomatic associate Richard Fanshawe, her sister-in-law Katherine Thimelby, (possibly) her brother-in-law Henry Thimelby, and her father Walter, first Lord Aston. Several may have been written by Constance herself but strong evidence is lacking.[9]

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[7] BL Add. MS 36452, f. 52 (Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 177).

[8] La Belle, "The Huntington Aston Manuscript," 544. Presentation copies of the poetry and drama of Lady Jane Cavendish and Lady Elizabeth Brackley (Yale Osborn MS b. 233 and Bod MS Rawl. poet. 16) contain many poems written by Jane Cavendish for their family circle (at least 40% of the total number of poems).

[9] LaBelle's suggestion that Constance may have written the first poem in the volume ("Verses presented with a beautious picture to celestinae," beginning, "Except earth's saint this beautious image shee" (f. 6)) to accompany a portrait of Katherine Thimelby which she sent her brother Herbert, is worth considering. In a letter to Herbert, Constance refers to a picture which she is sending to him, though she does not mention a poem (*Tixall Poetry* 215).

Other poems appear in the miscellany without obvious links to the Aston circle, but on closer inspection some connections can be made. Perhaps Aurelian Townshend's poem on the death of Buckingham was included because the much reviled duke was a friend of her father's. Ben Jonson's elegy on Lady Jane Paulet was likely included because the subject was a distant relative. Thomas Randolph's eclogue on the marriage of Constance's friends, Lady Dorothy Shirley and William Stafford, belongs in a compilation where both parties have contributed poetry. Katherine Thimelby has written an answer to William Habington's couplets advising George Talbot to forget a lover who has scorned him. The inclusion of four of Robert Southwell's poems, as well as 10 unattributed religious poems espousing a Roman Catholic viewpoint, can be explained by the Catholicism of this group. No obvious geographical or personal links have been found between Constance's circle and Philip and Henry King, Robert Herrick, Owen Fellltham, and Sidney Godolphin, but one cannot imagine that poems by these popular poets could evade the grasp of such a keen group of collectors and versifiers.

A Description of Osborn MS b. 4

The Osborn manuscript at Yale University (Osborn MS b.4) has no cover and has been badly gnawed by rats, affecting the first ten folios. Herbert Aston's name appears three times: on the first folio, written below a Latin sentence;[10] on its verso with the date 29 July 1634; and on the final folio, with the same Latin phrase, and the date 6 May 1634. Herbert's is the main hand in the miscellany. He seems to have compiled it in two major sections. The hand on folios 1-32 and on the final page, reversed, is more angular than his later hand, evident on folios 33-48 and 49v-51. The later, rounder hand matches Herbert's hand in letters postdating the death of his wife in 1658 among the Aston family correspondence.[11] A few different hands appear in the

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[10] Hujus si cupias Dominum cognoscere Libri Circumflecte oculos nomen habebis ibi (loose translation: If you want to know the books of God, look around you, and you will see the name there).

[11] BL Add. MS 36452, ff. 59-59v (his elegy on his wife), 69v (a poem written on the reverse of a letter from Winefrid Thimelby; see the section on John Donne below), and 73-74 (a letter from

last pages of the miscellany: Hand B transcribes only one poem, "The humble petition of the house of Comons," a popular song addressed to Charles II (ff. 48v-49v); Hand C copies two, a poem by Sir Robert Ayton, "No man loues fiery passion can approue," and a poem present in at least Harvard MS Eng. 626, "Blinde beauty if it be a loss" (ff. 51-51v and 53v-54); and Hand D adds only one, "A Rurall panegrigg on the Lady southcots wedding day to the tune of gildding of the devil" (ff. 51v-53v). This final poem refers to the marriage of Elizabeth Aston, the eldest daughter of Walter, second Lord Aston and Mary Weston to Sir John Southcote of Mestham in Surrey at Tixall (Tixall is mentioned in the second line of the poem). It was a subject which elicited at least one other poem in commemoration, that which appears in *Tixall Poetry* entitled, "To the Lady Southcot, on her Wedding-Day."[12] The tones of the poems are very different, as their titles suggest; the version in *Tixall Poetry* describes the poet's desire to hide in the throng because he is not brave enough to write her story, while the Osborn version describes the stages of the wedding day in pastoral terms.

A further link exists between the Astons and this manuscript. Two poems from *Tixall Poetry* appear in the Osborn miscellany. "Say not because no more you see" (ff. 50v-51 in Osborn; pp. 6-7 of *Tixall Poetry*, the section apparently compiled by Herbert Aston and dated 1653) has been given different titles in versions which otherwise contain no significant differences. Osborn has "Vpon y^{e} funerall of M^{rs} Pawleys daughter ~~not~~" and Clifford's edition has "On the Death of Mr P---'s Little Daughter, in the Beginning of the Spring, at Amsterdam." Clifford suggests that Mr. P is the brother of Sir William Pershall.[13] No Pawleys were members of their immediate circle, but Lady Jane Paulet was Sir John Thimelby's wife's sister. It is of course entirely possible that the same elegy was used to pay tribute to two different people (an example of this common practice can be found in Lady Anne Southwell's miscellany, in

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Herbert Aston to his daughter Katherine at the convent in Louvain headed by her aunt Winefrid Thimelby).

[12] Clifford, *Tixall Poetry* 101-02. Clifford writes that the wedding occurred in about 1656 (362).

[13] Clifford, *Tixall Poetry* 332.

which Henry King's elegy on his wife has been titled "An Elegie writen by m.r Barnard brother to m.rs Jern<ingham> yt dy<ed at> Ac<ton>," f. 21v).

The second poem in common between *Tixall Poetry* and Osborn is Sir Walter Ralegh's "Like hermit poore in pensiue place obscure" (f. 2v in Osborn, badly damaged; pp. 115-16 in Clifford, the section compiled by Catherine Gage, second wife of the third Lord Aston). It is entitled "Despair" in Clifford's edition, but called only "Cant: 3" in Osborn. Because of the extensive damage (approximately two words from the beginning of each line have been gnawed) an accurate list of variants is impossible, but the versions are quite close, excepting that stanzas two and three are reversed (the *Tixall Poetry* version has stanzas 1, 2, and 3, while Osborn has 1, 3, and 2). This poem gained popularity both as a poem (it was printed in *Brittons Bowre of Delights* in 1591 and in *The Phoenix Nest* of 1593) and as a song (settings of it appeared in Alfonso Ferrabosco's *Ayres* of 1609, John Playford's *Select Musicall Ayres, and Dialogues* of 1652 and later editions) and in manuscript sources.[14]

Perhaps surprisingly it shares no poems with the Huntington manuscript. One potential similarity between the two manuscripts is that the Osborn manuscript includes a poem "To the Lady Frances Weston" by Patrick Neuterfeeld (ff. 8v-9); this Frances is probably Frances Draycote, one of the Earl of Portland's daughters, whose elegy appears on folios 28-28v of the Huntington miscellany.[15] The interest in Catholic poetry of Constance's compilation is not seen here at all; many of the poems focus on love and politics and were popular in manuscript sources of the day.[16] As discussed in Chapter Four, p. 178, this miscellany has substantial links with the song tradition.

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[14] L. G. Black (in "Studies in Some Related Manuscript Poetic Miscellanies of the 1580s," vol. 2, diss., U of Oxford, 1970, 200-203) lists printed and manuscript texts. Cyrus Lawrence Day and Eleanore Boswell Murrie (*English Song-Books 1651-1702. A Bibliography with a First-Line Index of Songs* (London: The Bibliographical Soc., 1940 (for 1937) 280) list songbooks. The song was evidently still popular in the second decade of the 18th century; a copy occurs in the Brotherton Collection, Leeds University Library, MS Lt 15.

[15] Frances must have been one of the daughters from the second marriage of Richard Weston, Earl of Portland to Frances Waldegrave, though pedigrees conflict.

[16] Osborn MS b. 4 shares seven poems with Bodleian MSS Ashmole 38, four with Ashmole 36 and 37 (classed as one manuscript), four with Don. d. 58, and four with Eng. poet. e. 14. The latter two miscellanies were primarily compiled by Christ Church men. Herbert Aston did not attend Oxford. Among the poets whose works appear in this manuscript are Michael Drayton, Francis Quarles, Sir

Herbert Aston's miscellany does not appear to have a traceable connection with the same network of people that his sister's manuscript does. His manuscript resembles other manuscript collections of popular poetry of the day, and does not merit further discussion in the context of our study of literary women and their links with like-minded Catholic families and friends.

Constance Aston Fowler

Constance and Herbert were children of Sir Walter Aston and his wife Gertrude Sadler, the only daughter of Sir Thomas Sadler of Standon, in Hertfordshire, granddaughter of the celebrated Sir Ralph Sadler.[17] Sir Walter was the eldest son and heir of Sir Edward Aston and Anne Lucy, the only daughter of Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote in Warwickshire. He was born at Tixall[18] in 1583, knighted in 1603, created Baronet in 1611, made Gentleman of the Privy Chamber in 1613, and became Lord Aston, Baron of Forfar in 1627. He was sent on two diplomatic missions to Spain, the first from 1620-25, and the second from 1635-38. His wife joined him in Madrid in the autumn of 1620, as Michael Drayton's Elegy 7, "Upon the noble Lady Aston's departure for Spain," indicates. At least two of his children, Herbert and Honoria, joined him there as well; Herbert on his second embassy, and Honoria at some point, because she died in Vittoria (either between the ages of 10 and 15 or between 25 and 28). Walter Lord Aston died in 1639.

Robert Ayton, John Fletcher, Robert Markham, William Strode, Thomas Campion, Richard Brome, Sir Henry Wotton, and Thomas Weaver.

[17] See Arthur Clifford, ed., *The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler, Knight-Banneret*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1809). The following biographical information is taken from H. Sydney Grazebrook, ed., *The Heraldic Visitations of Staffordshire made by Sir Richard St. George, Norroy, in 1614, and by Sir William Dugdale, Norroy, in the Years 1663 and 1664, Collections for a History of Staffordshire* 5.2 (1884) 134-37; James Balfour Paul, ed., *The Scots Peerage Founded on Wood's Edition of Sir Robert Douglas's Peerage of Scotland*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Douglas, 1904) 406-11; Clifford, *Tixall Poetry* i-xxxv; and Bernard H. Newdigate, *Michael Drayton and his Circle* (Oxford: Shakespeare Head, 1961) 146-157. The information in the sources occasionally conflicts (e.g. Newdigate says Walter and Gertrude were married between 25 July 1603 and 9 July 1604, but Clifford says 1607). See footnote 133 for a report on Walter Aston's secret first marriage to Anne Barnes in 1600.

[18] Apparently Tixall played a role in the imprisonment of Mary Queen of Scots. Sir Amyas Paulet is reported to have taken Mary Queen of Scots to Tixall ("belonging to Sir Walton[sic] Aston") from Chartley "to see a buck hunt." Conspirators are said to have kept her at Tixall for 17 days (*VCH Staffordshire*, vol. 1, 252).

He and Gertrude had ten children. Constance was the youngest daughter of the family: the first Gertrude died young; Honoria (or Honor) was baptized at Tottenham on 17 July 1610; Frances, baptized at Chelsea on 16 April 1612, married Sir William Pershall (or Peshall) of Canwell in Staffordshire; and the second Gertrude married Henry Thimelby, but ended her life as a nun at St. Monica's Augustinian convent at Louvain, where Winefrid Thimelby was abbess. Their brothers were Walter who died young; another Walter, born in 1609 and died on 23 April 1678, who became second Lord Aston and married Mary, second daughter of Richard Lord Weston, Earl of Portland; Herbert, baptized at Chelsea on 16 January 1614 and buried at Colton in Staffordshire on 9 January 1689, who married Katherine Thimelby; and John and Thomas who died young.[19] Several of these siblings feature in Constance's miscellany, as will be discussed below.

Constance married Walter Fowler, eldest son of Edward Fowler of St. Thomas, Stafford, and Dorothy, the daughter of Thomas Eyre of Hassop in Derbyshire. He was baptized at Baswich Church, near Stafford, on 7 October 1620, and buried there on 10 March 1684. Constance was buried at Baswich on 29 March 1664.[20] The couple were married by 1635, but possibly as early as 1633.[21] Sources conflict about their offspring, but they may have had six sons and six daughters.[22] Their eldest son Walter

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[19] Grazebrook 18-20 and *Scots Peerage*, vol. 1, 408-09.

[20] Berkswich (or Baswich) Parish Registers, 1601-1696 (Lichfield Joint Record Office D 3361/1/1).

[21] Articles for the marriage settlement of Constance Aston and Walter Fowler, dated 16 May 1629, survive (Staffordshire Record Office D 1798/HM Aston/20/14). This document (between Walter Lord Aston, John Draycote of Painsley, Thomas Eyre of Hassop, and Dorothy Fowler, Walter Fowler's widowed mother) presents the financial settlement for the marriage, which is to take place within three months after Walter and Constance attain their respective ages of consent. Walter Fowler is to be given £1000 from Walter Lord Aston: £500 within the term of four years when his wardship and lands will be settled on Lord Aston, and £500 on his wedding day. If the four years were counted from the date of the contract, then Constance and Walter could have been married as early as May 1633, when Walter was not yet 13. The couple were certainly married by 3 June 1635, the date of Walter Lord Aston's will, made before his second embassy to Spain (Staffordshire Record Office D 1748/HM Aston/39/7). In it he states that since his daughters Frances and Constance are already married and their portions are satisfied, he will make void their annuities of £40 per year, but will provide for his as yet unmarried daughter Gertrude. Clifford asserts that Constance was married by 1634 (*Tixall Poetry* 394).

[22] See the family trees. Thomas and Arthur Clifford (*A Topographical and Historical Description of the Parish of Tixall in the County of Stafford* (Paris, 1817) 37-38) list only three sons, William, Thomas, and Walter, and two daughters, Mary and Dorothy. The deaths of two of their children and one of their daughters-in-law are listed in the Baswich parish registers: Francis was buried on 28

was born in 1645; although Constance and Walter were married more than ten years earlier, their extreme youth may have led their parents to keep them from cohabiting until they reached sufficient maturity.

A large portion of the manuscript was probably compiled by Constance in the late 1630s and mainly at Colton Hall, one of her father's estates, about 5 miles from Tixall. She was living there when she corresponded with her brother Herbert who was in Spain with their father and Richard Fanshawe.[23] Constance's nine extant letters to Herbert (the first eight written while he was in Spain, and the last when his wife died in 1658) are extraordinary in their passion and wit. In a letter of 11 August 1636 she writes that she was puzzled by the paradox in his letter: "For you writ to mee ther, that if your letters wer as heavy as your hart, they would cost my lord in ther carriage nothinge; and that if that letter could fly to me as sune as your hart, it would com un to me never." When she analyzes "this strange conceate" she sees that it expresses his constant love for her, and continues playing with the image of a heart: "Indeed I can not chuse but smile, to thinke what a harty letter you will thinke this when you reed it; for I have taken such a subject for my invencion to worke on, that I can not for my life unfasen my selfe from it."[24]

Constance was living at Colton; her elder brother Walter and his wife Mary were based at nearby Tixall during these years; her sister Frances Pershall was not far away at Canwell; she met members of the Thimelby family (including her beloved Katherine) when they dined at Tixall and when they visited their relatives by marriage, the Savages. Constance's frequent contact with these relatives and friends is evidenced in her letters.[25] Her letter of 11 August 1636 describes a gathering at Tixall of Lady Mary Aston, her brother Thomas Weston, Constance and her two sisters (Frances and

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January 1662/3, Mary was buried on 20 January 1675/6, and Mary Heveningham (the wife of their eldest son Walter) was buried on 18 December 1694.

[23] Letters from Constance to Herbert while she was at Colton are dated 11 August 1636, 8 December [no year, but probably also 1636], 11 February 1636[/7], 11 January 1638[/9] (Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 85-106; BL Add. MS 36452, ff. 21-25v).

[24] Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 86-89 (BL Add. MS 36452, ff. 21-21v).

[25] Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 90-91, 106, 110, and 133 (BL Add. MS 36452, ff. 21v, 25v, 26v, and 30v). The first Lord Aston set up his son at Tixall in about 1635 (vol. 2, 116).

Gertrude), and Sir William Pershall. They stayed at Tixall for a week and danced their favourite dances to "my Lord of Esicke's museick." This music must have been provided by the third Earl of Essex, who lived at neighbouring Chartley Castle,[26] and whose sister Lady Dorothy Shirley also had contact with the Aston circle.

The letters also record interactions among other members of their group: Katherine Thimelby Aston was friendly with her husband's sister Frances Pershall and Frances's husband Sir William (Katherine wrote one letter to William which continues a neoplatonic debate they had been conducting on the delights of the mind versus the senses); and she apparently wrote three times to her sister-in-law Gertrude but received no response.[27] In her letter to Herbert Constance thanks him for sending her their father's verse translation, saying it is admired "by all here."[28] This suggests a rather large audience for poetry at Colton and its environs; evidently Constance was not unique in her interest in the latest verses.

It is unclear when Constance took up residence at St. Thomas Priory with her husband. In a letter of Katherine Thimelby's to her husband Herbert she refers to a letter from her "sister Fowler, at St Thomas" who was extremely ill with a cold.[29] This letter must have been written at some point between 1638 (a possible date for Katherine and Herbert's wedding)[30] and 1658 (the date of Katherine's death); Constance must have moved to her husband's seat at St. Thomas, which borders the parish of Tixall on the west, sometime after 1638.

Constance took her Catholic faith very seriously, as did many members of her extended family. In a postscript of a letter to her husband Katherine Thimelby Aston expresses her worry over Constance's devotions: "If you love me, speke to Mr Daniell that he will not let my sister Fowler fast; tell him thers four lives concernd in it, and

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[26] Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 90-92 (BL Add. MS 36452, f. 21v).
[27] Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 141, 146, 152, 161-66, and 147 (BL Add. MS 36452, ff. 33, 35, 37v, 45-45v, and 35v).
[28] Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 89 (BL Add. MS 36452, f. 21v).
[29] Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 156 (BL Add. MS 36452, f. 40v).
[30] See footnote 4 on contradictory information about the date of their marriage.

one of them is his most trew honored, K.A."[31] Various members of Constance's circle spent time at the convent run by Winefrid Thimelby; Constance's sister Gertrude Aston Thimelby spent her final days at the convent, and at least two of her sister-in-law Katherine's daughters, Katherine and Gertrude, were resident at the convent during the latter half of the century.[32]

Among the miscellaneous poems of *Tixall Poetry* are lines "To Mrs Constance Aston" which Clifford claims to have found on a scrap of paper which was part of a letter with the following address: "These for Mrs Constance Aston, at the Lady Marchiones of Clanricard's dowager, Red Lion Square---."[33] The lines, beginning, "As in the summer a soft falling shower," describe the grief-stricken Constance whose beauty is not marred by her tears, and whose joy will return, because the fairest days are obscured by light mists in the morning. Clifford suggests a date of before 1634 for this poem, because after that date he claims she was married to Walter Fowler,[34] but the cause of her grief must remain mysterious.[35]

The Astons and Roman Catholicism

The gentry played a key role in the survival of Catholicism during this period.[36] They had the means to offer shelter and money to priests, and they could provide some protection to Catholic tenants. Among typical gentry families from Staffordshire who attracted Catholic tenants and provided a centre for worship were the Draycotes of Painsley in Draycote-in-the-Moors and the Fowlers of St. Thomas near Stafford.[37] The Thimelbys of Irnham in Lincolnshire also were key players in the preservation of the Catholic faith. Figures from 1676 of the returns from every parish in the Province

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[31] Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 158 (BL Add. MS 36452, f. 41v). Clifford suggests that the four lives concerned are those of Constance, her husband Walter, Katherine Thimelby, and her husband Herbert Aston.

[32] Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 2, 18-31, etc. (BL Add. MS 36452, ff. 66-72, etc.).

[33] Clifford, *Tixall Poetry* 256 and 394.

[34] See footnote 21 for the date of Constance's and Walter's marriage.

[35] The death of a family member is a possibility, but not all the dates of her siblings' deaths are known.

[36] B.G. Blackwood, "Plebian Catholics in the 1640s and 1650s," *Recusant History* 18 (1986) 42; John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850* (London: Darton, 1975) 181.

[37] M.W. Greenslade, "Roman Catholicism," *VCH Staffordshire*, vol. 3, 100.

of Canterbury showing the number of Anglicans, Nonconformists, and Baptists indicate that 41% of the population of the parish of Irnham were listed as Roman Catholics.[38] This astonishing percentage is a direct result of the powerful gentry's ability to preserve the Catholic faith.

Staffordshire was a county where recusancy had always been strong and was rarely severely punished.[39] A pattern established in the later sixteenth century persisted in the Stuart period: the gentry lent their support to recusant centres and the authorities were slack in their enforcement of the penal laws.[40] In a visitation of 1635 of the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, Walter Aston and his wife are among those listed under the parish of Tixall as being excommunicated for not attending church and not receiving communion the previous Easter.[41] Other Catholic families associated with the Astons appear among these lists.[42] Catholics tended to the royalist camp in the civil war, and the property of many papists was sequestrated.[43]

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[38] T.B. Trappes-Lomax, "The Owners of Irnham Hall, Co. Lincoln and Their Contribution to the Survival of Catholicism in that County," *Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society: Reports and Papers* 9 (1962) 168-69.

[39] Michael W. Greenslade, "List of Staffordshire Recusants, 1657. Transcribed from Manuscript Q/RRr among the Quarter Sessions Records in the Staffordshire Record Office," *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, 4th ser., 2 (1958) 74.

[40] Greenslade, "Roman Catholicism" 100-105.

[41] Jane Hampartumian, "Staffordshire Recusants in 1635," *Staffordshire Catholic History* 22 (1984) 18. At Colton Lady Gartrica Aston, her daughter Gartrica, and her son Herbert are listed (19). Perhaps this refers to Gertrude Lady Aston and two of her children, Gertrude and Herbert. The Astons do not appear on the list of Tixall recusants for the Quarter Sessions records of 1641 (Ann J. Kettle, "A List of Staffordshire Recusants, 1641," *Staffordshire Catholic History* 5 (1964) 30). The Quarter Sessions Records of 1657 does not list Tixall or Colton among its parishes (Greenslade, "List of Staffordshire Recusants," 77-99); nor do various visitations of 1662, 1665, 1668, 1669, and 1670 (Jane Hampartumian, "Staffordshire Recusants in the 1660s," *Staffordshire Catholic History* 23 (1988) 14-27). An Edward Aston, yeoman, of Coulton is listed in the return of 1671 (Joseph S. Hansom, "A List of Convicted Recusants in the Reign of King Charles II," *Catholic Record Society* 6 (1909) 304).

[42] Branches of the following families appear on lists of recusants (see previous footnote for full references): Draycote (1635, 1641, 1657, 1660s, and 1671), Fowler (1635 and 1641), and Pershall (1635 and 1641).

[43] In a list among the papers of Sir Walter Wrottesley of Wrottesley, several familiar names are listed as Roman Catholic landowners who took up arms for the king: Philip Draycote of Painsley, Walter Fowler of St. Thomas, Sir William Peshall of Canwell and two sons, and Lord Aston of Tixall and two brothers (George Wrottesley, *A History of the Family of Wrottesley of Wrottesley Co. Stafford, Collections for a History of Staffordshire* ns 6.2 (1903) 331). Roman Catholic landowners whose estates were sequestrated by 1648 include: Gertrude Aston (widow of the first Lord Aston), Walter second Lord Aston, Philip Draycote of Draycote, Dorothy Fowler (mother of Walter Fowler, Constance's husband), Walter Fowler, and Sir William Pershall (Walter Noble Landor, "Staffordshire Incumbents and Parochial Records (1530-1680)," *Collections for a History of Staffordshire* (1915) 389-90). St. Thomas Priory (the home of Walter Fowler) was used by the Parliamentarians to house

Walter, first Lord Aston is said to have become a Roman Catholic during one of his embassies to Spain.[44] Though the Astons were relatively new to Catholicism they allied themselves to families who had enduring links with the old religion. Aston's children married into the Catholic families of Thimelby, Fowler, Pershall, and Weston (see family tree). By the mid-1630s, the probable starting date of the compilation of Constance's miscellany, the people associated with the circle around Tixall obviously identified themselves strongly as Catholics. A full 17 of the total 65 poems (26%) are religious in nature, and most of those have an explicitly Roman Catholic message. The four Robert Southwell poems are obvious examples, but poems such as "O God of thy great might" (ff. 20-22) which lists saints who have died for their faith, also convey a Catholic viewpoint.

It has been argued that female members of the English Catholic gentry had a unique opportunity for freedom at this time in history. While husbands had to attend Anglican services in an effort to preserve appearances, Catholic wives often took on a leadership role at home, sheltering priests and holding masses. Wives could not be directly fined because they had no property or civil rights; in practice, the only available punishment for married women was imprisonment. Catholic women did not have marriage as their only possible goal; they had the option of joining a convent on the Continent, often joining sisters and aunts from their families.[45]

One example of the freedom allowed to Catholic women is found in Anne Dacre, Countess of Arundel, who had an important role to play in the dissemination of Catholic literature at a time when this extremely sensitive material needed to circulate

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the poor (D.H. Pennington and I.A. Roots, eds., *The Committee at Stafford 1643-1645. The Order Book of the Staffordshire County Committee* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1957) 8 and 11).

[44] T. and A. Clifford (*Description of Tixall* 258) and Adam Hamilton (ed., *The Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses Regular of the Lateran, at St. Monica's in Louvain*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Sands, 1904) 135-36) claim that it was during his first embassy to Spain that he embraced Catholicism. LaBelle states that his family became Roman Catholics during his first diplomatic visit, but that he did not adopt the faith until his second ("The Huntington Aston Manuscript" 544).

[45] Marie P. Rowlands, "Recusant Women 1560-1640," *Women in English Society 1500-1800*, ed. Mary Prior (London: Methuen, 1985) 152, 161-62, and 167.

only among like-minded people.[46] Her neighbourhood in Bishopgate, London, known as Spitalfields comprised an enclave of households which, like the Countess's, were havens for Jesuits such as Robert Southwell. Southwell himself established a printing press there. The recurrence of the watermark belonging to French paper manufacturer Philippe de Bosy, in both his and other printed and manuscript Catholic texts, suggests that a regular supply of paper was procured from the Continent by Henry Garnet, the Jesuit leader who arrived in England with Southwell in 1586. Members of the Catholic gentry centred in communities like Spitalfields exchanged manuscripts for copying and obtained copies of printed books; from these sources manuscripts and printed books were sent out into the country. This particular channel ceased with the disaster of the Gunpowder Plot and Garnet's execution, but other networks for the transmission of Catholic texts evidently survived.[47]

The volumes from Tixall Library offered for sale in 1899 do not include every item in the family library, primarily compiled by the first Lord Aston, but do provide a gauge for the type of Catholic reading material available to the Astons and their circle. Among those items are a Douai Bible of 1633-35 (lot 74), books of hours of the Virgin Mary (lots 346-49); the works of Thomas More and the 1642 printed account of his life and death (lots 439-40 and 569); and a book of the offices of the Virgin Mary (lot 462). Some of the Catholic poetry in Constance's miscellany may have come from printed sources, but the greater portion must have reached her through clandestine channels of manuscript circulation. The close relationship between Constance's miscellany and a Bodleian Library manuscript suggests that the second hand in her miscellany had access to a significant source of recusant poetry.

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[46] Anne Dacre also wrote poetry. She added a verse exposition to a Latin prayer compiled by Eleanor Percy Stafford, Duchess of Buckingham, the great-great-grandmother of her husband. As the Countess of Arundel meditates on each verse, she prays for Eleanor, reflecting the sense of a common heritage and community felt by many aristocratic Catholic families of the period (Louise Schleiner, *Tudor and Stuart Women Writers* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1994) 93-95).

[47] Nancy Pollard Brown, "Paperchase: The Dissemination of Catholic Texts in Elizabethan England," *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700* 1 (1989) 120-43.

Robert Southwell and Bodleian MS Eng. poet. b. 5

Many of the poems in Constance Aston's miscellany are addressed to or refer to members of her circle, but a significant number, most of them transcribed in another hand, are religious in nature. Four of these poems are by Robert Southwell. Southwell's English poetry was written during the six years he worked as a priest on the English mission (1586-1592). His poems are preserved in five manuscript copies of his short lyrics, two manuscript copies of his long poem, "Saint Peters Complaint," and two printed collections, *Saint Peters Complaint, With Other Poemes* and *Moeniae*, both first printed in 1595, the year he was executed. Seventeenth-century commonplace books preserve copies of individual poems, but the only one which draws directly on manuscript sources is Bod MS Eng. poet. b. 5.[48]

Eng. poet. b. 5 was compiled mainly in 1651 and 1652, with a few later entries dated 1654 and 1657.[49] It is a collection of recusant poetry (with a few prose extracts), which includes thirty-one poems by Robert Southwell (among those are the four which appear in Constance's miscellany). Eleven of the poems in Eng. poet. b. 5 are from *Partheneia Sacra, or The Mysterious and Delicious Garden of the Sacred Parthenes,* a Catholic book of emblems published in 1633. Intriguingly, Herbert Aston has sometimes been posited as its author, but it is more commonly, and more substantially, attributed to Henry Hawkins.[50]

The contents of the volume are nearly all religious verse (many of these are carols), and several items indicate their provenance. Two poems, on pages 51 and 69, are ascribed to Anna Alcox, a girl of six years of age. Both of these have been "sent

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[48] James H. McDonald and Nancy Pollard Brown, eds., *The Poems of Robert Southwell, S.J.* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967) xxiii, xxxv, and li.

[49] For descriptions of the manuscript see *Bodleian Library Record* 3 (1950-51) 50; and F.M. McKay, "A Seventeenth-Century Collection of Religious Poetry: Bodleian Manuscript Eng. poet. b. 5," *Bodleian Library Record* 8 (1970) 185-91.

[50] Iain Fletcher, in *Partheneia Sacra by H.A. 1633* (Aldington: Hand and Flower, 1950) xiii-xiv and Appendix 1, explains that Fr. Gervase Mathew was the first to make the identification with H.A. (the attribution on several copies) and Herbert (he calls him Henry) Aston, a suggestion taken up by Mario Praz (in *Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery*, vol. 1 (London: Warburg Institute, 1939) 72) and refuted by Rosemary Freeman (in *English Emblem Books* (London: Chatto, 1948) 244-45). Fletcher agrees that the attribution is unlikely, given that Aston would have been only 19 when *Partheneia Sacra* was published, and that it is completely different from his surviving poetry in Huntington MS HM 904.

from Alveston" in 1651, which leads McKay to suggest that the compiler of the manuscript was known as a compiler of recusant poetry outside of his own circle, a result of being a member of a tightly-knit persecuted minority.[51] The scribe writes that on 5 July 1652 he copied from a printed book the blasphemous story of a woman in Tillingham, Essex, who claimed she was the Virgin Mary (p. 71). He also relays the story from Venice of a messenger sent to tell the Pope that the queen of China and fifteen of her kingdoms have adopted the Roman Catholic religion. The scribe has headed it, "1652 ovt of A weekly newes booke I coppied forth this good newes As it is here vnder written/ viz/ virbatam thvs" (p. 100). The scribe's sources are varied: printed books, weekly newsbooks, people (Anna Alcox), and manuscripts (for the Robert Southwell poems, at least).

On page 89 a notice of the birth and death of John Fairfax in 1654 appears. His parents are listed as Thomas and Issabell Fairfax. McKay suggests that the hand behind the manuscript is the Catholic Thomas Fairfax of Walmesmore or Wansmoor in the parish of Wootton Wawen in Warwickshire.[52] But given that the hand is the same as the second hand in Constance Aston's miscellany, the possibility that the scribe was a priest is an attractive one. Such a priest may have been resident for a time with the Astons and then with the Fairfaxes. Or he may have compiled both of these manuscripts at the same time from another copy (which would indicate that Constance's miscellany was still being added to as late as the 1650s). The name John Ingram appears on page 17 of Eng. poet. b. 5; perhaps he is our priest.[53]

To whomever this hand belonged, he must have had access to uniquely Catholic channels of manuscript circulation. He has written only 14 poems in total in Constance Aston Fowler's miscellany, and 12 of those are found in Eng. poet. b. 5.

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[51] McKay 191. See the map for the location of Alveston in relation to Wooton Wawen. Note Alveston's proximity to Charlecote, the birthplace of Walter first Lord Aston, Constance's father, and home to his mother, Anne. Though the Lucys were Protestant, Constance's links with this area in Warwickshire may have led to her contact with a priest known to the Fairfaxes.

[52] McKay 188.

[53] Though his name does not appear among the English Jesuits listed in Thomas M. McCoog, *English and Welsh Jesuits 1555-1650. Part II: G-Z, Catholic Record Society* 75 (1995); or Geoffrey Holt, *The English Jesuits 1650-1829: A Biographical Dictionary, Catholic Record Society* 70 (1984).

The two poems which do not appear in Eng. poet. b. 5 (a ballad of nine four-line stanzas beginning, "O Jesu, thov my glory Art," and a five-line anagram on "Jesus" written out twice) are the first poems written in the second hand (ff. 7-7v). These poems are the second and third items in the manuscript, and are preceded and followed by poems in Constance's hand. The other poems in the second hand are grouped together into four poems (ff. 16-24) and eight poems (ff. 35-46). It seems possible that the second hand obtained these poems, perhaps in two groups, from a single source. The order is quite different in Eng. poet. b. 5, though variants between both versions of the poems are minimal.[54] A Jesuit priest sheltered by the Aston family would have had links to the networks of transmission of printed and written material so essential to their mission.[55]

In contrast to the second hand's source for explicitly religious, and particularly Catholic, poems Constance had access to different sources of poetry. From the evidence of her letters, her brother Herbert was a major contact between her abode in Staffordshire and poetry being written at court and on the Continent, including his own.

Herbert Aston the Poet

The family member who appears most often in Constance's miscellany is her brother Herbert. He accompanied his father on his second Spanish embassy as secretary and married Katherine Thimelby soon after his return to England.[56] Katherine was a daughter of Richard Thimelby of Irnham and Mary, daughter of Edward Brooksby of Shoby in Leicestershire.[57] She was in her fortieth year when she died on 9 July 1658.[58] The marriage was evidently a love match; their affection is

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[54] The first group of four poems in the second hand in Constance's manuscript are from the following pages in Eng. poet. b. 5: 18-20, 96-97, 16-17, and 15 (the last poem also appears on p. 85). The second group of eight poems correspond with the following pages in Eng. poet. b. 5: 91, 21, 12-13, 11-12, 35-38, 38-39, 42 (and also iii), and 13-14. Though the poems are in a different order, several are grouped together.

[55] Hamilton claims that "under the Astons, Tixall was the refuge of hunted priests" (vol. 1, 136).

[56] See footnote 4 on contradictory dates for their marriage.

[57] Arthur R. Maddison, ed., *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol. 3 (London: Harleian Soc., 1904) 957-59.

[58] Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 182 (BL Add. MS 36452, f. 53).

evident in letters which survive from Katherine to Herbert, in his prose account of her death in 1658 ("A perticular accompt of ye most remarkable passages at ye happy end of Mrs Ca. Aston, and wt past 7 dayes before, wth some reflection on ye vertues and suffrings of her preceedent life"), and in his elegy ("Aspirations Sent after Seraphina in glory by her distressed supplyant").[59] They had ten children (see p. 132 below). Herbert lived in the parish of Colton, on lands given to him by his father and sold to him by his brother Walter, second Lord Aston in 1658. There he built a house he called "Bellamore," because it was completed due to his friends' generosity.[60] He died intestate in 1689; "A Tru Invitory of the goods Cattell and Chatteles of Herbert Aston..." of 11 June 1689 was made by his son John in which his goods were valued at £301, 5s.[61]

At least eight poems are by him[62] and he is referred to in at least one poem: as the brother in Fanshawe's poem on Celia's (really Gertrude's) refusal to curl her hair

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[59] Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 141-147, 150-160, and 179-204 (BL Add. MS 36452, ff. 33-35v, 37-44, and 53-58).

[60] Clifford, *Tixall Poetry* 396; T. and A. Clifford, *Description of Tixall* 29.

[61] Two copies of this inventory survive: William Salt Library, Stafford, 45/57 folder 1; and Lichfield Joint Record Office, 1689 June 27, Aston, Herbert.

[62] Herbert Aston's poems are as follows: "To the Lady Mary Aston," beginning, "Euer most Honour'd Sister tis to you" (ff. 150-152v); "The perfect Louer," beginning, "Hee can*n*ot worthelie by styl'd a louer" (ff. 24v-25)--a copy of this also appears in the miscellaneous section of *Tixall Poetry* 268-70 (the only significant difference being six lines in *Tixall Poetry* which do not appear in HM 904, and two which appear in HM 904 but not in Clifford's volume); "I striue to Loue with out reward in vaine" (ff. 48-48v); "To My Honer'd Sister GA [altered to GT]," beginning, "Infuse in to me all your choycest straines" (ff. 155-158); "To his M^{rs} on her outward Beauty," beginning, "Just (Seraphina) as a priest doth doubt" (ff. 33v-34v); "A true loves knott that was giuen As a fancy for a newyears gift," beginning, "Make mee thy fancy and if I proue not" (ff. 186-187); "Whilst here eclipsed From those hapy beames" (ff. 46v-47); and "Whilest I here absent languish out my time" (ff. 25v-26). A ninth poem ("When by sad fate from hence I summon'd am" (f. 188v)) has been attributed to him, but appears among the printed works of Owen Fellthам. In addition to "The Perfect Lover," Clifford attributes three more poems in *Tixall Poetry* to Herbert Aston: "To My Honord Cosen, Mr Henry Somerset, On New Year's Day," beginning, "Since you and I in easy verse delight" (227-28); "To My Most Honord Cosen, Mrs Somerset, on the Unjust Censure Past Upon My Poore Marcelia," beginning, "Sigh not, Parthenia, that I'me doom'd to dye" (228-29); and "To My Cosen Aston and His Lady, Excusing My Want of a Wedding Garment, at the Celebration of their Marriage," beginning, "Though an unseemly guest to this bright day" (273-75, followed by a letter from Herbert Aston. Clifford believes this poem to have been written on the marriage of Walter, third Lord Aston to his second wife, Catherine Gage in 1680). If these poems are by Herbert, they must date from quite late in his life. Herbert's elegy on his wife is printed in *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 201-04 (BL Add. MS 36452, ff. 59-59v). He has also written a response to Donne's "A Feaver" on the back of a letter (see discussion below, p. 147-48). LaBelle deciphered a device which appears after each of his poems in Constance's miscellany: it contains the initials H.A. at the centre, and gOD written twice to form a cross of five letters. She believes that this symbol was Constance's private way of identifying her brother's poems

until her brother's return (ff. 187-187v). Evidence of letters between the two siblings, Constance and Herbert, show a close and loving relationship, but also one in which poetry plays an important role. In her letters she repeatedly asks him to send her poetry. Her letter of 11 August 1636 explains most fully their poetic exchanges:

> I have not receaved yet, those three copyes of verses you promised me for sending your box to Mr Henry Thimelby; therefore I beseech you, not to forget them, for I have a longe time much longed for them; and, indeed, I could almost find in my hart to quarell with you, and to conclude my letter with it, for I have written to you, I know not how often, and beged of you, most pittyfully, that you would send mee some verses of your owne makeing; and yet you never would, when you knowe I love them more then can bee expressed; and in one of your letters, rather then you would send any of them too poore me you write word you had none; when I am sure you can not chuse but thinke, I know that it is impossieble; and therefore, pray see how hardly you deal with mee, when I have sent you all the verses that I could gett perpetuly, never omieting the sending of any, that I could get, that wer good ones; therefore, I desire you will make an end of the quarell, with sending mee some as sune as you can; for I assure you, they can not come to one that will more esteem them, then your ever most affectionat sister, to serve you, CONSTANCE, F.[63]

In a letter of 8 December (no year) she thanks him for the copy of his verses he wrote to "Mr Win----. They are much commended by all, as they deserve; and you have ganed the English ladyes' harts extreamely by them, to see you so constant a favorite of ther miritts."[64] In a postscript of a letter of 31 July 1639[65] she again begs him for his poems:

> You writt me word in your letter by Mr Fanshaw, that heretofore you sent me verses which begun (Whilest here eclipsed,) this letter I did never receave, nor verses, which I am most truely aflicted att; and if you doe truely love me, doe not denye me, but send them me againe; for you know not how much I suffer that they are lost. Therfore, prethee dere brother, send them me agane, and I hope they will have better locke....Send me some verses, for I want some good ones to put in my booke.[66]

("The Huntington Aston Manuscript" 546, and "A True Love's Knot: The Letters of Constance Fowler and the Poems of Herbert Aston," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 79 (1980) 19).

[63] Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 94-95 (BL Add. MS 36452, f. 22v).

[64] Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 97 (BL Add. MS 36452, f. 23).

[65] See footnote 4 for the suggestion that this letter dates from 1638.

[66] Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 132-33 (BL Add. MS 36452, f. 30).

A poem beginning "Whilst here eclipsed from those hapy beames" appears on folios 46v-47 of Fowler's miscellany. In it Herbert contrasts the effects of absence on common lovers (who forget their beloved) and on true lovers (who feed on the inward sight). If he looked at earthly forms he would be tempted to lose his innocence and paradise by the enticement of false fruit. LaBelle compares this poem with Donne's "A Valediction: forbidding Mourning," in its contrast of "dull sublunary lovers love" with his and his mistress's.[67] In an undated excerpt from a letter, Edward Thimelby apologizes that he has not seen his sister Aston (Clifford footnotes her as Katherine Thimelby Aston) even though he is in England, writing,

> If I have tyme to coppy it, I shal send you here enclosed a rare ballad of her husband's, if not I shall send it by the next, and in the interim stay your stomacke with this other of my brother Parsall, from whose sonne's lodgens in Gray's-inne I am newly come....[68]

Apparently Herbert wrote many poems: in a note found by Clifford among the Tixall papers, Herbert wrote that his wife was gathering together a collection of his poems, and asks the reader of the note to send any poems which correspond to his list following of 37 first lines or titles.[69] One of these first lines, "Make mee thy fancye," corresponds to a poem in Constance's miscellany: "Make mee thy fancy and if I proue not" (entitled "A true loues knott that was giuen As a fancy for a newyears gift" (ff. 186-187)). Constance has attributed this poem (and another, "on black paches," beginning, "I know your hart cannot so guilty bee" (ff. 145v-146)) to "Mr HT," most likely Henry Thimelby. Both the presence of this poem in Herbert Aston's list and, as LaBelle has pointed out, the stylistic similarity between this poem and Herbert's others, point to him as the author.[70] None appears in the collection apparently compiled by Herbert Aston in 1653, printed in *Tixall Poetry*, nor in Osborn b. 4, his miscellany.

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67 LaBelle, "A True Love's Knot" 22.

68 Clifford, *Tixall Poetry* xxiv. William Pershall's poetic contributions to Constance's volume are discussed below.

69 Clifford, *Tixall Poetry* xxii-xxiii.

70 LaBelle, "The Huntington Aston Manuscript" 559.

Gertrude Aston Thimelby is known to have written poetry.[71] She figures in Constance's miscellany as the addressee of several poems: she is the "Celia" who misses her brother (ff. 187-187v) and a swan with her sister Constance (ff. 185v-186) in two of Richard Fanshawe's poems; she is also the subject of her brother Herbert's poem "To My Honer'd Sister GA" (GA has been altered to GT, evidently after her marriage to Henry Thimelby) (ff. 155-158). Over half of his sixty-four iambic pentameter couplets celebrate her poetic skill. He writes that if there were as many gods as there are men, and if they all became poets, making the heavens their book, the stars their pens, and the sea their ink, they could still not express her perfections. This cannot be done, he claims,

> Vnlesse your selfe like beningne Heauen smile
> propitiwsly on us: and your owne stille
> (which gods doe tremble at) to us expresse
> your selfe; which will be double happines
> First blest in hearing your phebean Lines
> which all our Jugements and our witts refines
> And by them to the happy knowlege grow
> Of you; which we did quite despayre to know
> By any other meanes, no subject's fitt
> For you to write of but your selfe, no witt
> Able to comprehend you but your owne;
> To write none worthy but your selfe alone; (ff. 155v-156)

Her phebean lines refer not only to Apollo but also to the sun, an image taken up again at the end of the poem when the creative power of her poetry is described. Her splendour is "like the glorious sun"; her "pierian straines" and her "poetique fire" inspire us. Herbert takes this image even further, beyond inspiration into creation: as the sun produces creatures out of slime and mud, so Gertrude's lines "inuade/ our dul, dead, muddy, minds" and create new creatures out of what appeared inanimate. He describes this poem he is writing as proceeding from his mind, but as being refined by her "poetique fire"; she bestows life on their dull mold, and she, in fact, deserves the praise for this poem because she has written it. Herbert earlier refers to her

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[71] Clifford believes most of the poems in the second section of *Tixall Poetry*, "Poems by the Honourable Mrs. Henry Thimelby," to have been composed by Gertrude (85-106). Other poems by her appear in *Tixall Poetry* 226 and 287.

"inspiration" of his lines: "You are the soule of them; and of all uerse/ That witt, or goodnesse; euer did reherse" (f. 156).

Herbert's poem praising Lady Mary Aston, his elder brother Walter's wife, is noteworthy for several reasons, but perhaps most for its use of contemporary poets in its comparisons. Lady Mary Weston was the second and youngest daughter of Richard Weston, first Earl of Portland, by his first wife Elizabeth Pincheon of Writtle in Essex.[72] She and Walter were married in 1629.[73] He calls the writing of earlier poets on their lovers "prophesyes long writt" of herself,

> As that by petrarck so deuinely writt
> Title'd his laura, so admired yet,
> Draytons Idaea, and the loue=sick lines
> of dainells delia, hee too who refines
> our language Sedney, whilst hee Stella prayseth
> Her glory, and his fame together rayseth
> with CaeLICA most elegantly writt
> In aemulation of braue Sedney's witt
> all theese were shaddowes and meere prophesyes
> of some true Sun, that after should arise
> Immagin then if such be Sidney's starr
> what the Sune, you that by't prefigur'd are (ff. 150v-151).

Herbert's comparison of Mary with poets' objects of love (Petrarch's Laura, Drayton's Idea, Daniel's Delia, Sidney's Stella, [Greville's] Caelica) not only places her in an exalted sphere, but also elevates his own poetry. Sidney is given the most lines; perhaps Herbert most wished to emulate him.

The Thimelbys: Priests, Nuns, and Poets

The Thimelbys of Irnham were a prominent Catholic Lincolnshire family which had known links with Jesuit missionary work in England.[74] Two children of Walter, first Lord Aston married into this family. The Thimelbys also had a strong tradition of

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[72] Walter C. Metcalfe, ed., *The Visitations of Essex by Hawley, 1552; Hervey, 1558; Cooke, 1570; Raven, 1612; and Owen and Lilly, 1634* (London: Harleian Soc., 1878) 318-19.

[73] *Scots Peerage*, vol. 1, 410.

[74] Irnham Hall may have been the headquarters for Jesuits in Lincolnshire in 1615; Sir John Thimelby probably harboured his brother Richard who worked as a Jesuit in Lincolnshire between 1648 and 1666 (Trappes-Lomax 166-67); Sir John's father, Richard Thimelby, always kept a priest in his house, but none was ever found by the authorities (Hamilton, vol. 2, 154).

monasticism: Richard Thimelby's sister Elizabeth, his daughters Winefrid and Frances, his daughter-in-law Gertrude, and his granddaughter Katherine all became nuns at the Augustinian convent of St. Monica's in Louvain. Richard's sons William and Henry entered the English College at Rome (though Henry did not take holy orders), Richard became the Rector of St. Omer's, Robert died a student at St. Omer's, and Edward became Provost of St. Gery's in Cambrai.[75] Edward Thimelby is listed by Clifford as a contributor to *Tixall Poetry*,[76] and he contributed a dedicatory poem to Hugh Cressy's history of the Roman Catholic Church in Britain.[77]

Herbert Aston's wife, and Constance's close friend, Katherine Thimelby, contributed three poems to Constance's miscellany (one a response to a poem by William Habington, and another which is answered by a poem of Lady Dorothy Shirley).[78] She is the "Seraphina" of one of Herbert's poems ("To his M^{rs} on her outward Beauty," beginning, "Just (Seraphina) as a priest doth doubt" (ff. 33v-34v)) and possibly the "Celestina" in a poem by an unknown author (perhaps Constance) ("Verses presented with a beautious picture to Celestinae," beginning, "Except earth's saint this beautious image shee" (f. 6)). Seraphina was evidently Herbert Aston's poetic name for Katherine; in a letter of 8 December 1636, Constance writes to thank her brother for a copy of his verses of his own composition: "for my part, I must confesse, I am taken with nothinge but the praysess you give your *Seraphina*..."[79]

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[75] Hamilton, vol. 1, 130-32. Winefrid professed in 1635 and became the third superior of the convent in 1668, a post she held until her death in 1690 (Hamilton, vol. 2, 149 and M.A. Tierney, ed., *Dodd's Church History of England From the Commencement of the Sixteenth Century to the Revolution in 1688*, vol. 4 (London, 1841) 108).

[76] Clifford, *Tixall Poetry* xxvi. Clifford attributes five poems to him in this volume (see his notes on pages 327, 341, 347, 394, and 401).

[77] Hugh Palin Cressy, *The Church-History of Brittany from the Beginning of Christianity to the Norman Conquest* (Rouen, 1668) sig. E1v. The poem is entitled "Vpon the English Ecclesiasticall History written by his honourd freind F. Serenvs Cressy," and begins, "Still lovely in thy beautie's ruines, look."

[78] The three poems are: "upon the L D saying K T could be sad in her company," beginning, "Madem you say I am sad I ansure noe" (ff. 158-158v); "A discourse of A dreame," beginning, "Sleepe the best ease of the most troubled mind" (f. 31v); and "The ansure to these uerses Made by Mrs KT," beginning, "Sr Since you are profest to dwell" (ff. 153v-154v). A version of "A discourse of A dreame," titled "To Sleep," is printed in the miscellaneous section of *Tixall Poetry* (294; it is missing six lines of Constance's total of 14). Another poem follows it: "The Golden Mean," beginning, "Base thought! to value all by fortune's rate!" (295-96). Clifford attributes both of these to Katherine Thimelby because he found copies of them written in her hand and subscribed "Kath. Thym." (398).

[79] Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 97 (BL Add. MS 36452, f. 23).

Herbert's elegy on his wife is entitled: "Aspirations Sent after Seraphina in glory by her distressed supplyant."[80] Another elegy appears among the miscellaneous poems in *Tixall Poetry*, "On the Death of my Dear Sister, Mrs Kath. Aston; Known by the Name of 'Good Love,'"[81] which may have been written by Gertrude Aston, who is known to have written other poetry in this volume. Katherine Thimelby is a constant topic in Constance's letters to Herbert; Constance played a key matchmaking role in their relationship.[82] The fondness of Katherine and Constance for each other is evident in letters after Herbert's and Katherine's marriage.[83]

Katherine's brother, Sir John (knighted in 1624) married into the Savage family. He married Elizabeth, the third daughter of Thomas Savage, created Viscount Savage in 1626, of Rock Savage, Cheshire and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Darcey of Chichester, Earl Rivers.[84] A portrait by Van Dyck survives in the National Gallery, London, of Elizabeth and her older sister Dorothy, which may be commemorating one of their marriages (suggested by Cupid's offering of flowers to the seated sister).[85]

An elegy by Ben Jonson on a third Savage sister, Lady Jane Paulet, Marchioness of Winchester, has been copied by Constance into her miscellany (f. 137).

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[80] Clifford, *Tixall Letters,* vol. 1, 201-04 (BL Add. MS 36452, ff. 59-59v).

[81] Clifford, *Tixall Poetry* 283-84. Clifford explains that not only was the house built by Herbert Aston known as Bellamore (or good love) but that his wife was as well (396).

[82] Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 114-15 (BL Add. MS 36452, f. 27). Constance copied out some of Catherine's letters and sent them to Herbert; she also kept Katherine's three-year love for Herbert a secret from other people.

[83] In two undated letters, Katherine writes to her husband, "Say as much as you can to your dearest sister for me. Never creature was so obliged as I to her. Oh love her extreamly, and let her know I hould this expression inough. I hope she will take it soe" and "My sweet sister Fowler, I here, comes to morow, but when I shall se her I know not. Oh the hapines of talking to her, who so well will fele my mesery in your absence..." (Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 145-46 and 152; BL Add. MS 36452, ff. 35 and 37v).

[84] George J. Armytage and J. Paul Rylands, eds., *Pedigrees Made at the Visitation of Cheshire, 1613* (London: Harleian Soc., 1909) 206. This pedigree indicates that Elizabeth's brother John succeeded his maternal grandfather as Earl Rivers in 1640. The Thimelby pedigree states that Thomas, Elizabeth's father, was the first Earl Rivers.

[85] On 10 April 1637 Dorothy married Charles, Lord Andover, against her father's wishes. Elizabeth and Sir John Thimelby were married on 29 September 1634 (Oliver Millar, *Van Dyck in England* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1982) 73-74). These two sisters also danced in masques at court; they both appeared in Jonson's *Chloridia* of 22 February 1631 and in William Davenant's *The Temple of Love* of 10 (repeated 11, 12, and possibly 14) February 1635. Dorothy Savage also danced in Davenant's *Salmacida Spolia* of 21 January (repeated 16, 17, or 18 February) 1640 (Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, vol. 2 (London: Sotheby; Berkeley: U of California P, 1973) 419, 599, and 729).

The eldest daughter of Thomas, Viscount Savage, she married John Paulet, Lord St. John, son and heir to the Marquis of Winchester in 1622.[86] She was baptized on 26 May 1607 and died at Basing, their seat, on 15 April 1631 while giving birth to her second son.[87] Jonson clearly states her parentage:

> Whose daughter, ha; great Savage of the rock...
> She was the Lady Jane and Marchionesse
> of Winchester The Heraulds can tell this
> Earle Rivers grandchild.... (lines 10, 19-21)

This poem by Ben Jonson likely interested Constance because of the family connection. In a letter to her brother Herbert, Constance has written that her beloved Katherine Thimelby will be passing near Tixall on her way to the seat of Lord Savage in Cheshire: "I hope I shall see Mrs Thim- shortly. She comes this way to go to my Lord Savage's with her sister Thim.[Elizabeth, Sir John's wife]--would you wer here to speke for me. She comes by Sugnell, and I meane to goe thether to see her."[88]

Katherine's sister Winefrid Thimelby has left behind many examples of her writing in her letters to her family (39 of which are published in *Tixall Letters*). Several of these letters to her brother-in-law Herbert Aston repeat the image of a flattering or multiplying glass in which Herbert judges her too kindly.[89] Like Constance, Winefrid also puzzles over riddles in Herbert's letters, coming up with her own interpretation of them.[90] Winefrid apparently left behind another specimen of her writing; Clifford describes a small volume of devotions, formerly in the library at Tixall (though not listed in the 1899 sale catalogue), the handwriting of which matches that of the letters. On a blank leaf at the beginning of the book is written: "Gertrude Aston's book, given her by her Revd. Mother, and Aunt Winefrid Thimelby, 1671."

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[86] Armytage, *Visitation of Cheshire* 206.

[87] C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, eds., *Ben Jonson,* vol. 11 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1952) 102-03. Herford and Simpson mention other epitaphs on Paulet: by Milton, Camden, and John Eliot. James Howell, her Spanish teacher, wrote her a flattering letter.

[88] Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 133 (BL Add. MS 36452, f. 30v). See the map for distances between Irnham, Sugnall, and Rock Savage.

[89] Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 2, 22, 29, and 67 (BL Add. MS 36452, ff. 68, 72, and 88).

[90] "You end your letter with a ridle I have not witt to find out. You say, you hope to hear I believe better of you then I did: which seems impossible; my faith concearning you cannot bee more strongly kynd, no more then can my love increase" (Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 2, 107; BL Add. MS 36452, f. 106).

The title of the work is, "Meditations of the principal obligations of a Christian, taken out of the scriptures, councils, and fathers." Twenty-four meditations follow; at the end of each is a reflection and a prayer. In her short preface, entitled "Advice to the Reader," she writes that she never intended to make these meditations "public," but "it hath since been believed, that they might prove profitable to many if they were put forth for the common use of Christians."[91] This raises questions as to how many of these manuscripts were produced, and by whom; this particular volume was apparently given to her niece Gertrude.

The Second Generation of Astons

Gertrude was one of Herbert Aston's and Katherine Thimelby's ten children. In his prose tribute to his wife, Herbert recounts Katherine's words of comfort on her deathbed: "I am sure now I shall dy, why should you grieve? I leave you ten for one." At least five survived Katherine: Con, Jacke, and Franke, all mentioned in Herbert's account of her death and in other letters,[92] and Katherine and Gertrude, who are much discussed in volume two of *Tixall Letters* by their aunt Winefrid Thimelby, who wished them to join her convent. Katherine (called Keat by Winefrid) did become a nun and is discussed fondly by her aunt in many letters, until she dies at the convent, but after a short stay Gertrude (Gatt) elected to return to her family in England.[93] Three other children are mentioned in a letter of Winefrid's to her "Dear Children, Girls and Boys" at Bellamore, who were probably also Herbert's and Katherine's: Mall, Wat, and Hab.[94]

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[91] Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 2, 3.

[92] Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 190, and vol. 2, 31 (BL Add. MS 36452, f. 55v and 72).

[93] Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 2, 18, 23, 24, etc. until her death at page 101 (BL Add. MS 36452, ff. 66, 68, 69, etc. until 104). Gatt is discussed on pages 71-87 (BL Add. 36452, ff. 90-95). Katherine mentions a son Jack in a letter to Herbert (vol. 1, 157; f. 41), and wrote a poem, "To my daughter Catherine, on Ashwensday, 1654, finding her weeping at her prayers, because I would not consent to her fasting" (vol. 1, 158; ff. 43-43v). Herbert Aston wrote a letter to his daughter Katherine upon her entering the convent, in which he expresses his pride in her and her three sisters (vol. 2, 32-34; ff. 73-74). The list written by one of Herbert's children (now William Salt Library, Stafford, 45/57 folder 2, discussed below), suggests that Herbert and Katherine had five daughters; perhaps one had died by this point.

[94] Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 2, 96-97 (BL Add. MS 36452, f. 102).

A slender appointment book without a cover survives in the William Salt Library, Stafford, which throws light on the question of Herbert and Katherine's offspring. No year has been assigned to it (though the catalogue dates it to the latter half of the seventeenth century), but a page is devoted to each month from January to December with numbers of the days written down the page. Beside several of the dates names have been written, suggesting that the compiler of the volume kept a record of the people with whom he or she had contact on particular dates. Names associated with families familiar to us through the miscellany appear in the volume's pages: Aston, Thimelby, Fowler, Somerset, Pershall, and Southcote. On the final page of the booklet the compiler has written the heading "Of Birth days" and listed the birthdays of all the members of his or her family:

Jan 9	My Fathers
Mar 12	My Mother
Jan 26	Sis Catharine
Jan 26	Bro William
Feb 2	Sis Frances
May 25	Sis Gertrude
June 25	Brother John
July 3	Sister Mary
Aug 25	Sis Constant
Sept 22	Bro Richard
Nov 2	Bro Walter
April 8	1647

The last item is mysterious (perhaps it is the birth date of the compiler?), but the dates and names of the items on the list strongly suggest that a child of Herbert and Katherine was the hand behind the engagement book. We know that Herbert was baptized on 16 January; a birth date of 9 January seems not impossible. The names of the siblings correspond closely with those given in the Aston correspondence: Con (Constance), Jacke (John), Franke (Frances), Katherine, Gertrude, Mall (Mary), and Wat (Walter). Hab may be a diminution of Herbert, a name not listed in the engagement book, and therefore possibly the identity of the compiler. Records at the English College of Rome indicate that a Herbert Ashton, son of Herbert Ashton of

Lichfield Diocese, was admitted to the college in 1669 and left in 1672.[95] This is probably Katherine and Herbert's son, born in 1647.

Two further brothers are not mentioned in the Aston correspondence but appear on the birthday list: William and Richard. Uncle and Aunt Fowler (who appear periodically in the appointment portion of the manuscript) are probably Walter and Constance Fowler, and Cousin Magdalene Fowler is likely their youngest daughter. The second generation of the Aston family similarly kept in close contact with their Catholic relations, and also turned their hand to poetic composition, as many of the poems in *Tixall Poetry* and two Rawlinson manuscripts in the Bodleian Library indicate.

Among Colonel John Scott's papers collected by Pepys appear two versions of a letter from "Constantia" to "la grand Artaban d'Angleterre" dated 25 September 1678, and of a poem entitled "the Passionate adresse of Delia Lady prioris in the behalfe of her selfe & Lady sisters to ~~constantia~~ Madam constantia Lady Abbesse" and the accompanying "Lady contantia^{S} Answer."[96] In the letter, Constantia, who calls herself a "Hermitesse" and "Lover of Solitude," thanks Artaban for sending her information and requests further news, using coded pastoral names to refer to key political figures. This Constantia cannot be Constance Fowler, since she had died by 1664; perhaps it is the daughter of Herbert and Katherine. Delia is not a name which appears among known children of the Thimelby, Aston, or Fowler families, but it recalls Celia, the name given to Gertrude Aston by Richard Fanshawe, and thus may be a coded pastoral name. Delia's passionate address to Constantia speaks of the gladness of herself, her sisters, and her little boy. They were melancholy, but when they heard she was well that balanced their desire, though because of their duty they cannot tell

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[95] Henry Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus. Historic Facts Illustrative of the Labours and Sufferings of its Members in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, vol. 5 (London, 1879) 449. Foley suggests that this is the same man who entered St. Omer's College in 1684, and is described as the brother of Lord Aston. This cannot be Herbert Aston's son; it has to be one of Walter, third Lord Aston's brothers.

[96] Bodleian MSS Rawl. A. 175, ff. 165-67v, and Rawl. A. 176, ff. 107-09. The latter is a copy of the former. I am grateful to Peter Davidson for telling me of these items; he has suggested to me that the poems are a joke between the Bellamore cousins.

what they wish (obviously that she would return to them). In her answering poem, Constantia describes her visit with Gloriana at "knoll" in which Gloriana begged her not to leave. But she heard a voice say "your not soe deare to any,/ Make your poor Girls reioice," and joyfully decided to return home. The language of cloistered religious life (prioress, abbess, hermitess) may be a joke, or it may refer to Constantia joining Gloriana, the head of a religious order, but returning home to her family in England. Herbert Aston's daughter Gertrude returned home after a stay at her aunt's convent in Louvain; perhaps this lighthearted poem is alluding to this event.

Poets of the Tixall Circle: Walter, first Lord Aston, Lady Dorothy Shirley and William Stafford, and Sir William Pershall

Constance's and Herbert's father had poetic talents as well. In a letter to Herbert of 11 August 1636, Constance thanks him for a letter in which he sent to her and her sister "most admirable verses of my lord's translating, which are justly admired by all here."[97] At least one of these translations has been preserved in Constance's miscellany; a poem entitled "A stranslation" has been initialed LWA (for Lord Walter Aston) (f. 188, beginning, "Sometimes by Aprill arrogantly deckt"). The subject of the sonnet is the steadfastness of love (which is like a mountain appearing to change in the seasons but staying constant) in spite of the changing favours and scorns of his beloved.

Sir William Pershall pays tribute to Aston's poetic gifts in a poem in the collection entitled, "A congratalation For the happy Retorne of ^{T}L: A: From Spaine," (ff. 32v-33, beginning, "When from Th'Antipodes Apollo brings"). The poem expresses Pershall's inability to properly welcome his father-in-law. He compares his poem with the "meaner uoices" of birds which chirp in the presence of the queen of air; he is like them in that he does not present art, but only his desire to express his joy at Aston's return. He chides his own boldness in offering ivy leaves to one who wears Apollo's crown; he compares himself to a pedant boasting of the Latin his master has

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[97] Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 89 (BL Add. MS 36452, f. 21v).

taught him. Perhaps Lord Aston's poetry garnered such praise because of his role as head of the family.

Dennis Kay posits Walter Aston as the author of an elegy on Prince Henry's death in 1612 which appears in Bodleian MS Eng. poet. e. 37, a miscellany compiled chiefly in the late 1620s.[98] The attribution seems reasonable given Aston's prominence at court and his friendship with the Prince. All of the three surviving copies of Donne's verse epistle to the Countess of Huntingdon are attributed to Aston; this may indicate that Aston was known as a poet who wrote like Donne, or that the two men were linked in certain circles.[99]

In addition to poetry, the first Lord Aston kept a commonplace book of sorts, which dates from his second embassy to Spain.[100] The main purpose of the trip was to negotiate the proposed marriage treaty between the Infanta and the Prince of Wales. Brief notes on these negotiations for the treaty figure on page 121, but the remainder of the sparsely filled volume contains a variety of material: notes on the orders and ceremonies of Spain, on Spain's trade and natural commodities, on gold in the Indies, on the christening of the Infanta, on the hanging of the Queen of Naples in 1381, and on the state of the Holy Roman Empire. Several of these are in Spanish. In the final section in the volume appears a satirical account of a Parliament of Women which is dated 25 March 1647. In this account dozens of specific women are named (Lady Isabella Thynne, for example, is appointed the Speaker of the House) and mocked for fraternizing with Cavaliers, and for the various motions that they pass (including that men shall obey their wives). This Civil War satire postdates the first Lord Aston's death, but may have been written by someone with connections to the Aston family.

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[98] Dennis Kay, "Poems by Sir Walter Aston, and a Date for the Donne/Goodyer Verse Epistle 'Alternis Vicibus,'" *Review of English Studies* 37 (1986) 198-206. Kay transcribes the poem, attributed to "S^{r}: W.A." and beginning, "Weepe, weepe, even mankinde weepe, so much is dead," on pp. 203-04.

[99] Kay 203. The three manuscript copies of this epistle, beginning, "That unripe side of earth," are found in Bod MS Eng. poet. f. 9, pp. 194-99; Yale Osborn MS b. 148, pp. 143-46; and Trinity College Dublin MS 877, ff. 264-266v.

[100] Staffordshire Record Office D 988.

Sir Walter Aston patronized several poets, most prominently Michael Drayton.[101] One of the most famous tributes to Aston occurs in Song XII of Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*: "Trent by Tixall grac't, the Astons ancient seat;/ which oft the Muse hath found her safe and sweet retreat." A copy of the first part of *Poly-Olbion* (1613) existed in the Tixall Library (lot 208), probably a gift from Drayton. Although the poem refers specifically to Aston and his own patronage and poetic creation, this accolade could aptly apply to Tixall a generation later, commemorating the literary activities of Aston's children, and, later, of his grandchildren as well.

Lady Dorothy Shirley was a close friend of Constance's who had poetry dedicated to her and who wrote her own. She was born in 1601 and died on 5 April 1636, only two years after marrying her second husband, William Stafford of Blatherwick in Northamptonshire. He died a year later. Shirley was the younger daughter of Robert Devereux, the second Earl of Essex. The first husband of her mother (Frances, the daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham) was Sir Philip Sidney.[102] She must have spent time at her brother the third earl's estate of Chartley Castle, which is close to Tixall; Constance and Dorothy probably met through this geographical connection.

Dorothy Shirley was a known patron of literature: James Shirley dedicated *Changes; or, Love in a Maze* to her in 1632; among John Eliot's poems are lines to her (his poems were not printed until 1658); and in 1632 a translation of a Life of St. Francis Xavier, printed at the Jesuit press in St. Omer, was dedicated to her by its translator, Thomas Fitzherbert. Shirley's Catholicism was not shared by Stafford, but Stafford seems to have been accepted among her friends.[103] Stafford may have written the poem on the crucifixion, "O Lord direct my hart direct my soule" (ff. 13v-15v), which has been attributed to "M. W. S" in the miscellany. Shirley addressed a poem to Katherine Thimelby, "<Dear>e Cosen pardon me if I mistowke" (ff. 158v-159), in

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101 The Appendix of *Tixall Poetry* prints all of Drayton's dedicatory verses to Sir Walter Aston.

102 LaBelle, "The Huntington Aston Manuscript" 552 and 563; Bernard H. Newdigate, "The Constant Lovers--I," *Times Literary Supplement* (25 April 1942) 204 and Newdigate, "The Constant Lovers--II," *TLS* (18 April 1942) 216.

103 Newdigate, "Constant Lovers--II" 216.

response to Thimelby's "Madem you say I am sad I ansure noe," entitled "upon the L D saying K T could be sad in her company" (ff. 158-158v). Thimelby expresses dismay that her outward countenance does not show her joy in Shirley's conversation. Shirley returns the compliment, expressing pleasure that Thimelby tolerates "this place" and Shirley. This reference suggests that Thimelby may have been staying with Shirley--possibly in Blatherwick after her marriage to Stafford. Her second poem, "Why did you fayne both sights and teares to gayne," entitled "of uncon[s]tancy" (ff. 136-136v) is answered in the lines following in the manuscript: "If you would know the reason why" (ff. 136v-137). Shirley's poem asks the addressee why he has disdained her heart after obtaining it; she ends requesting that he either love, or not pretend to love, because people will believe that he is lying when he tells the truth. The answering poem from an unknown respondent uses the image of a mirror very wittily: he thought she was his reflection, but when he left for a period, others looked in and she smiled, leaving no impression of him. He would rather go undressed than mend himself in such a glass. This recalls Winefrid Thimelby's use of a mirror image in her letters to Herbert Aston, though her mirror is one that flatters.[104] Many of the secular poems in Constance's miscellany demonstrate a similar relish for the wit of a particular metaphysical conceit.

Shirley's poem "Why did you fayne" survives in at least one contemporary manuscript copy, that of Harvard MS Eng. 626 (ff. 17v-18), a miscellany dating from 1625-40, containing poems, letters, and characters by various authors, many of which have been identified in a modern table of contents.[105] Most of the manuscript has been written in an italic hand, excluding the final poem and the various signatures on the front and back flyleaves. A Catholic compiler seems possible, due to the presence of poems such as "Ave Maria, or A Hymne in memorie of our Saviours Blessed Virgin Mother" (f. 15). The version of Shirley's poem "Why did you fayne" in the Harvard manuscript differs only slightly from Fowler's transcription. Another poem is shared

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[104] See footnote 89.

[105] Poems include those by Herrick, Randolph, Donne, Suckling, Jonson, Carew, and Fletcher. Many of these names commonly appeared in miscellanies of the period, such as Huntington MS 904.

between the two manuscripts, Owen Felltham's "When by sad fate" (f. 188v of the Huntington MS).[106] Again, the variants are minimal. Interestingly the Harvard manuscript shares four poems with Herbert Aston's miscellany, but their variants are too substantial to indicate a direct link between the manuscripts.[107]

Two poems on Shirley and Stafford have been transcribed into the miscellany: Thomas Randolph's poem on their marriage, entitled "The Constant Louers/ A pastorall Eglogne/ Laura Amintas, and Chorus/ MWS Laura LDS" (ff. 189-195v), which is followed by "A Pastorall Eglogue on the death of Lawra: Amyntas: Dorus: Chorus:" (ff. 196-200v). Thomas Randolph, who died in 1635, spent his last years in the household of William Stafford, making his authorship of the first eclogue the most likely (the poem has been initialed "TR").[108] In this dialogue Amintas (Stafford) notes the passing of time since he and Laura (Shirley) have met and he describes his travels and his sufferings for her. Laura then describes her travels and sufferings, proclaiming, "So shall these ebs and flouds of our chast blood/ make constant tides, and an eternall flood" (f. 195v). The eclogue on Shirley's death (ff. 196-200v) takes the form of a

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[106] A poem "To the Lady D.S." appears in Owen Felltham's *Lusoria: Or Occasional Pieces. With A Taste of Some Letters* (sig. A3-3v), which is printed in his *Resolves: Divine, Moral, Political. The Eighth Impression With New and several other Additions Both in Prose and Verse Not Extant in the Former Impressions* (London, 1661). This may refer to Lady Dorothy Shirley.

[107] The four poems shared by Harvard MS Eng. 626 and Osborn MS b. 4 are "If Narcissus foolish boy" (Harvard: f. 8; Osborn: f. 22), "You glorious trifles of the East" (Harvard: f. 8; Osborn [begins: "Your meaner bewties of the night"]: f. 39); "Blinde Beautie if it bee a losse" (Harvard: f. 14; Osborn: f. 53v); and "Since all men that I come among" (Harvard: f. 66; Osborn: f. 17v). The differences between the versions are great: "If Narcissus" is incomplete in Osborn (only three stanzas have been transcribed; underneath the heading "4" the page has been left blank, so obviously the scribe was intending to continue). The seven stanzas in Harvard each have an extra two lines, making a total of ten lines per stanza, and the tenth line has an extra iambic foot added. The three stanzas in Osborn correspond with stanzas 1, 2, and 5 in Harvard, with at least three variants in each stanza. Sir Henry Wootton's "You meaner beauties of the night" appeared often in manuscript copies, sometimes with huge variations. The six stanzas of Osborn been arranged as follows: 4, 2, 1, 3, 5 (stanza 6 is omitted). The most significant variant is that Osborn makes the subject of his fifth stanza "my M^{rs}" while Harvard has "my Princesse," perhaps truer to Wotton's version, written for Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia. Again, stanzas are in a different order in the two manuscript versions of "Blinde beauty;" Osborn is divided into ten four-line stanzas, while the order of the stanzas (although they are not marked as stanzas--the lines run together) in Harvard is 1, 2, 3, 4, [11], 8, [12], [13], 10. There are nine stanzas in Harvard, three of them not found in Osborn; four of the Osborn stanzas are not found in Harvard. The final poem "Since all men" contains nine stanzas in Osborn, but eight (although not divided into stanzas) in Harvard in the following order: 1, 2, 4, 3, 5, 7, 6, 9. The vast differences between these four poems in Osborn and Harvard make any direct connection between them highly unlikely.

[108] Newdigate, "The Constant Lovers--I" 204.

dialogue between Amyntas (Stafford) and Dorus. Amyntas describes the vision he had of a Palace of Love, in which he is led from the external realm of "mechanick Lovers" to a gallery in which a flame from God directs lovers; at the end of this gallery a "quier of witts" write elegies on Laura (Shirley), so he writes his own, which follows.

The eclogue described above has been attributed to "S^{r} WP" in Constance Aston Fowler's miscellany, and is written in the hand of Sir William Pershall. He was evidently close enough to Constance at one time to write his own poem in her collection. The initials, however, are partially crossed out, something that occurs in all five of the poems attributed to him. LaBelle suggests that he may have disgraced himself in the eyes of his family (he lost his wealth and filed a land suit against Walter, second Lord Aston in 1656) and that Constance returned to the poems at a later date to scratch out his name.[109]

Sir William Pershall of Canwell was married first to Mary Thimelby.[110] He later married Frances Aston, the third daughter of Walter and Gertrude Aston. Five of his poems appear in Fowler's miscellany: the eclogue on the death of Dorothy Shirley, mentioned above; "on Louers Teares," beginning, "Canne Teares meete with affections flame" (f. 145v); "The first Alter," beginning, "Chast flames of sacred virgins purely bright" (f. 26v), in praise of Caelistina, who is praised elsewhere in the volume (on ff. 6, 27-27v, 28v-31, and 31v-32v) but whose identification is uncertain; "An Elegy of the death of the Lady Frances Draicott," beginning, "To dye and to dye younge; and to dye full" (ff. 28-28v); and "A congratalation For the happy Retorne of ^{T}L: A: From Spaine," beginning, "When from Th'Antipodes Apollo brings" (32v-33), a poem on his father-in-law Lord Walter Aston's return from Spain, discussed above (p. 135).

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109 LaBelle, "The Huntington Aston Manuscript" 551. Her reference number for the land suit Pershall filed against the second Lord Aston, which is supposedly in the William Salt Library, Stafford, is incorrect. The librarians were unable to locate it on 4 July 1996. Though he may have fallen out with the Astons after 1656, he did write Herbert a short letter of condolence when Katherine died in 1658 (Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 177; BL Add. MS 36452, f. 52).

110 Although a Pershall pedigree only mentions one wife, Frances Aston (George Armytage and W. Harry Rylands, eds., *Staffordshire Pedigrees...1664-1700* (London: Harleian Soc., 1912) 186), the Thimelby pedigree does mention a Mary Thimelby who married Sir William Pershall (Grazebrook 959). Clifford, in *Tixall Poetry*, quotes a letter from Edward Thimelby which refers to a poem by "my brother Parsall" (see p. 126 above). The pedigree in Hamilton, vol. 2, has Mary Thimelby's husband as Sir Richard Pershall.

The subject of the first of Pershall's elegies in Fowler's miscellany is Frances Draycote, the wife of Philip Draycote of Painsley in Staffordshire, who died on 20 November 1636.[111] She was a daughter of Richard Weston, first Earl of Portland, and Lord High Treasurer, and thus Lady Mary Aston's half-sister.[112] Frances Weston married Philip Draycote, who died on 7 March 1659, and who fathered four or five children by her.[113] Philip Draycote was Catholic; his estate was sequestered in 1648 and he was subjected to fines; Lady Frances's father converted to Catholicism on his deathbed.[114] A relation between the Fowlers and the Draycotes existed: both Philip Draycote and Walter Fowler (Constance's husband) were grandchildren of Walter Fowler (see the family tree).[115] John Draycote, Philip's father, was one of the signatories of the marriage contract between Constance Aston and Walter Fowler.[116]

Clifford found no evidence that Lady Frances Pershall possessed poetic talents,[117] but she did take part in literary life to at least a small extent. She owned a copy of Walter Montagu's play, *The Shepheardes Paradise* (lot 597 in the Tixall Library sale; now Folger MS V.b.203). It was likely a performance copy, and the work of a professional scribe. The play was performed at court in 1632; its actors included Queen Henrietta Maria and twelve women.[118]

Besides the family members or friends from their largely Catholic circle, discussed above, the work of several known poets appear, some of whom had ties with the Tixall circle. Poems have been attributed to Sir Richard Fanshawe, William Habington, Henry King, Ben Jonson, Aurelian Townshend, Robert Herrick, John Donne, Owen Felltham, Sidney Godolphin, Thomas Randolph, and Philip King.

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111 John LeNeve, *Monumenta Anglicana: Being Inscriptions on the Monuments Of Several Eminent Persons Deceased in or Since the Year 1650, to the End of the Year 1679*, vol. 2 (London, 1718) 72. Frances Weston's date of decease is noted in her husband's memorial inscription.

112 Grazebrook 112; and W. Fowler Carter, "Notes on Staffordshire Families," *Collections for a History of Staffordshire* (1925) 140.

113 Carter 140-41. The children were Richard, Philip, John, Frances, and (apparently) Barbara.

114 Carter 139-40.

115 Grazebrook 112 and 136.

116 See footnote 21.

117 Clifford, *Tixall Poetry* xxiii.

118 Sarah Poynting, *"The Shepheardes Paradise": Materials Towards an Edition*, M.Phil. diss., U of Oxford, 1993, 38, 24-25, and my conversations with the author. Poynting's D.Phil. thesis, and her edition of the play for the Malone Society, are forthcoming.

Poets Linked to the Tixall Circle: Sir Richard Fanshawe and William Habington

Sir Richard Fanshawe, the diplomat, poet, and translator, had a special connection with the Aston family. Walter, first Lord Aston appointed him secretary on his embassy to Spain in 1635, where he remained for a time as *chargé d'affaires* when Aston returned to England in 1638.[119] Another connection existed between the Fanshawes and the Astons: Gertrude Sadler, the wife of the first Lord Aston, was the godmother of Ann Harrison, Fanshawe's future wife, whom he married in 1644.[120] Fanshawe delivered letters from Herbert, who accompanied them on that embassy, to Constance from Madrid,[121] but also spent time in Staffordshire with Constance and other members of her family. In a letter to Herbert of 11 August 1636 she writes: "Wee here Mr Fanshaw is in London, and porpeses to com downe, which I reioyce at mightyly."[122] Fanshawe probably made a gift of his translation of Camoens's *The Lusiads, or Portugall's Historical Poem* of 1655 to one of the first Lord Aston's children (lot 118 in the Sotheby's 1899 sale catalogue). Fanshawe was a contributor to Constance's miscellany; three of his poems are included on the later pages of the miscellany ("Celia hath for a brothers absence sworne" (ff. 187-87v); "A dreame," beginning, "I saw two swans come proudly downe the streame" (ff. 185v-86); and "The nightingall," beginning, "With such variety and dainty skill" (ff. 188v-189)). The first two were written specifically about the Aston family; the final one is a translation from the Spanish. The evidence for inclusion of the poems "Celia hath for a brothers absence sworne" and "I saw two swans come proudly downe the streame" into the Fanshawe canon is that supplied by Arthur Clifford in the form of an undated letter from Constance to Herbert:

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[119] Peter R.K. Davidson, *An Edition of the Poems of Sir Richard Fanshawe*, vol. 1, diss., U of Cambridge, 1984, 9. Davidson's edition of Fanshawe's poetry for Oxford University Press is forthcoming.

[120] John Loftis, ed., *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979) 108 and 203. Ann Harrison was born on 25 March 1625. She writes of her baptism in her memoirs: "Mr. Hide, Lady Astion, Lady Wolstolholme were my godfather and godmothers" (108).

[121] Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 92, 132-33, and 137 (BL Add. MS 36452, ff. 22, 30, and 32).

[122] Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 92 (BL Add. MS 36452, f. 22).

Dear Brother,
That you may see how Mr Fanshaw has spent his time here, I have sent you these verses, which are of his making, sence his coming hither, and hee presented them to my sister and mee. The first ["I saw two swans..."] were made upon this occasion:....Wee made him beleeve that you should fight with him when he came into Spaine againe, for abusing your sisters so, in flattering of them so infinightly as he has don in these verses.... [In the second poem "Celia" are] verses...which are made in particular to my sister Gatt [i.e. Gertrude]....Uppon which theame he made these other verses, which are much admired by all here, and by the Thimelbyes.[123]

The appearance of both poems here, each attributed to "Mr R F," further supports this attribution. Peter Davidson dates the composition of these poems on the daughters of Lord Aston to the autumn of 1636, and their transcription into the Huntington miscellany to c.1636-39. His tentative suggestion that Fanshawe may have been romantically interested in Constance Aston is worth considering.[124]

The versions which appear in *Tixall Poetry*, apparently sent to Herbert with Constance's letter above, are identical to those in her miscellany (except for one word in line 7 of "A dreame": "euer" in Constance's miscellany is "never" in *Tixall Poetry*). Both poems appear in a slightly later manuscript, Huntington HM 116, the commonplace book of an Oxonian. The poems by Fanshawe were probably copied while Fanshawe was in Oxford between 1643 and 1645. "Celia" also appears in British Library MS Add. 15228, a manuscript partly in Fanshawe's autograph which was in his possession in the 1630s.

Fanshawe revised "A dreame" quite substantially between its transcription into Constance's miscellany and into Huntington MS HM 116, removing obvious Spenserian borrowings from the "Prothalamion" and demonstrating more strongly the influence of Spanish literature.[125] The variants in "Celia" between Constance's

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[123] Clifford, *Tixall Poetry* 215.

[124] Davidson, vol. 1, 39 and 74. Davidson notes that Fanshawe's wife, Ann, is silent on the topic of the Aston daughters in her memoirs, and that these two poems have disappeared from Bod MS Firth c. 17, the volume compiled about the time of Fanshawe's marriage in May 1644. He also points out that Fanshawe titled one of his Spanish sonnets "Constancie," and puns with the same word in "A Cupid of Diamonds Presented" (both printed in the 1648 edition of his poetry). Davidson's additional suggestion that the Catholicism of the Astons led Fanshawe to conceal his friendship with Constance is also plausible.

[125] Davidson, vol. 1, 108-09. Editions of the two poems appear in vol. 2, 52-53. The first four lines of "A dreame" demonstrate some of the differences between the two versions: (Huntington MS HM

miscellany and Huntington HM 116 are again quite substantial (two extra lines are added, for example), and suggest a later revision; Add. MS 15228 agrees with HM 116 on some variants but with Constance's miscellany on others. Perhaps the most significant variant is found at line 8: because of missing her brother, Celia will no longer curl her hair "Into a thousand snares the siluer purle" (Constance's transcription). In HM 116 the purle is "bossed;" in Add. 15228 it is "wanton." Given the indelicate allusion, possibly to pubic hair, in the latter image, it is not surprising that the version which reached the subject of the poem, Gertrude Aston, has the purer "siluer." Perhaps the word is Constance's; she copied the poem herself into the miscellany, and the subject of the poem was her sister. Another variant at line 19 ("some great ones death" in Constance's copy and in HM 116 is "some great man's death" in Add. 15228) makes sense if Constance is indeed the hand behind the alteration; man is changed to a gender neutral term. But this is pure speculation; Fanshawe may have written "siluer purle" and "ones," he may have substituted other words in later revisions of his poetry, or later compilers of manuscripts may have made the alterations themselves.

The third Fanshawe poem in the miscellany does not appear in *Tixall Poetry* but is present in the 1648 edition of *Il Pastor Fido* and in a major manuscript source of Fanshawe's poetry (Bod MS Firth c. 17, compiled about 1644).[126] Fully seven lines of the sonnet "The nightingall" are different in Constance's version (presumably an earlier version by Fanshawe himself), but do not change the story of the sonnet in a major way. Fanshawe relays the story of Philomela (whose tongue was cut out by her rapist Theseus, but who was later turned into a nightingale), who accuses her ravisher with her song, so that she almost causes the forest to register his name upon the leaves and bark of a pine tree. She can leave her sorrow because she can fly through the woods

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904:) I saw two swans come proudly downe the streame, /Of Trent, as I his siluer curles beheld,/ To which the doues that drawe fayre venus Teame,/ And venus selfe must beauties scepter yeild: (Huntington MS HM 116:) Two stately swans sayle downe the Trent I saw/ (Like spotlesse Ermynes charg'd on silver field)/ To which the Doves which Venus' chariot drawe,/ And Venus' selfe, must Beautye's scepter yield.

[126] Davidson, vol. 2, 120.

and publish her grief, but the lover who has been turned to a stone by his Medusa cries and can neither change nor express his pain. Variants of note occur: in the miscellany the nightingale is fortunate because she may leave her sorrow, publish her pain and so deceive it; but in the printed version and in Firth c. 17 the nightingale is lucky to be able to declare her pain "In moving Noates," and wander through the woods with "uncut wings," and so distract her care through change. The pain is not deceived in this version, it is only declared, but the sense of the relative freedom of the nightingale is stressed in both versions. Since Constance had such first hand knowledge of Fanshawe and his work it is more likely that the version in the miscellany is his and not her own creative rewriting. But given that her version is the only surviving one of its kind, we may never know to what extent she may have interfered with Fanshawe's original words to create her own reading.

At least one poem by William Habington has been transcribed by Constance into her miscellany ("To the honourable GT," beginning, "Lett not thy grones force eccho from her caue" (ff. 152v-153v)). William Habington came from a prominent Catholic Worcestershire family based at Hindlip Hall. He was educated at St. Omer's College and in Paris (probably at the Jesuit Clermont College), and by 1629 was living in London as a poet, playwright, and courtier. "GT" is George Talbot of Grafton, whose family succeeded to the Earldom of Shrewsbury on the death of the eighth earl in 1618 (George was the brother of John, the tenth Earl).[127] In this poem Habington tells his friend that since the wind has turned he should sail to another port. He should not mourn that "Astrodoro" (golden star) has eclipsed herself, for he and Talbot are two stars firmly joined in friendship. He tells Talbot not to envy him for his "Castara" because winds will lead Talbot to a new port and he will eventually find love.

"Castara" is mentioned in two earlier poems in the miscellany--"on Castaraes sittinge on Primrose banks," beginning, "See how the little Starrs in Azure nights" (f. 27v); and "upon Castaries and her sitters goinge Afoote in the snow," beginning, "The Heauens

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127 Kenneth Allott, ed., *The Poems of William Habington* (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1948) xix-xxi and xxvi.

knowinge that the tedious way" (f. 28v)--but Allott has rejected Habington's authorship of them.[128] Although the identity of "Castara" is uncertain, she is linked somewhat to the Aston circle in that Katherine Thimelby has written an answering poem to this poem to Talbot, chiding him for urging his friend to be inconstant, saying that she would love someone eternally even if they never returned that love ("The ansure to these uerses Made by Mrs KT," beginning, "Sr Since you are profest to dwell" (ff. 153v-54v)). Perhaps Katherine knew Habington through male family members who were educated at St. Omer's.[129] Talbot died in 1634 or 1635, and thus could not have had much contact with the Tixall group, which seems to have flourished after 1635. The nearby estate of Ingestre came to the Earls of Shrewsbury, but not until the early eighteenth century; during the seventeenth century it was in the hands of the Chetwynd family.[130] It seems highly likely that Katherine Thimelby and William Habington knew each other.

Poets Outside the Tixall Circle: Henry King, John Donne, and Owen Felltham

As is discussed in Chapter Two (see p. 87), Henry King's poetry had a large circulation in manuscript. The two poems copied in Fowler's miscellany were among his most popular: "Accept thou shrine of my dead saint," his widely-disseminated elegy on his wife (ff. 146v-49v, entitled here "D K on the Death of his wife") and "Ill busied man, why dost thou take such care" (f. 33). The latter is attributed to "B.J." (Ben Jonson, probably). Misattribution in manuscript miscellanies is not at all uncommon. Ben Jonson was evidently acquainted with at least some of the Aston circle. He wrote an elegy on Lady Jane Paulet, sister of Sir John Thimelby's wife Elizabeth Savage (f. 137); perhaps that connection led to Constance's mistake. She has also included an epitaph on his death by Sidney Godolphin (f. 185, beginning, "The muses fayrest Light, in no darke time").

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[128] Allott 204.

[129] Robert was a student at St. Omer's and Richard became the rector there (Hamilton, vol. 1, 131-32).

[130] Frederick Parker, ed., "Collections for a History of Pirehill Hundred by Walter Chetwynd of Ingestre, Esq. A.D. 1679," *Collections for a History of Staffordshire* ns 12 (1909) 146-51.

John Donne was read by members of this group. In one of her love letters to her husband Herbert Aston, Katherine Thimelby writes: "How infinite a time will it seme till I se you: for lovers hours are full eternity. Doctor Dun sayd this, but I think it."[131] She is referring to the fourth line of "The Legacy," an intricate poem in which a lover describes how he gives his heart as a gift to his mistress at his death, which occurs whenever he leaves her presence. In a poem celebrating his sister Gertrude's poetic skills (discussed above, p. 127), Herbert wants to sing "in uerse as high,/ As strong lin'd donne; the soule ∴ of poetry/ Exprest his progresse; and Anatomy..." (f. 155). Also, Arthur Clifford lists "To Mr Edward Thimelby, dissuading him from translating Dr Donne into Italian" as one of the poems which he has not included in his edition of poetry.[132] As mentioned above (p. 136), three manuscript copies of Donne's "Letter to the Countesse of Huntingdon" ascribe it to "Sir Walter Ashton," suggesting perhaps a known alliance between the two men, or that Aston was considered to write poetry in a style similar to Donne's.[133] A copy of the 1633 edition of Donne's poems was owned by the family (lot 206).

A further Donne fragment, previously unnoticed, appears among the Aston family correspondence to which Herbert has written a reply. On the verso of a letter

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131 Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 147 (undated letter, but from before 1658, when Katherine died) (BL Add. MS 36452, f. 35v).

132 Clifford, *Tixall Poetry* xxvi.

133 Deborah Aldrich Larson attempts to establish a link between the Astons and John Donne, pointing out the references to Donne I have mentioned above (i.e. in Katherine's letter: "for lovers hours are full eternity"--although Larson does not give the source from which this line is extracted; in the title of the poem to Edward Thimelby urging him not to translate Donne into Italian; and Herbert's "strong lin'd donne" in his tribute to his sister Gertrude). She also identifies three echoes of Donne in poems in Constance's miscellany: of "Goodfriday, 1613. Riding Westward" in "O Lord direct my hart direct my soule" (ff. 13v-15v), a poem she believes is by Constance, but which is initialed M.W.S in the manuscript (likely William Stafford); of his "First Anniversary" in "To the Lady Mary Aston" by Herbert Aston (ff. 150-52v); and of "A Valediction: forbidding Mourning" in "To my Honer'd Sister GA," which she confuses with the poem on Mary Aston (ff. 155-58). She posits a biographical link between Walter Aston and Donne, suggesting that Walter and his younger brother Thomas were regular guests at York House, where Donne was secretary to Sir Thomas Egerton, who was Anne More's uncle. Less persuasively, Larson suggests that Walter Aston's first marriage to Anne Barnes in 1600, ruled illegal, and for which all parties involved in the wedding were excommunicated (reported in R.C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970) 132-33), was an example to Donne and Anne More of the risks of a secret marriage (they married in 1601/2) (Deborah Aldrich Larson, "John Donne and the Astons," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 55 (1992) 635-41).

from his sister-in-law Winefrid Thimelby, dated "october 4" but without a year (BL Add. MS 36452, f. 69v), Herbert has written the following:

> D^{r} Donne to his wife
> Oh Doe not Dy for I shall hate
> All women so when you are gone
> That you I shall not celebrate
> when I remember you were one
>
> ~~By another to his feare I~~
> ~~Oh doe not~~ ~~Dy~~, ~~for I shall loue~~
> All women ~~so 'cause you were one~~
> ~~Tall That~~ I ~~must needs~~ to you vnconstant proue
> ~~& be~~ in Loue wth euery one
> ~~&~~ Thinke ~~thers~~ many w^{t} you were alone
> & fix some Idoll in y^{r} throne
> ~~Thus I a~~ reprobate ~~may~~^{sha} doe porue
> & fix sum Idoll in hyr throne
> Thus I perhaps Apostate vnconstant proue
> & fix

Herbert has taken the first stanza of Donne's "A Feaver" and has written two answering stanzas, much of which he has canceled but which is still legible. The Tixall group's engagement with Donne stretched from allusion and imitation to response. Might the word "Apostate" in Herbert's poem be a reference to Donne's own apostasy?

A poem which is printed among Owen Felltham's works appears in Fowler's miscellany which she has attributed to her brother Herbert ("When by sad fate from hence I summon'd am" (f. 188v)). Felltham is best known for his *Resolves*, a series of moral essays first published when he was eighteen years of age. The eighth edition also adds *Lusoria, or Occasional Pieces with a Taste of Some Letters*, among which is found the poem "When by sad fate from hence I summon'd am."[134] Besides its appearance in print in 1661 among Felltham's poetry, we have no other evidence that this poem was written by Felltham. It is worth speculating that Constance's attribution to her brother is correct, and that the poem found its way into Felltham's hands. No obvious geographical links exist between the two families, but Felltham may have

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[134] This poem appears on sig. B3 of *Lusoria*. The printed version has two extra lines, and a few variants, including an altered final line which does not change its meaning.

come into contact with Herbert Aston on the Continent or at court. He also may have known Lady Dorothy Shirley.[135] Conversely, if Fellthamis indeed the author of the poem, it may have reached Constance through Herbert, and hence her attribution to her brother.

Anne Sadleir and the Astons: Letters of Friendship and Religious Controversy

The Sadleir (or Sadler) family were closely linked with the Astons.[136] In 1601 Gertrude's brother Ralph Sadler married Anne Paston (she was then 15 years old), the eldest daughter of Sir Edward Coke, judge and law writer, by his first wife Bridget, daughter and co-heir of John Paston of Huntingfield in Suffolk. Ralph died in 1661; Anne died in 1669.[137] Because they had no children, his sister Gertrude succeeded as heir to Ralph; their estate, Standon, actually passed to her eldest son Walter, second Lord Aston.[138]

Anne Sadleir donated many books and manuscripts to Trinity College, Cambridge and to the Inner Temple Library where her father had been a student, bencher, reader, and treasurer. Among the items Trinity College received from her were volumes of her letters, a French Plutarch, a thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman manuscript, a collection of her religious reflections and personal notes, and her transcription of "Coke's Reflections" (1644) which were written by her brother who was the chaplain of Lady Elizabeth Capell, husband of the royalist martyr Arthur Capell.[139] To the Inner Temple Library she presented six volumes of sermons and a

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[135] See footnote 106.

[136] Anne Sadleir spelled her name with the "i" so I have retained it. Sir Walter Aston's brother, Edward, married Anne, a granddaughter of Sir Ralph Sadler (by her father Leigh); Sir Walter married Gertrude, a granddaughter of Sir Ralph (by her father Thomas) (*Scots Peerage*, vol. 1, 407).

[137] Her will survives among the Aston papers; Staffordshire Record Office D 1748/ HM Aston/ 1715. It outlines detailed bequests of jewelry and clocks to various nieces, nephews, godchildren, cousins, and to the children of Arthur and Elizabeth Capell, her dear friends. She makes her "adopted dear sonn" Walter, second Lord Aston her only executor and grants bequests to both him and his wife. The most interesting bequest is to her nephew Robert Coke, to whom she gives a gold clock set with diamonds and rubies which her father gave her "with the verses he made of me for ever to be kept in his family for which he must enter into twentie pound bond to my dear sonne the Lo: Aston for the performing of it."

[138] Clifford, *Sir Ralph Sadler*, vol. 3, 371.

[139] Montague Rhodes James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1901) 175-6, 699-700, 877, and 950.

volume of coronations, as well as miscellaneous manuscripts, including a late twelfth-century manuscript of a religious work, and two printed tracts on the Spanish navy from 1588. She had several pieces in the library dedicated to her: sermons by Thomas Newcomen and Andrew Marvell, the elder (who gave her a fifteenth-century exposition in English on the Ten Commandments, Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and other theological tenets, now in Cambridge University Library), and also a description of the parallels between Israel and England by Marvell. She owned the funeral sermon written by Robert Tounsen and preached for Thomas Sadleir.[140] Robert Codrington's elegy on her father, dedicated to Sadleir, existed in manuscript in the Tixall Library (lot 151).[141]

In Trinity College Library, Cambridge MS R.5.5 four letters from Walter, second Lord Aston and three from his brother Herbert to their aunt, as well as one letter from Walter, third Lord Aston to his great-aunt, have been preserved, in addition to copies of two letters from Sadleir to Herbert Aston. Only two letters are dated with the year (Sadleir's to Herbert Aston, 20 March 1663[/4], and 30 January 1663[/4]), but the rest can all be dated to around 1660. The first letter from Walter (f. 1) must be from 1660 or slightly after, since he discusses his uncle's failing health, and we know that Ralph Sadleir died on 12 February 1660/1.[142] On Walter's first letter Sadleir has written "the letters of my adopted dear sonn the lo: Aston" (f. 1v); although Walter was literally her nephew, he was also the heir of her husband Ralph. Evidently he became a substitute son to his childless aunt. His first letter addresses her as his aunt, but the salutation of his second (and indeed his third and fourth), written soon after his uncle's death, is "Most deare Mother" (f. 2). In it he assures Sadleir that he will always deal honestly with her, "and had you never so many children, none, should haue bin more dutyfull and haue more truly loved & honored you, then I: deare mother pray bee

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[140] J. Conway Davies, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1972) 330-33, 1156, 1243, 1252, 1294, and 1340.
[141] It includes "An Ode to the most exquisitely accomplished Mrs Anne Saddleir" (Clifford, *Tixall Letters*, vol. 1, 76).
[142] *Scots Peerage*, vol. 1, 407.

merry." He seems to be reassuring her in their new delicate relationship (he inherited the Standon estate upon his uncle's death) of his love and obedience.

Religion, and specifically the Catholicism of the Astons, was a frequent topic in letters between Herbert Aston and his aunt. Two of his letters explore the theme at length, as do both of Sadleir's letters to him from 1664.[143] They constantly express their love and respect for one another, but each tries try to convert the other. She closes her first letter with the following sentiments:

> my Prayers still shall be that god in his good time will open your eies with the rest of your familey that you may return to your mother church of england in which you were baptised and out of whose brests you were once for a time ~~were~~ nourished too gods and her protection I leaue you and will euer remaine your affectionate Aunt Anne Sadleir (f. 10).

Sadleir places Herbert at odds with his own family ("your eies with the rest of your familey") and stresses the sin he has committed against his "mother." Sadleir picks up this imagery of the female body to describe the Anglican church in her second letter, and also uses the image of a rebellious daughter to describe the divisions within the church. Sadleir is a formidable opponent in her debates with Herbert Aston.

An exquisitely detailed letter of Herbert Aston's, dated "29 of May late at night" must be from 1660 because in it Herbert describes Charles II's glorious entry into London. His subjects' "violent affection" was apparent at three sites of his reception which Herbert witnessed: "Black heath," "Depford," and "the City." The Walter Aston who has written the letter on folio 9 must be the third Lord Aston, because his first words refer to his "Brother Southcot & sister," who must be Elizabeth Aston and her husband Sir John Southcote.[144]

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[143] Possibly Herbert's letter of "March 31" (f. 6) is from 1664, because in it he writes as a postscript: "For y^{e} booke you finde fault wth I can say nothing for I neuer, before $\overline{\text{....}}$ or heard of it..." This may be in response to a book called "the flowers of the English Saints" which Sadleir mocks in her letter of 20 March 1664 (f. 10). Sadleir was extremely well-read: she claims that she has read most of the Catholic books that she could get (f. 10). In a letter to Roger Williams, preserved in the same manuscript, she lists her reading material: "those that I now read, besides the Bible, are first the late Kings Booke: Hookers Ecclesiasticall Politie: Reuerend Bish: Andrews sermons, with his other deuine meditations: D^{r} Jer: Taylers works, and D^{r}: Tho: Jacksone vpon the creed: sum of these my dear father was a great admirer of and would often call them the glorious lights of the church of England" (f. 35).

[144] See p. 111 for poems on their marriage in Osborn MS b. 4 and *Tixall Poetry*.

Conclusions

Constance Fowler's manuscript miscellany, and the surrounding evidence found in letters and other collections of poetry, reveals a great deal about the practice of compiling miscellanies during the 1630s and 1640s. She was at the centre of a tightly knit Catholic circle of relatives, friends, and lovers of poetry. Constance's contacts ranged from the court and the Continent, through her father and brother Herbert, to intimate Catholic circles where poetry was carefully circulated among a group whose sense of being an oppressed minority must have made channels of communication particularly effective. At least one other hand in the miscellany, possibly a priest's, had firm links with a source for Catholic manuscript poetry and is the hand behind another Catholic collection (Bod MS Eng. poet. b. 5). Fowler's miscellany contains three of the earliest known versions of Richard Fanshawe's poems. It contains original poetry composed by relatives and friends (much of it in a heavily conceited style favoured by writers like Donne), most of which does not appear to have reached a larger audience than their circle. A clearly definable literary network existed around Constance Aston Fowler. From her blood relatives, to her relatives by marriage, to her friends in the Catholic faith, to diplomatic friends of her father's, to the people who were the means by which popular poetry circulating in manuscript reached her, Constance's contacts stretched in many directions. Huntington MS HM 904 is a testament to an upper class young woman's fervent appreciation of, and engagement with, the poetry of the age.

The experience of the Tixall group acts as a corrective to the view that Catholics were still a seriously persecuted minority by the 1630s.[145] Families like the Astons and the Thimelbys had the resources to endure the odd fine for not attending church, or the sequestration of their estates during the Civil War. Though channels of

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[145] Rowlands notes that from the 1620s the state became less interested in conversion and conformity and more interested in the revenue Catholics could produce and in controlling their political influence (160). Anzolo Correr, the Venetian Ambassador in England, wrote in a letter of 29 May 1637 to the Doge that "the Catholics are no longer hated or persecuated with the old severity" (*Calendar of State Papers...of Venice, 1636-39*, ed. Allen B. Hinds, vol. 24 (London: HMSO, 1923) 217; quoted in Philip Caraman, ed., *The Years of Siege: Catholic Life from James I to Cromwell* (London: Longmans, 1966) 103).

manuscript circulation for Catholic material still had to be kept secretive, the wealth, status, and influence of these families ensured that they could lead lives of relative freedom, and that the literary activities of women like Constance Aston Fowler could flourish.

Chapter Four

Musical Women and their Manuscripts: The Case of Lady Margaret Wemyss's Song Book

Literary manuscripts compiled by women in the first half of the seventeenth century took several different forms, as we have seen in earlier chapters. From Constance Fowler's purely poetic manuscript to Ann Bowyer's didactic and epigrammatic one to Lady Anne Southwell's original and copied poetry, household accounts and receipts, we can see that none of these manuscripts conforms to a set pattern. The greater number of extant manuscript miscellanies compiled by men in universities, Inns of Court, theatres, or taverns, makes it easier to formulate definitions about the phenomenon. Because women did not compile their manuscripts in such a system, they are less uniform.

One characteristic of miscellanies compiled by women and men is that their compilations often include songs. Mary Hobbs has pointed out the close links between manuscript songbooks and miscellanies among the Stoughton group of manuscripts, noting that many poets, like Henry King, were keen amateur musicians.[1] Contemporary poetical miscellanies, printed and manuscript, were often the fodder for composers of music, who framed their music to the words. Conversely, songs were often copied into manuscripts, or printed in collections, without their musical settings.[2] Women's miscellanies also included songs among their contents.

Before we move to women's compilations of song manuscripts, we need to establish the extent to which women participated in musical life of the seventeenth century. Music was often part of a girl's education. Girls were given lessons for lute, voice, viols, and virginals. They were key participants in domestic music making of this period. Very occasionally they composed music; Lady Mary Dering and possibly a woman from the Killigrew family wrote accompaniments for songs. Extant music and

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[1] Mary Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1992) 108.

[2] Leslie Dunn, "Poetry and Song," *English Poetry and Prose 1540-1674*, ed. Christopher Ricks, rev. ed. (London: Penguin, 1986) 109-11.

song manuscripts owned by women are numerous. Those compiled by women are also quite common: the lute manuscripts of Jane Pickeringe, Margaret Board, "Margaret L," Anna and Mary Hay, and the virginals manuscript of Lady Jean Campbell, will be considered below. Songbooks in particular are our focus, and so the books of Elizabeth Davenant, Lady Ann Blount, Elizabeth Rogers, and Ann Twice will all be examined. Songs in women's miscellanies (Lady Anne Southwell's, Constance Fowler's, and Lucy Hutchinson's) will then be considered, after which Lady Margaret Wemyss's book of songs and poetry will be examined in detail.

Song in the Seventeenth Century

In the early Elizabethan period consort songs (commonly, one boy singing, accompanied by a consort of viols) were popular;[3] madrigals, imported from Italy, became prominent later in the century. But neither the polyphonic consort song nor the criss-crossing words of the madrigal gave predominance to the text; it was the lute air (combining elements of the consort song, madrigal, ballad, dance song, and metrical psalm) which gave the text its clearest setting.[4] This was gradually replaced with the continuo song, which polarized the music into a treble and bass arrangement, becoming, even more than the lute song, a vehicle for the poetry.[5]

Most songs, with the exception of consort songs, were provided with tablature accompaniment, which is playable on the lute, theorbo, or orpharion. By the 1610s and 20s, tablature began to be replaced by thorough-bass, which can be played by any bass or chordal instrument.[6] The theorbo began to replace the lute as the preferred accompaniment instrument, largely because of its lower tone. It was introduced into England in the second decade of the seventeenth century. A well-known portrait of Lady Mary Wroth from c.1620 at Penshurst Place depicts her holding an enormous

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[3] Craig Monson (*Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650: The Sources and the Music* (Epping: Bowker, 1982)) has demonstrated that the consort song experienced a revival in the seventeenth century, as is evident from numerous manuscript sources.

[4] Dunn 116-18 and Edward Doughtie, *English Renaissance Song* (Boston: Twayne, 1986) 123.

[5] Edward Huws Jones, *The Performance of English Song 1610-1670* (New York: Garland, 1989) 5-12 and 18.

[6] Jones 146-47.

theorbo.[7] After the lute and theorbo, the bass viol became a popular instrument with which to accompany song, particularly with amateurs who lacked the skill to realize a thorough-bass accompaniment.[8] Virginals were an important domestic instrument, but rarely used for song accompaniment. By the 1680s harpsichords were commonly used to accompany solo songs (a fashion brought over to England after the Restoration by foreign musicians), but before that date keyboard instruments tended to be played alone.[9] Nonetheless, at least one extant source owned by a woman, Elizabeth Rogers's virginal book examined below, shows that songs were sometimes set to virginals accompaniment. Songs were often accompanied by the performer herself or himself on an appropriate instrument but, as we see in the case of the Lady Margaret Wemyss manuscript examined below, it was becoming more common by mid-century for a singer to be accompanied by an instrument played by another person.

The Musical Education of Girls

Singing, dancing, and the playing of instruments were often a typical part of an upper class, and increasingly middle-class, girl's upbringing. References to instrumental and voice lessons often appear among family accounts and diaries. Between October 1599 and 30 March 1601 five payments to Thomas Banes are recorded for teaching William and Frances Cavendish to sing. In January 1606 Frances was learning the viol.[10] In 1603, when she was about thirteen, Lady Anne Clifford reports that during a stay at North Hall, where her mother's sister the Countess of Warwick lived, she "learned to sing & play on the Bass Viol of Jack Jenkins my Aunt's Boy."[11] The accounts of the Pelham family of Laughton in Sussex show that their children, male and female, were being taught to dance and to play the

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[7] Jones 149-52.
[8] Jones 199-203.
[9] Jones 211-214.
[10] From the Chatsworth accounts of William Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire. Quoted in Walter L. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1953) 254-55.
[11] D.J.H. Clifford, ed., *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford* (Stroud: Sutton, 1990) 27.

lute in the 1630s.[12] A record of money spent for the purchase of a lute, a lute book, a set of songbooks, and three dozen lute strings for Lady Frances Manners in 1600 exists among the Rutland papers; a viol da gamba and case was also purchased for her in that year. In 1643 a "gittarman" taught Lady Frances (presumably another Lady Frances) for two months, for which she also bought a book.[13] Susanna Perwich of Hackney, who died in 1661, was apparently taught singing by Edward Coleman, the lute by John Rogers (likely also Mary Burwell's lute teacher, from whom she copied the Burwell Lute Tutor, see below pp. 158-59), the lyra-viol by William Gregory, and the viol by Stephen Bing, as well as singing and the harpsichord by other teachers.[14]

Little is known about lute lessons for certain, but it is likely that pupils were given instruction each day, and that the music provided by the teacher would be copied into the student's own collection in order to be practised for the next lesson.[15] Edward Lowe is known to have taught the virginals to at least one young lady to whom he gave a book of virginal pieces of his own compilation.[16] Robert Burton, the his *Anatomy of Melancholy* suggests that lessons were costly yet desirable: "our young women and wives, they that being maids took so much pains to sing, play and dance, with such cost and charge to their parents to get these graceful qualities, now being married will scarce touch an instrument, they care not for it."[17] But Margaret Board, for one, may have continued her musical activities after her marriage. Lute books

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[12] Woodfill 265-66. Their accounts are in BL Add. MS 33145.

[13] Woodfill 270 and 272.

[14] John Batchiler, *The Virgins Pattern: In the Exemplary Life and Lamented Death of Mrs. Susanna Perwich* (London, 1661) sig. A7v-B2. Quoted in Ian Spink, "Music and Society," *The Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992) 24.

[15] Julia Craig-McFeely, *English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530-1630*, vol. 1, diss., U of Oxford, 1994, 88.

[16] He inscribed it as follows: "Most vertuous M^{ris} Barbara. I humbly beseech you to play thes Lessons in the Order sett downe Constantly once a day, if you have health and leasure. Play not, without turninge the Lesson in your Booke before you & keep your eye (as much as you can) in your Booke. If you Chance to miss goe not from the Lesson, till you have perfected it. Above all, Play not too fast. Thes few rules observed you will gaine your selfe much Honnour & some Creditt to your master..." (quoted by Percy A. Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England: A Contribution to the Cultural History of Two Nations* (London: Oxford UP, 1934) 163; cited in Spink, "Music and Society" 25.)

[17] Quoted in Craig-McFeely, vol. 1, 88.

often show the hand of a music master, as in the cases of those belonging to Margaret Board and Margaret L.

Girls and women were often the dedicatees of printed musical volumes. George Kirbye dedicated his *First Set of Madrigals* of 1597 to Anne and Frances Jermyn; he may have been a musician in the household of their father, Sir Robert Jermyn of Rushbrooke.[18] John Danyel dedicated his *Songs* of 1606 to his pupil Anne Grene, the daughter of Sir William Grene of Milton. Danyel states that she accompanied herself on these technically demanding lute songs.[19] John Attey taught the daughters of the Earl and Countess of Bridgewater, as his dedication in his *First Booke of Ayres* (1622) indicates. Later in the century, Henry Lawes refers to himself as a teacher of the girls of the same family.[20]

Girls were taught to sing and to play the lute, virginals, and viol, but the advantages of playing the lute in particular include the attractive manner in which it presents the body and its effects on the opposite sex. The Burwell Lute Tutor of 1668-71, a treatise on the lute likely copied by Mary Burwell from a manuscript lent to her by her lute-master, criticizes the virginal for causing one to turn one's back to others. The viol fares even worse: it "intangleth one in spreading the Armes and openeth the Legges which doth not become man much lesse woaman." In contrast, "the beauty of the Arme, of the hands and of the Necke are advantagiously displayed in playing of the Lute. The eyes are employed onely in looking vpon the Company." The lute is also an inducement to love for both sexes:

> ffor the advantages of ... Marriage how many Batchelours and Maides haue wee seene advanced by this agreeing harmony. When persons of both Sexes haue neither considered wealth nor beauty of the person but suffering themselfes to be drawne by the charmes of this sweete Melody. Some have

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[18] George Kirbye, *First Set of Madrigals (1597)*, ed. Edmund H. Fellowes, Thurston Dart, and Philip Brett, rev. ed. (London: Stainer; New York: Galaxy Music, 1961); quoted in Woodfill 59.

[19] Danyel, John. *Songs for the Lute 1606*, ed. David Greer, *English Lute Songs 1597-1632. A Collection of Facsimile Reprints*, gen. ed. F.W. Sternfeld, vol. 3 (Menston: Scolar, 1970); quoted in Jones 30.

[20] Henry Lawes, *Ayres and Dialogues* (London, 1653) sig. A2; quoted in Woodfill 59-60 and 64.

> beleeved that they should possesse an Angell incarnate if they could vnite themselfes by a Marriage to a person that inioyes this rare qualitye.[21]

Though music seems to have played an important role in courtship; not many women seem to have continued their musical activities after marriage.

Domestic Music Making

Women sang songs and played instruments in domestic situations in the seventeenth century.[22] Between 1597 and 1622, about 30 collections of lute songs were published; between 1652 and 1669, approximately 10 collections of continuo songs were printed. Obviously there was a market for these publications;[23] and extant manuscript copies of song from this period show much greater interest in song than its publishing history suggests. Jones suggests that women became the more skilled amateur musicians, because of the prevailing attitude that music was an acceptable social diversion but that a gentleman must not "neglect his more weighty employments."[24] Roger North records that women played a key part in domestic music making of the civil war period.[25] Women singers were not heard in public until after the Restoration; probably the first public performance by a woman singer was that of the wife of Edward Coleman, who sang in Davenant's *Entertainment at Rutland House* and *The Siege of Rhodes*, both of 1656.[26]

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21 Robert Spencer, ed., *The Burwell Lute Tutor* [facsimile] (Leeds: Boethius, 1974) f. 43v. For a description and abridged transcription of the manuscript see Thurston Dart, "Miss Mary Burwell's Instruction Book for the Lute," *The Galpin Society Journal* 11 (1958): 3-62.

22 J.A. Westrup, "Domestic Music under the Stuarts," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 68 (1942) 19-53; and Jones 29-33.

23 Jones 29.

24 Jones 30; Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman, The Truth of our Times, and The Art of Living in London*, ed. Virgil B. Heltzel (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1962) 111.

25 "...and when most other good arts languished Musick held up her head, not at Court nor (in the cant of those times) profane Theatres, but in private society, for many chose rather to fidle at home, than to goe out, and be knockt on the head abroad; and the enterteinement was very much courted and made use of, not onely in country by citty familys, in which many of the Ladys were good consortiers" (*Roger North on Music Being a Selection from his Essays Written During the Years c.1695-1728*, ed. John Wilson (London: Novello, 1959) 294; quoted in Matthew George Spring, *The Lute in England and Scotland after the Golden Age 1620-1750*, vol. 1, diss., U of Oxford, 1987, 132).

26 Jones 31. Edward Coleman's father, Charles, was likely the teacher of Lady Ann Blount, whose manuscript, which he partially compiled, is discussed below.

Julia Craig-McFeely has shown that the lute was the most important domestic instrument in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.[27] But other instruments, like the virginals, also played important roles in amateur music making into the seventeenth century. The virginal (or virginals or pair of virginals) was a generic term used to describe all plucked keyboard instruments. The origin of the word virginals is likely the Latin *virgula*, meaning a small piece of wood or stick (a reference to the keys or jacks which enabled the strings to be plucked). But because it is the instrument most often associated with young girls, puns were irresistible to printers of collections of virginals music.[28] Many households had them, including that of Lady Anne Southwell; an inventory of 1631 lists "1 payre of virginnales" as among the contents of her house at Clerkenwell which must be moved to Acton.[29] Virginals appear among the inventories of Thomas Tanckard's manor house at Aldborough, Yorkshire (in "Mrs. Beckwith parlour and the nursery,") (1597), the Countess of Shrewsbury's residence of Chatsworth (1601), and one of the Countess Dowager Rivers's houses (as well as a bandora and case) (1644).[30] James Speght in his will of 1636 left his daughter Sarah a gold ring, some gold pieces, and all of his virginal books.[31]

Music Composed by Women

Women in England are not known to have composed very much music for song accompaniment. Early in the sixteenth century Anne Boleyn is believed to be the

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[27] Craig-McFeely, vol. 1, 2.

[28] Charles J.F. Cofone, ed., *Elizabeth Rogers Hir Virginall Booke* (New York: Dover, 1975) xv. The first printed virginal collection was *Parthenia, or the Maydenhead of the First Musicke that Ever Was Printed for the Virginalls* (1612-13), which was not followed by a second edition until 1624-5 (*Parthenia In-violata. or the Mayden-Musicke for the Virginalls and Bass-Viol*).

[29] Folger MS V.b.198, f. 61. This manuscript is the subject of Chapter Two of this thesis.

[30] Woodfill 277-279. An inventory taken at Skipton Castle, Yorkshire, of the Lady Pembroke's goods in 1645 includes a harpsichord and an organ (279).

[31] PRO PROB 11/173. Sarah's younger sister Rachel Speght is best known for her participation in the controversy on the nature of women. She was one of the first writers to respond to Joseph Swetnam's misogynist *Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward and Unconstant Women* of 1615 with *A Mouzell for Melastomus* of 1617. She also wrote a verse meditation on death (*Mortality's Memorandum* of 1621). I am grateful to Kim McLean-Fiander for drawing my attention to James Speght's will and for allowing me to see her transcription of it.

author of the words and music of "O Deathe, Rock Me Asleepe." She lived at the French court from the age of 12, where music played a role in her education.[32] In the seventeenth century, Henry Lawes included three of Lady Mary Dering's songs in his *Second Book of Select Ayres and Dialogues*, published by John Playford in 1655. In his dedication of the book to her, Lawes says that "some which I esteem the best of these Ayres, were of your own Composition, after your Noble Husband was pleased to give the Words."[33] Lady Mary was a pupil of Lawes.[34] Lady Mary and Sir Edward Dering were part of Katherine Philips's Society of Friendship of the 1650s and early 1660s; no pastoral name survives for Mary, but Edward was known as "Silvander."[35] In the Second Book and his other volumes of airs and dialogues (of 1653, 1659 and 1669) Lawes set some of the verses of Orinda's circle to music; Lady Dering was doing the same with the lyrics of her husband. Lawes is known to have hosted musical gatherings in which the Derings participated.

A second potential composer comes from a branch of the well-known Killigrew family. The home of Sir Robert Killigrew (1579-1633), a close friend of Buckingham, was the setting for what Matthew Spring has called "the brilliant musical and literary circle of the Killigrew family." The lutenist Jacques Gaultier met Constantin Huygens, the Dutch poet, diplomat, musician, and scientist, as part of this group in 1622. Huygens's association with the Killigrews continued; in a letter of 1671 to Madame de Lenclos, Huygens praised Judith Killigrew's skill in accompanying herself on the lute. She was the wife of Dr. Henry Killigrew, Master of the Savoy (1613-1700).[36] In an

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[32] Karin Pendle, ed., *Women and Music: A History* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1991) 46-47.

[33] Julia Anne Sadie and Rhian Samuel, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Women Composers* (London: Macmillan, 1994) 140; and Jessica M. Kerr, "Mary Harvey--The Lady Dering," *Music and Letters* 25 (1944) 23-33.

[34] In her husband's household book of 1648-52 the payment of one pound and 10 shillings to Lawes is recorded for "a month's teaching of my wife" (BL Add. MS 22466; cited in Kerr 29). Lawes was a successful teacher of music during the Commonwealth (in John Playford's 1651 publication of a list of the best music-masters in London, he gave first place to Henry Lawes) (Kerr 30).

[35] Patrick Thomas, ed., *The Collected Works of Katherine Philips The Matchless Orinda: The Poems*, vol. 1 (Essex: Stump Cross, 1990) 8.

[36] W.J.A. Jonckbloet and J.P.N. Land, eds., *Musique et musiciens au XVII^e siècle. Correspondance et oeuvre musicales de Constantin Huygens* (Leiden, 1882) ccvi, and 57-58; J.P. Vander Motten, *Sir William Killigrew (1606-1695): His Life and Dramatic Works* (Gent: Rijksuniversiteit Te Gent, 1980) 22-24; and Lionel de la Laurencie, "Le luthiste Jacques Gaultier," *La Revue Musicale* 5.2 (1924) 34-

early seventeenth-century manuscript, Tenbury MS 1018, now in the Bodleian Library, which contains English songs for treble voice and unfigured bass as well as consort songs with Latin text and Italian songs, a piece is attributed to "my lady killigrewe."[37] A small hand points to her name above a staff of music which straddles the end of one song and the beginning of another. Many of the songs to which attributions are made have the composer's name in a similar position; that is to say, above the final measure of a song.[38] Thus it is likely that Lady Killigrew composed the setting for the song which begins, "Deerest loue I doe not goe for weariness of thee." It is the first verse of Donne's "Sweetest love, I do not go,/ For weariness of thee." Although this Lady Killigrew is too early to be the musical Judith Killigrew of 1671, it is not unlikely that she was a member of that family earlier in the century.

Music Books Owned by Women

Women's names often appear among the flyleaves of music books, and this is sometimes a sign of ownership. Manuscripts known as the Mynshall lute book (c.1597-99) and the Turpyn lute book (1610-15) were at one time owned by women, but not compiled by them.[39] Priscilla Bunbury's virginals book (c.1635-40) is an example of a book complied for a woman's or girl's practice.[40] The initials PB are stamped on the cover, and the name Priscilla Bunbury is written twice on the flyleaf and once in the title of a piece of music ("Mrs. Priscilla Bunburie hir Delight," f. 8). John L. Boston and Virginia Brookes have argued that the book was owned by not

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35. Judith Killigrew mastered the lute, guitar, and theorbo (Jonckbloet and Land 57-58). Referred to in Spring, *The Lute*, vol. 1, 99.

37 John P. Cutts, "Early Seventeenth-Century Lyrics at St. Michael's College," *Music and Letters* 37 (1956) 228, and Elise Bickford Jorgens, ed., *English Song 1600-1675. Facsimiles of Twenty-Six Manuscripts and an Edition of the Texts*, vol. 6 (New York: Garland, 1987) vi.

38 For example: Robert Johnson on f. 8, various spellings of the Italian composer Giulio Caccini on ff. 35 and 43, and Alfonso Ferrabosco on ff. 35v (twice) and 36v.

39 For descriptions and facsimiles see Robert Spencer, ed., *The Mynshall Lute Book* (Leeds: Boethius, 1975) and Richard Rastall, ed., *The Turpyn Book of Lute Songs* (Leeds: Boethius, 1973). For a description of the latter see Philippe Oboussier, "Turpyn's Book of Lute-Songs," *Music and Letters* 34 (1953) 145-149.

40 Privately owned by Roger Lancelyn Green of Poulton-Lancelyn in Cheshire. For a modern edition see Virginia Brookes, ed., *Priscilla Bunbury's Virginal Book: A Collection of Keyboard Music for a Young Lady of the Seventeenth Century* (Albany, CA: PRB, 1993). See also John L. Boston, "Priscilla Bunbury's Virginal Book," *Music and Letters* 36 (1955) 365-73.

one but two women of that name from the same Cheshire family, claiming that each signature matches with the known autograph of each woman.[41] The names of composers R. Jewett and Robert Hall are associated with two of the three hands in the book; possibly one or both of these men taught the Bunburys.[42] The first hand has fingered the pieces meticulously, suggesting that the first Priscilla Bunbury, presumably the main owner of the book, required fingering for even short pieces.[43] Aids to the player, such as fingering, and written out graces and ornaments, hint at the amateur's level of proficiency. In the case of Priscilla Bunbury (and of other women like Jane Pickeringe, whose manuscript is also carefully annotated) some assistance was needed. The repertoire of the Bunbury manuscript was evidently a popular one: fifteen of the Bunbury pieces appear also in Elizabeth Rogers's virginal book. None of these are songs, however, and are thus of limited use to us.

Another virginals book owned by a woman is Anne Cromwell's manuscript of 1638.[44] Born in 1618, she was the daughter and coheiress of Henry Cromwell of Upwood in Huntingdon and was a first cousin of Oliver Cromwell the Protector.[45] Most of the songs, dances, and masque accompaniments are anonymous, but the most frequently mentioned composer is Simon Ives, whose departure from his group of

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[41] The first Priscilla Bunbury was born in 1615, the youngest daughter of the 10 children of Sir Henry Bunbury of Stanney, the High Sheriff of Cheshire, and his second wife Martha Bunbury. She died in 1682 aged 67, having been a widow for three years and without children. The second Priscilla, her god-daughter, is mentioned in her will. She was the daughter of Sir Thomas Bunbury (a grandson of Sir Henry's and his first wife, Anne, who died in 1601), making her the first Priscilla's half great-niece. She was born in c.1675. Her half-sister Ursula married Richard Greene of Poulton in whose family the manuscript remains (Brookes v-vi and Boston 365).

[42] Boston 366-67 and Brookes v-vi. Randall Jewett was a member of the choir at Chester Cathedral (1612-15) and a singer in the King's Chapel. His younger brother Randolph, the more celebrated of the two brothers, was cathedral organist in Dublin, Chester, St. Paul's, London, and finally Winchester. The R. Jewitt in this book is more likely Randall. Nothing is known of Robert Hall. Another Chester composer is mentioned in the book: Francis Pilkington (d. 1638), who was a cleric and musician there.

[43] Boston 370 and Brookes v.

[44] Howard Ferguson, ed., *Anne Cromwell's Virginal Book, 1638* (London: Oxford UP, 1974).

[45] Anne Cromwell is related to the Anne Cromwell who compiled BL MS Harl. 2311 between 1656 and 1660, a volume of prayers, devotions, sermon notes, and poems, headed "A Booke of seuerall private deuotions collected from good men by the worst of siners." This Anne Cromwell was married to Henry, who was the grandson of Sir Oliver. The father of Anne Cromwell who compiled the virginal book was Henry, Sir Oliver's brother. Oliver Cromwell the Protector was the son of Sir Oliver's and Henry's brother Robert (*VCH Huntingdonshire*, vol. 2, 67-68).

musical friends at Upwood is lamented in a song.[46] Ferguson suggests that Anne Cromwell may have been one of the inexpert compilers of the manuscript; even if she was not, this manuscript gives evidence of some type of musical network in which at least one woman participated.

A woman named Elizabeth Babington may have owned the early seventeenth-century part-books, BL Add. MSS 37402-6.[47] The part books compiled by Thomas Hamond, c.1630-45 (Bod Mus. MSS f. 7-10/11-15),[48] include the hand of a family member who has written in the treble part book, "If any man be desirous to know lat him larne/ Marie Hamond" (Mus. MS f. 7, f. 3). On the following folio of this book she has written another version of this line. It seems likely that she sang the treble part in a family ensemble, and therefore put her stamp in this volume.

Lady Isabella Thynne is the likely owner of the Longleat lute manuscript (Longleat House, Old Library, Recess VI, Mus. MS 7), which contains music dating from c.1625-35. A portrait of Lady Isabella Thynne of Longleat with a 12-course lute hangs in the state dining room. During the Civil War in Oxford she was known for her playing of the lute and theorbo,[49] and Waller wrote a poem commemorating her skill

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[46] Ferguson iv-v. There were two Simon Ives, a father and son, who were musicians at this time; either could have been commemorated in the following song:

> Sweet siron songes with melody
> Inchanting Ives with Harmoney
> makes all to singe most merry Note[s]
> O doe not then forsake poar oates
> Now sad for thought of thy departing
> even on out [sic] hartstrings harshly grating
> If powers doe command you hence
> vaine is our hopes of your presence;
> except affections powers excell
> Sing then Sim Ive[s] his sad farewell (number 44, page 42).

[47] Monson 209 and David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981) 200-01.

[48] Price 199-200. Thomas Hamond of Hawkedon in Suffolk owned at least eight sets of manuscripts; six (Bod Mus. MSS f. 1-28) were copied personally between 1631 and 1656 (Monson 78).

[49] "Our grove was the Daphne for the ladies and their gallants to walke in, and many times my Lady Isabella Thynne (she lay at Balliol College) would make her entrey with a theorbo or lute played before her. I have heard her play on it in the grove myselfe, which she did rarely" (John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Andrew Clark, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1898) 24; quoted in Spring, *The Lute*, vol. 1, 129).

on the lute.[50] The manuscript may have been compiled on a European tour; she may have traveled abroad in the 1630s taking the manuscript with her.[51]

Music Books Compiled by Women

Extant music books compiled by women and girls were often the result of lessons. Julia Craig-McFeely has called these manuscripts pedagogical books, which are of two varieties. The first were compiled by young women and, less commonly, young men of the leisured class under the direction of a tutor. We can speculate as to why women were more commonly compilers of these books; music more typically formed part of a girl's education than a boy's. The lute manuscripts of Jane Pickeringe, Margaret Board, Margaret L., Anna and Mary Hay, and Lady Margaret Wemyss (all discussed below) fit into this category. Lady Jean Campbell's compilation of virginal music may also have been the result of lessons. The second type is compiled by men of a lower social class who wish to gain professional advancement from the compilation.[52]

Among those extant manuscripts which can be securely identified as containing a female hand is BL Egerton MS 2046. It is mainly in the handwriting of Jane Pickeringe, whose name appears on the flyleaf: "Jane Pickeringe owe this Booke 1616." Pickeringe's initials (IP) are stamped on the covers, which also display the royal coat of arms of James I. Pickeringe has written out 77 pieces for a lute with up to nine courses in renaissance G tuning. At least three more scribes have transcribed further lute pieces for 10- and 12-course lutes using varied tunings. A signature, possibly late seventeenth-century, on one of the final pages indicates that the manuscript may have passed to another woman: "M[is] Manwauringes worth this booke."[53] Little is known about the identity of Jane Pickeringe.[54] The selection of

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[50] "Of my Lady Isabella playing on the lute" (*Poems 1645 Together with Poems from Bodleian MS Don. D. 55* (London: Scolar, 1971) 78-9); quoted in Spring, *The Lute*, vol. 2, 26.

[51] Spring, *The Lute*, vol. 2, 27.

[52] Craig-McFeely, vol. 1, 87-88.

[53] For a description and facsimile of the manuscript see Robert Spencer, ed., *Jane Pickeringe's Lute Book c.1616-c.1650* (Clarabricken: Boethius, 1985).

pieces in Pickeringe's book is retrospective and conservative; no known foreign pieces have been included.[55]

The privately owned lute book of Margaret Board (c.1620-c.1635),[56] in contrast, demonstrates a more varied repertoire, combining fashionable new material with older pieces.[57] Three names appear in the book: Margaret Board, Margaret Bowrne and Mary Jordan.[58] Margaret Board is the first hand in the book (ff. 1-12, 12v-30v, and 83v), and she may also be one of the scribes in the Hirsch manuscript (BL MS Hirsch M. 1353).[59] If Margaret did indeed copy lute music for someone else's use she may have been involved in producing further manuscripts. She used a nine-course lute tuned in *vieil ton* (ordinary G tuning). The Board manuscript gives evidence of her playing style; the relishes show her florid musical taste but also her skill.[60] John Dowland, likely her teacher at one point, probably included the pieces on ff. 12v and 83v and the theoretical table on f. [i]^{v}; he has also added hold signs to her copying.[61] Two or possibly three later scribes have compiled the final pieces on folios 31-45v.

Again, this manuscript is not of songs, but two fragments of songs or poems have been recorded by Board. On f. 23v the words to a song have been written beside the one and a half staves of music, beginning, "Fayre mysters disdayne me not though

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[54] Suggestions that she was the daughter of Sir John Puckering (or Pickering), the Lord Keeper, or of Sir Thomas Puckering, have been discounted (Craig-McFeely, vol. 2, 546; and Spencer, *Jane Pickeringe's Lute Book* xiv). Craig-McFeely has suggested that she may have been from the Yorkshire Protestant family of Sir William Pickering (1516-1575).

[55] Spring, *The Lute*, vol. 1, 66, and Thomas F. Kelly, "Notes on the Jane Pickering Lute Book: With Special Emphasis on the Music for Two Lutes," *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 1 (1968) 21.

[56] For a description and facsimile see Robert Spencer, ed., *The Board Lute Book* (Leeds: Boethius, 1976).

[57] Spring, *The Lute*, vol. 1, 71.

[58] A Margaret Board was born at Lindfield in Sussex on 19 November 1600. After the death of Margaret's father, Ninian Boord, in 1606, her mother married Nicholas Jorden (in 1610). Sometime between 1623 and 1631 Margaret married Henry Borne (Spencer, *The Board Lute Book* n. pag.). The signature on f. 32v is possibly that of the older, married Margaret Borne, although the hand appears to be a different one.

[59] See Craig-McFeely's detailed analysis in vol. 1, 200-221.

[60] Craig-McFeely, vol. 1, 211.

[61] Craig-McFeely, vol. 1, 224. Spencer has matched Dowland's holograph with this hand (*The Board Lute Book*, n. pag.)

hard/ fauored I be."[62] This song is spoken by a woman; can we speculate that Board copied this lone verse into her manuscript because of this? A poetic fragment appears on the inside back cover in her hand: "True hartes haue eares and eyes/ Noe tounges to speake/ They heare they see they sighe/ and then they [break]." It is the final couplet from an Elizabethan poem, "The lowest trees have tops, the ant her gall," appearing in 14 extant manuscripts, and set to music by Dowland.[63]

The privately owned lute manuscript, known as the M.L. lute book of c.1610-40 because it has those initials stamped on its cover, may have been partially compiled by the Margaret who is the subject of some Latin verse on f. 56.[64] Robert Spencer identifies 15 scribes in the manuscript, but does not number Margaret among them; in contrast, Craig-McFeely considers her to be the first scribe (who would have been compiling the manuscript between c.1610 and 1615).[65] The name of John Sturt appears in the manuscript; he may have been Margaret's teacher.[66] Only one incomplete piece, a song possibly from a masque, has words attached to it.[67]

Often these pedagogical books became household or commonplace books in the hands of later owners. The Scottish Rowallan manuscript began as a music book, possibly of Anna and Mary Hay, and ended up in the hands of Sir William Mure of Rowallan in about 1615, who continued to add poetry and music to it for several

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62 Fayre mysters disdayne me not though hard/ fauored I be/ For venus did w^{t}h v^{u}lcan match yet non/ so foule as he/ In vayne yo^{u} vrge that text/ What vlcan was I knowe/ What yf he weare a cockold made would be serued so.

63 L.G. Black, "Studies in Some Related Manuscript Poetic Miscellanies of the 1580s," vol. 2, diss., U of Oxford, 1970, 112-115.

64 For a description and facsimile of the manuscript (BL Add. MS 38539) see Robert Spencer, ed., *The M.L. Lute Book c.1610-40* (Clarabricken: Boethius, 1985) xii-xx. The verse is as follows: Margareta Margarita/ Non Minerua est invita/ Splendida in tota vita/ Multa bona in ea sita/ Et boni *omn*es dicent ita/ Margareta Margarita. Shane Hawkins has translated it: Margaret is a pearl/ Not without inspiration/ In all of life a radiation/ A great good in her situation/ And thus all good people give declaration/ "Margaret is a pearl."

65 Spencer, *The M.L. Lute Book*, xix; and Craig-McFeely, vol. 1, 190.

66 Spencer, *The M.L. Lute Book*, xix; and Craig-McFeely, vol. 1, 188-200. Craig-McFeely discusses the possible links between the Krakow manuscript (Biblioteka Jagiellonska Berlin Mus. MS 40641) and the M.L. Lute Book. She suggests that John Sturt wrote the Krakow manuscript in c.1615, and then came into contact with Margaret, who likely copied some music from that manuscript into her own.

67 f. 32v: "O y^{t} Thou dads't known in Those Thy Dayes y^{e} Things y^{t} belong vnto Thy/ Peace but Now they are hidden from thine Eyes they [are hidden from thine eyes]." The repeat sign indicates that the last five words are to be repeated.

years.[68] Two inscriptions appear on early flyleaves: "godes grant, gode grant Anna Hay" (f. v) and "My lade bekluch her book" (f. vi). Anna Hay was the eldest daughter of the eighth Earl of Errol. She married the Earl of Wintoun in 1609. Her sister Mary married the Earl of Buccleugh in 1616, and died in 1631.[69] The manuscript may have been owned by Anna Hay before her marriage, and by Mary Hay after her marriage. Craig-McFeely suggests that the first two scribes of the manuscript are the sisters.[70]

Lady Jean Campbell (1620-1703) owned several music manuscripts, but also compiled some virginals music in her own hand. She was the eldest daughter of John, Earl of Loudon, Lord Chancellor of Scotland. She married George Maule in 1645, who became the second Earl of Panmure in 1661. Among the family's collection of music manuscripts was a collection of French lute music compiled in Paris, c.1630-35 (Panmure MS 5, now NLS MS 9452) which Campbell appears to have owned.[71] She may have brought two further music manuscripts into her marriage: those of Clement Matchett and Duncan Burnett, both of which contain virginal music.[72] She also owned a compilation of keyboard and lute music (Panmure MS 8, now NLS 9449), which she partially compiled herself. The hand which has added instructions to the lute music ("Turne the leefe" and "to the 2 ffrance," which may indicate "for the second phrase") on ff. 21 and 22 is that of Lady Jean Campbell, and Spring believes that it is also her hand which has compiled the first eight keyboard pieces. She thus played both the keyboard and lute music in the volume.[73]

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[68] EUL, MS Laing III. 487. For a description see Craig-McFeely, vol. 2, 573 and Spring, *The Lute*, vol. 2, 1.

[69] *The Scots Peerage*, ed. Sir James Balfour Paul (Edinburgh, 1904), vol. 3, 577.

[70] Craig-McFeely, vol. 2, 575-76.

[71] Spring, *The Lute*, vol. 2, 49-50.

[72] Panmure MS 9 (NLS MS 9447) and Panmure MS 10 (NLS MS 9448) respectively (Spring, *The Lute*, vol. 2, 60).

[73] Spring, *The Lute*, vol. 2, 58-59. Two quite different signatures have written Campbell's name (on f. 1 and the back flyleaf). If indeed both are in her hand, then she compiled the keyboard pieces, as well as the recurring phrase on f. 74v, "Doth Adam dye, Christ in the live I/ Christ shall Eternall life the give" (this is repeated four times without the final "I" of the first line) and "Christ is my Love he Loved me when I was quyte forlorne."

Song Books Compiled by or for Women

Several extant manuscript song books compiled for, and sometimes by, women demonstrate that women's participation in musical life of the seventeenth century could include the creation of their own song books. Elizabeth Davenant, Lady Ann Blount, Elizabeth Rogers, and Ann Twice may have all had a hand in the song books associated with their names.

Elizabeth Davenant's Song Book

Christ Church MS Mus. 87 was likely compiled specifically for Elizabeth Davenant, who has written "M^{ris} Elizabeth Dauenant 1624" on the inside back cover. It consists of 25 songs for treble and bass (likely the bass viol).[74] The manuscript has Oxford connections, originally as well as now. Elizabeth Davenant was the sister of William, the more well-known playwright and poet. Their father, John Davenant, was proprietor of the Crown Inn and Tavern in Cornmarket Street (where Shakespeare is said to have stayed), and was mayor of Oxford in 1621. A daughter, Elizabeth, married Gabriel Bridges (a fellow of Corpus Christi College, who obtained his BD in 1624, and who became rector of Ditteridge, Wiltshire in 1625 and of Letcombe Basset in Berkshire in 1636). Elizabeth signed her maiden name in 1624, but she likely married him soon after he received his degree and before he left Oxford for Wiltshire. John Davenant died in 1622, but Elizabeth may have lived with her sister Jane and brother-in-law, Thomas Hallom, who continued to run the Tavern until 1636. Elizabeth's second husband was Richard Bristowe, rector of Didcot.[75]

Elizabeth Davenant's may be one of the hands in the manuscript. The first ten songs (with the exception of the sixth which contains additions by later hands), the twelfth, fourteenth, and fifteenth all seem to match with Elizabeth's signature. Another

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[74] For a description of the manuscript see John P. Cutts, "'M^{ris} Elizabeth Davenant 1624' Christ Church MS. Mus. 87," *Review of English Studies* ns 10 (1959) 29. For a description and a facsimile see Jorgens, vol. 7. Cutts claims that none of the pieces postdate 1624 (29), but Jorgens takes issue with this, suggesting a later completion date (vol. 7, v).

[75] A.B. Pearson, "Like to the Damask Rose," *Music and Letters* 35 (1954) 118-19, and Cutts, "M^{ris} Elizabeth Davenant" 27-28.

two hands have written the rest of the songs. After 25 songs which appear on 18 folios, an acrostic on Elizabeth Davenant's name appears. In his tribute the poet addresses his "rude Muse" who will demonstrate Davenant's virtues and the Muse's own defects in trying to praise them; Davenant herself deserves the place among the muses. She exceeds the poet's praise, but he hopes "she will not frowne/ at these my ~~rusticke~~ rimes vnskillfully set downe" which he sent her in love (f. 19). It is entirely possible that these lines were sent to Elizabeth and that she then transcribed them into her music book, since the hand is similar, though not identical, to the first hand in the manuscript. It seems less likely that the scribe of this poem copied it into a manuscript and then sent the manuscript to Elizabeth, which she later inscribed with the date 1624.

John P. Cutts has pointed out an explicit Christ Church link in the manuscript. One of the songs, "Dropp drop goulden showrs gentle sleepe" (ff. 3v-4), was sung by undergraduates of Christ Church in Thomas Goffe's *The Courageous Turke* of 1618. Goffe took his MA in 1615 but did not leave Oxford until 1623. The song has not been found in other manuscript sources, making it likely that it was compiled by someone with Christ Church connections, or by someone with access to an Oxford manuscript.[76]

Cutts has claimed that at least three of the songs have links with dramatic productions by the King's Men, but Jorgens contests a direct link between this manuscript and the theatre.[77] "Haue you seene the white lilly grow" (ff. 4v-5) is a setting of the second stanza of a song from Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass*, performed by the King's Men in 1616. These stanzas are the final two of Jonson's three-stanza poem, "A Celebration of Charis in ten Lyrick Peeces. 4. Her Triumph," which enjoyed a lively circulation in manuscript (Peter Beal lists 24 extant manuscript versions of this stanza).[78] This stanza was imitated by later poets; James Shirley's "Would you know what's soft?" (printed in 1646) and Sir John Suckling's "Hast thou seen the down i' th'

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[76] Cutts, "M[ris] Elizabeth Davenant" 27.
[77] Jorgens, vol. 7, vi.
[78] Beal, vol. 1, part 2, 239-41.

air" (written before 1637) are direct reworkings of similar themes.[79] A second song, "Care charming sleepe thow easer of all woes" (ff. 5v-6, from Fletcher's *Valentinian* of 1614) is not necessarily by Robert Johnson, and therefore not linked to the King's Men's productions of those plays.[80] At least nine extant manuscript copies of the poem exist.[81] The poem, possibly by Shirley, may be an imitation of the Elizabethan sonnets, "Care-charmer Sleepe, sonne of the sable Night" (by Samuel Daniel, printed 1594) and "Care-charmer sleepe, sweet ease in restles miserie" (by Batholomew Griffin, printed 1596, itself an imitation of Daniel). This manuscript show us the retrospective taste of its compiler, and indeed of the cavalier poet Shirley, who was imitating popular Elizabethan compositions. A final song, "Go happy hart for thou shalt lye" (ff. 7v-8), is John Wilson's setting of this lyric from Fletcher's *The Mad Lover* of 1617. The manuscript includes a metrical version of Psalm 39, verses 12 to 13, and at least three of the songs are funeral elegies, including one on a dead prince ("Cease o cease this hum of greeuing" (f. 6v)), for which Cutts again inconclusively posits a dramatic origin.[82]

A few of the songs are shared with other song manuscripts connected with women. Elizabeth Rogers's virginal book, of the 1650s and 60s, discussed below, contains two of these songs, and Ann Twice's songbook (likely dating from before 1630, discussed below) shares three and mentions a further two in the table of contents, for which the actual songs have been lost.[83] It seems most likely that

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[79] Hugh MacLean, ed., *Ben Jonson and the Cavalier Poets: Authoritative Texts. Criticism* (New York: Norton, 1974) 48.

[80] Jorgens, vol. 7, vi.

[81] Fredson Bowers, ed., *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1979) 275.

[82] Cutts, "M[ris] Elizabeth Davenant" 30 and 32.

[83] Rogers: "Cloris sight, and songe, & wept" (f. 21v) and "Come you pritty false eyd wanton" (f. 1v). Twice: "Cloris sighte, and sange, and wepte" (no. lii, with lute tablature; another version is mentioned in the table of contents but does not survive), "Haue you seene the bright lilly growe" (no. xlix, for viol; a lute version is mentioned in the list of contents but does not survive) and "Like to the damaske rose you see" (no. xliii, with lute tablature). Besides two of the above-mentioned pieces, two other songs are mentioned only in the table of contents: "As life what is soe" and "Shall I weepe." Christ Church MS 87 also shares one poem with Constance Fowler's miscellany, "Eyes gaze no more," f. 48v (Constance's version includes another verse and does not have a musical accompaniment), and two with Herbert Aston's miscellany, "Like to the damask rose you see" (f. 5) and "I prithee leaue loue me no more" (f. 4).

Elizabeth and the other scribe or scribes compiled this varied material from a variety of sources: some popularly circulating in manuscripts (such as "Like to the Damask Rose"), others linked with the theatre, but also enjoying an independent circulation in manuscript.

The book later passed to another woman associated with Oxford, Katherine Lowe, who has written "Kath: Low May y^{e} 6th 1663 began my excerpts Tue May ye 5th" down the left-hand margin of the first folio. She was probably the daughter of Edward Lowe, organist of Christ Church from 1630.[84] Lowe is the hand behind several extant music collections; and he is known to have taught the virginals to at least one young lady.[85] It is not surprising that his daughter should have been given lessons. It does not appear as if she added any of her own songs to the manuscript. As with so many manuscripts, literary, musical, or domestic, this passed from one woman's hands into another's.

Lady Ann Blount's Song Book

A slightly later song book again sheds light on the practice of manuscript compilation. Lambeth Palace Library MS 1041 was at one time owned by "the Lady Ann Blount" whose name appears on the first folio.[86] She may have been a student of Charles Coleman, whose hand is likely the main one in the manuscript. She was one of the five children of Mountjoy Blount, Lord Mountjoy and Earl of Newport, and Anne, a daughter of John, Baron Boteler, of Bramfield.[87] Blount is associated with the first part of the manuscript, which likely dates from before her notorious elopement with

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[84] Pearson 119 writes that Edward Lowe's daughter married on 7 February 1682, and that a Katherine Lowe was living at her uncle George's house in St. Aldates when the Poll Tax was taken in 1667. Pearson suggests that Katherine may have chosen to live with her relations when her father remarried.

[85] Including BL MSS 29396 and 11608. See footnote 16 for Lowe's comments to his student in his compilation of virginal pieces for her.

[86] For a description and facsimile of the manuscript see Jorgens, vol. 11. For a description see Gordon J. Callon, "Songs with Theorbo by Charles Colman and his Contemporaries in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Broxbourne 84.9 and London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 1041," *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 24 (1991) 15-26.

[87] DNB, vol. 2, 711-14.

(or abduction by) Thomas Porter, the playwright, on 24 February 1655.[88] Gordon Callon puts a strong case for the earliest portions of the manuscript having been compiled by Coleman himself, suggesting that he began writing in the songs around 1648 to 1650 (folios 3-7v). His later entries (folios 51v-64) compare favourably with the hand in Bodleian MS Broxbourne 84.9, which was likely compiled after Lambeth 1041, between 1660 and 1663 (and in any case before Coleman's death in 1664).[89] The songs compiled by Coleman are solo songs with theorbo tablature for 12 courses. Another hand (folios 9v-19v) has compiled all of the French songs in the volume, one in Italian and one in English. Two later hands added seven songs (not in the hand of Coleman's son, Edward, as some have suggested, according to Callon, even though one of the songs is of Edward's composition). None of these four hands can be identified with that of Ann Blount, but the possibility that part of this book was compiled for her use is still a strong one.

Elizabeth Rogers's Virginal Book

British Library Add. MS 10337, was owned by Elizabeth Rogers on 27 February 1656, as the inscription on folio 1v indicates.[90] The initials EF are stamped on the front and back covers and among the disorganized entries on folio 1 is "Elizabeth Fayre" written twice. Possibly this is Rogers's maiden name, but the hands do not appear to be the same. Another name, "John Tillette," possibly that of an eighteenth-century owner, appears on f. 2. Four different hands appear throughout the book, which has been reversed several times. The first and third hand are likely those

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[88] Ian Spink, *English Song Dowland to Purcell* (London: Batsford, 1974) 116. Thomas Porter was the fourth son of Endymion Porter. He was imprisoned briefly, and the contract of marriage between them was declared null and void on 17 July, but a valid marriage subsequently took place and Ann bore him a son, George. After a duel in 1667, however, Porter fled the country and later married Roberta Anne Colepepper, the daughter of Sir Thomas Colepepper (DNB, vol. 16, 193). Nothing further is known of Lady Ann Blount.

[89] Callon 22-25.

[90] For editions see Cofone, and George Sargent, ed., *Elizabeth Rogers' Virginal Book 1656* (N.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1971); for a description and facsimile see Jorgens, vol. 2. In his discussion of provenance, Cofone notes that the manuscript was purchased by the British Library in 1836 from Richard Heber; the Heber sale catalogue claims that it once belonged to Sir Thomas Fairfax. This cannot be proven, but Fairfax did own a large manuscript collection and might have been interested in one which contained "Sir Thomas Fairfax's March" on f. 2 (Cofone ix).

of musical professionals, while the second may be Elizabeth Fayre's hand, and the fourth may be an amateur's as well.[91] Some of the pieces are contemporary with the date on the manuscript, but others are retrospective (not uncommon in poetic and musical compilations).[92] Five songs begin the volume, then one song is reversed, another song is written the correct way up, and a final seventeen songs are reversed.

Elizabeth Rogers may have been one of the scribes; she seems to have been responsible for some of the poetic fragments which appear on the front flyleaf, and on folios 60 and 60v. Three items appear on the front flyleaf, two of which are on the topic of love.[93] On folio 60 a nine-line poem on love precedes a table of contents, headed "Voyall Lessons."[94] On folio 60v two and possibly three hands have written the beginning of a poem (the first two versions of the poem may be the same hand, but the last is clearly the product of an immature, unsteady hand).[95] In the less formal second hand (possibly Elizabeth Fayre's) a song by Henry Lawes, "I preethe sweete," has been written (ff. 50-49v rev.). Cofone has observed that in the final lines of the song the words "good," "sweet," and "faire," have been crossed out and replaced by "wilde," "naught," and "failce."[96] If these corrections were made in Rogers's hand (or indeed of another owner's) they reveal an engagement with the text similar to the type we have seen in miscellanies, where scribes have frequently "improved" or altered pieces (the example of Robert Overton springs to mind; he revised poems of John Donne and Katherine Philips in order to commemorate his wife Anne).[97]

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[91] Cofone ix-xi.

[92] Cofone xi. The suite "The Battle" appears in *My Lady Nevells Booke*, which was completed in 1591. "Essex's Last Goodnight" was popular by at least 1576, and then again in 1601.

[93] [1] Time and Tide/ Stayes ffor none here [2] where loue by grace hath/ possessone the parting kiss the/ deap inpreson [3] This Is The dart that pearst the hart the/ Constant loue to try ffor Fame still/ And euer will bee Constant tell I dy./ A hart I haue And that Is ffree my only/ Joy I geue to the Iff thin bee soo and bee/ not gone then lett us goyne our harts In one.

[94] In Excese off ioy and payne/ I doue labour to obtaine/ Such A measure/ off Loues Treasure/ That I bee not poure againe.// when I pyne with staruing care/ Hope does so enlarge my ffeaires/ As not ffearing willowe wareing/ More I loue the more I dayre.

[95] Sith hart and break thou mast no longer liue/ to Injoy this world nothing that I wold giue/ I liue forlorne all goyes are ffrom me ffleed/ Iue lost my loue Alase my hart is dead.

[96] Cofone 124. The original version agrees with Lawes's *Select Ayres and Dialogues* of 1669. Cofone ventures to suggest that Elizabeth Rogers or Fayre may have been a pupil of Henry Lawes, but admits that there is no evidence (xviii).

[97] David Norbrook, "'The Blushinge Tribute of a Borrowed Muse': Robert Overton and his Overturning of the Poetic Canon," *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700* 4 (1993) 220-66.

Ann Twice's Song Book

New York Public Library Drexel MS 4175[98] has become known as the Ann Twice music book because "Ann Twice her booke on the outside" has been written on the first folio of the manuscript. The signature, however, although very faded, is emphatically not a seventeenth century one.[99] Two other hands appear on the first folio, giving us clues as to the book's ownership. An early- to mid-seventeenth-century hand has written "Songs vnto the violl:/ and lute" at the top of the page, and this hand corresponds to the hand which has written most of the songs and music in the manuscript, which has been dated c.1620-30.[100] The manuscript is a frustrating source because many of the pages have been lost; half of the items listed in the table of contents do not appear in the manuscript. A second hand on the first folio has written, "my cosen Twice/ Leffte this Booke with me when she went to Broil<..>/ which is to be returne to her AGhaine when she Come to Glo<.>."[101] This note is in the same hand as the hand which has written on the final folio records of bushels of wheat and mongcorn (a mixture of two kinds of grain sown together, usually wheat and rye) "sent to the mill" between 9 December 1699 and 3 April 1700. Thus, the cousin of this person, Ann Twice, must be her contemporary. Besides these geographical clues, nothing is known about Twice.[102] Even though the late-seventeenth-century ownership of this manuscript does not make it useful for this study, it is worth noting that on later pages poems and recipes have been transcribed. The hand is likely mid- to late-seventeenth century; perhaps Ann Twice compiled it (but since I have not seen

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98 For a description and facsimile of the manuscript see Jorgens, vol. 11. For descriptions see John P. Cutts, "'Songs Vnto the Violl and Lute"--Drexel MS 4175," *Musica Disciplina* 16 (1962) 73-92 and Ian Spink, "Ann Twice, Her Booke," *The Musical Times* 103 (1962) 316.

99 I have not been able to view the original manuscript, but from the facsimile can see that the hand looks twentieth century. Possibly this modern hand is indicating what appears on the outside of the manuscript, i.e. the cover ("Ann Twice her booke" on the outside as a description, may be what is intended). Jorgens implies this in her commentary, vol. 11, vii.

100 Cutts, "Songs" 73-77 and Jorgens, vol. 11, vii-viii.

101 Cutts transcribes the locations as Broisil and Glost (i.e. Gloscester) ("Songs" 77).

102 Without evidence, and in contradiction of the evidence of the 1699 hand, Spink claims that Twice lived in Gloucester about 1620 and that she went to Bristol at some point, leaving the manuscript with her cousin ("Ann Twice" 316).

her signature I can only guess). One of the four love poems which follow the songs is addressed to "Orinda", and two other poems of the four refer to the object of the writer's love as "Silvia." One is instantly tempted to find links with Katherine Philips's circle, but Silvia was not known to be one of the pastoral pseudonyms among that group.[103] Some of the writer's praise of "Orinda" (Philips's pseudonym) could be taken as comments on her writing, (for example, "Her words are such as dying saints might hear..." and "To Leave Degenrate Posterity/ An Exact Pattern of True Poetry"). The writer claims that Orinda lacks knowledge of love, but we know that Philips was married. This same hand has added three medical receipts and twenty cookery receipts in the final folios of the manuscript, reversed.[104] A final hand has added a recipe "For pickell Cucumrbers."

Most of the manuscript consists of lute songs, sometimes with tablature. Many popular songs are included, as well as a variety of compositions by Robert Johnson, Robert Jones, John Dowland, Alfonso Bales, and John Wilson. It seems most probable that Ann Twice was a later owner who used the book to play and sing lute songs, and possibly to compile poetry and recipes.

Songs in the Miscellanies of Anne Southwell, the Astons, and Lucy Hutchinson

Songs, compiled by both men and women, frequently appear in miscellanies of the period. Mary Hobbs observes that when the title "Sonnet" is used in a verse miscellany, it tends to refer to a song with a musical setting. In some manuscripts the title implies a source from a specific songbook.[105] This appears to be exactly the case with the first folio of Lady Anne Southwell's miscellany. On the first folio five poems appear, all called sonnets. To date, three of them have been located among printed songbook sources. The first, "Sonnett: 1[a]," beginning, "ffly from the world, o fly, thow poore distrest" has been set to music in Alfonso Ferrabosco's *Ayres* of 1609 and

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103 Thomas 8.

104 Alison Ryley implies that only one medical and three cookery receipts have been added (see Alison Ryley, "Mrs. Whitney's Cabinet Enlarged and Opened: Some Resources in Culinary History at the New York Public Library," *Biblion: The Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 2 (1993) 73).

105 Hobbs 107 and 114.

Robert Jones's 1605 edition of airs (*Ultimum Vale*). Robert Jones also set to music the second and fourth poems on the folio (beginning, "When I sitt reading all alone that secret booke," and, "If in the flesh where thow indrench'd do'st ly," respectively) in *A Musicall Dreame. Or the Fourth Booke of Ayres* of 1609. Although none of these songbooks appear in Southwell's library list in the manuscript (on folios 64v-66), she may have known them. Alternatively, these poems may have circulated first in manuscript before Jones and Ferrabosco found them and set them to music. It seems most likely, given the "sonnet" heading of these songs, that Southwell found them in printed songbooks.

One of the Southwell's acquaintances at Acton was her landlord, the lutenist and composer Robert Johnson. He died on 18 November 1633, and his funeral sermon by Roger Cocks has been entered on folio 72 of Southwell's miscellany. In it he is praised above all for his "humilitye for though by the exelencye of his qualitye which was Musick in which hee excelled most men his Company was desired both of princes and great personage<s> yet he did ascociate the poorest of the parish both with his compenye, his coumforte, and his Councell." As mentioned above, one of the items in a list of the goods moved from Southwell's house at Clerkenwell to her house at Acton in 1631, is "1 payre of virginnales" (f. 61). This suggests that she played this fashionable instrument. Given her contact with Johnson, and their background at court, one can imagine that their contact might have had a musical component. Beyond the three "sonnets," though, few of the poems in her manuscript could be considered songs. Nevertheless, in her poem on the third commandment (Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain) most likely written when she lived in Acton under Johnson's influence, her use of musical imagery indicates that her knowledge of it was substantial:

> When in our consortes wee leaue partes vnstroken
> as eights, fifts, thirdes, that echo one another
> yf but a semiquauer time bee broken
> in theyr resultanses you cannott smother
> the players fault soe is it wth gods worde

wee must leaue fumbling & all partes affoord.

The deepe ground base of this graue harmonye
is called Repent the high stretchd spirituall treble
is to Amend that nimbly doth replye
& to ech sembrief doth eight quauers double
The last conclusiue stroake doth touch all partes
gods kingdome is at hand Reioyce all hartes
(Lansdowne MS 740, f. 144).

Constance Aston Fowler's miscellany contains at least two poems which were set to music.[106] "Eyes gaze no more, as yet you may" (folio 48v), was set by at least two different composers in two extant manuscript songbooks: Bod MS Mus. Sch. F. 575 (f. 6v) and Christ Church MS 87 (f. 9v), the songbook of Elizabeth Davenant, and later Katherine Lowe, described above.[107] This poem also appears in at least three other extant manuscript sources: Bod MS Ashmole 38, BL Add. MS 10309, and BL Add. MS 25707.[108] The poem attributed to Owen Fellthan, "When by sad fate from hence I summon'd am" on folio 188v, has also been set to music in at least one manuscript, the songbook of John Wilson, Bod MS Mus.b.1, on folio 70v. Wilson has set it as a solo song. The poem also appears without musical accompaniment in Bod MSS Eng. poet. c. 50, Firth e. 4, and Malone 16.[109]

Herbert Aston's miscellany, another Tixall manuscript, has strong links with the song tradition. The first 40 poems are headed "Cant:" followed by a number. This is likely an abbreviation of either canto, the Italian for song, or of the Latin cantus, meaning song or melody, and also the principal voice--a word used in part-books to designate the treble singing line (see, for example, Lady Margaret Wemyss's music book, below). Poems 41 to 57 are headed "songs" and the penultimate poem is entitled, "A Rurall panegrigg on the Lady southcots wedding day to the tune of gilding of the deuil." Many of these poems appear in musical sources: 21 appear in Jorgens's

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[106] Information from the first-line indexes of Edward Doughtie, *Lyrics from English Airs 1596-1622* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1970); E.H. Fellowes, *English Madrigal Verse 1588-1632*, ed. Frederick W. Sternfeld and David Greer, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967).

[107] Information from the first-line index of Jorgens, vol. 12, 404 and 64.

[108] Margaret Crum, ed., *First-Line Index of English Poetry 1500-1800 in Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969) E209 and Jenijoy LaBelle, "The Huntington Aston Manuscript," *The Book Collector* 29 (1980) 555.

[109] Jorgens, vol. 12, 536-37 and Crum W939.

first-line index of manuscript English songbooks 1600-1675; six of those also appear in printed sources, while four appear only in the printed songbooks.

Lucy Hutchinson's commonplace book, dating from the 1660s (Nottinghamshire Archives DD Hu 1) contains selections from John Denham's translation of the *Aeneid*; psalms; prose comments on love, friendship, hatred, and related topics; a pedigree; Latin excerpts; and some English poems, including some that had been set to music ("A Ballad upon the lamentable death of Anne Greene and Gilbert Samson executed att Tyburne the second day of January for hauing beene taken in the act of adulterie To the tune of When I was a buxsome lasse," beginning, "What a pittifull age is this," and followed by "The second part to the same tune," beginning, "farewell to you mother deare)." Lucy Hutchinson records that music was part of her education from a young age ("When I was about seven years of age, I remember I had at one time eight tutors in several qualities, languages, music, dancing, writing and needlework...") but that she enjoyed only reading and did not like practising ("As for music and dancing I profited very little in them, and would never practice my lute or harpsichords but when my masters were with me...").[110]

Hutchinson's story of how her husband fell in love with her is well-known; he was staying at the house of Charles Coleman in Richmond in 1636. Lucy Hutchinson's younger sister, Barbara, was boarding there in order to practice her lute; she told John Hutchinson about her studious older sister and he began to become interested in her. But when he heard an answer poem to a song which had lately been set to music, and found out the answer had been written by Lucy, he fell deeply in love with her.[111] Besides the seductive power of poetry and song, this story illustrates how common it was for a poem to be set to music, and the possibility of female authorial engagement with the tradition.[112]

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[110] Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, ed. N.H. Keeble (London: Dent; Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1995) 14-15.

[111] Hutchinson 45-49.

[112] Women also wrote words to existing tunes. The words of the Scottish "Lady Lothian's Lilt" may have been written, or at least performed, by Lady Lothian (possibly Lady Ann Ker or Lady Arabella Lothian) (Helena Mennie Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1969) 256-57; Kenneth Elliot and Helena Mennie Shire, eds., *Music*

Ann Bowyer's book does not seem to contain any songs. Given the sterner moral tone of her manuscript, this is perhaps not surprising. The miscellanies of Anne Southwell, Constance Fowler, Herbert Aston, and Lucy Hutchinson do not include any musical settings, but their inclusion of songs among their poetry reminds us of the close links between lyric poetry and music during this period.

The Lady Margaret Wemyss Manuscript

Several of the song manuscripts we have considered so far were used by women but not necessarily compiled by them. Lady Margaret Wemyss's music book (National Library of Scotland, Dep. 314/23), on the other hand, was primarily compiled by a Scottish girl, from the age of twelve, possibly until her death at age 18 or 19. The manuscript contains 17 songs for voice and bass viol, 27 poems, and 91 pieces or fragments of pieces for a 10-course lute (two of those pieces are for a 12-course lute).[113]

The manuscript retains its original parchment binding. The remnants of two ties at the top and bottom of the cover indicate that the covers of the manuscript were originally tied together. The pages of this quarto volume measure 194mm X 147mm. It resembles an upright folio more than the oblong quarto so often favoured by compilers of lute manuscript; this suggests that it may not have been originally intended as a music book. The quires are generally 12 pages, but many of the total of 16 quires are missing leaves, making a total of 177 folios, of which a full 100 are blank. Paper was scarce and expensive in this period, and books of this sort were often recycled and used for other purposes; the wealth of the Wemyss family is evident

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of Scotland 1500-1700, 3rd ed., Musica Britannica, 15 (London: Stainer, 1975) 220). The instrumental tune, in the style of a native air, may have been composed for her by a professional musician (Kenneth Elliot and Frederick Rimmer, *A History of Scottish Music* (London: BBC, 1973) 48). Elliot and Shire print verse 8 of the version of the song which appears in Andrew Melvill's commonplace book, 1621-40. It seems to indicate authorship or performance by a woman: "Thus have I done to pleas your will/ Now let me have mine hyre./ I have bewray'd my want of skill/ In doing your desyre./ The weaknes of a woman's witt/ Is not through nature's fault/ Bot laike of educatione fitt/ Makes nature whylls to halt."

[113] For a description of the physical characteristics of the manuscript see Matthew Spring, "The Lady Margaret Wemyss Manuscript," *The Lute: The Journal of the Lute Society* 27 (1987) 5; and Spring, *The Lute*, vol. 2, 35-48.

in that they did not need to use these blank leaves. The watermark is a pot, indicating a French origin for the paper, and is similar to number 466 in Churchill, which is dated 1642, and to number 3611 in Heawood, dated 1630, though neither is a perfect match.[114]

Lady Margaret Wemyss has signed the manuscript at several points.[115] She was the third of the 11 children of David, second Earl of Wemyss (1610-1679) and his first wife Anna Balfour, daughter of Robert, Lord Burley. David Wemyss was granted the title of Lord Elcho when his father was created first Earl of Wemyss in 1633, and became second Earl of Wemyss upon his father's death in 1649. He supported the Covenanting cause, playing key roles in negotiations and battles from 1639 to the Restoration. Lady Margaret was born at Falkland, the residence of Lord Burley, her maternal grandfather, on 24 September 1630 and died sometime after 17 May 1648, when she was seriously ill, but before her mother's death on 10 November 1649.[116] Two dates appear on the early flyleaves: 5 June 1643 and 1644. Thus the manuscript was likely begun when Margaret was 12 and finished sometime before her death at age 18 or 19.

Besides this manuscript, no information about Lady Margaret Wemyss survives.[117] Since Margaret lived until the age of 18 or 19 it is likely that marriage negotiations would have been commenced for her (her elder sister Jean was married to her first husband at the age of 19, and their father made a bond of provision for their younger sister Mary, but she died unmarried at age 17).[118] Though no information of

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[114] W.A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, etc., in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and their Interconnection* (Amsterdam: Hertzberger., 1935) cccxlvi; and Edward Heawood, *Watermarks Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Hilversum, Holland: Paper Publications Soc., 1950) pl. 484

[115] Her signatures appear on f. i: M^ris Margarit Wem<y*s*>; Be me margarat/ Wymes vith/ my hand/ 1644 [reversed]; Be me [flourish] margarat/ Weyms [reversed]; f. ii: M^ris Margarit Weemys; f. 2v: M^ris Margarit Weemys; and f. 74v: Margrat Wemeyss With my hand; Margaret Weemes My very good Lady. On folio 74v both phrases are written twice.

[116] *Scots Peerage*, vol. 8, 501-05, and Sir William Fraser, *Memorials of the Family of Wemyss of Wemyss*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1888) 239 and 293-94.

[117] Most of the Wemyss family papers are in the hands of the family. David, second Earl of Wemyss, Margaret's father, kept a diary from 1634, which is also in the family's possession (Fraser, vol. 1, 239).

[118] Fraser, vol. 1, 293-94.

this kind survives, we can glean information about what her life might have been like from other documents. Margaret must have lived the early years of her life at the Chapel of Wemyss, a manor place near Wemyss Castle, where Margaret's parents lived from their marriage in 1627 until 1639. When the Earl's wife died in 1639, Margaret's parents moved into Wemyss Castle; this became the primary residence of Margaret's father until his death, and was where Margaret must have lived the second decade of her life. Her older brother John died before 1636, making her sister Jean (born in 1629) the oldest child of their father's first marriage, and Margaret the second oldest. Her father records in his housekeeping expenses for 1634 that he paid the wages of two gentlewomen and two "quins" or maids for his wife, Margaret's mother.[119] Though Margaret would have been only four years old at this time, it is worth noting that this large and wealthy household had several women in it. David Wemyss employed a chaplain,[120] and must have employed tutors for his children (written records survive by his daughters Jean and Margaret, and their half-sister Margaret; probably his other children were literate as well). Education for girls was a concern of members of the family; the first words in the testament of 1 August 1655 of Margaret's aunt Lady Jean Wemyss (the sister of her father) are of her concern over her daughter's education.[121]

Wemyss and Sutherland Women

Margaret's song book passed into the Sutherland papers likely through Margaret's sister Jean. On folio 42v Margaret has written, "all the lesons behind this are learned/ ut of my sisteres book." Spring has shown that this could only have been her older sister Jean (1629-1717) because Margaret's other sisters would have been

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[119] Fraser, vol. 1, 240.

[120] A Mr. John Burnet who left him in 1652, after the death of Wemyss's second wife, to take over the parish of Mearns in Renfrewshire (Fraser, vol. 1, 263).

[121] "I earnestlie intreat that my husband will be pleased that our douchter Marie, after my death, may be delyverit to my Lady Marischell, and her woman Anna Balfour, to stay vith her for her educatione; my Lady Marischell being pleased vith the said Anna, her gude behaviour and careage for the childes educatione: and after it sall please God to call my Lady, the childe being alyve, I intreat my husband that the chylde may be delyverit to my Lord Wemyis, my brother, to remaine vith him till her mareage" (Fraser, vol. 2, 241).

infants at this time. In 1659 Jean married as her second husband George Gordon, Lord Strathnaver, afterwards fourteenth Earl of Sutherland. She contested in 1681 and again in 1693 the succession of the Wemyss titles and estates to her half-sister, also called Margaret (1659-1705), the only surviving child from their father's third marriage, but was unsuccessful.[122] Margaret Wemyss's book likely passed to her sister Jean, who was another lutenist, and who also left behind a significant number of letters, an account book, and a book of medical receipts which originally belonged to their mother.

Letters, largely from the period after she became the Countess of Sutherland in 1679, exist both to and from Jean Wemyss, chiefly on legal issues concerning her estate.[123] In NLS Dep. 313/501 survive two copies of an inventory of the "household stuff and plenishing" belonging to Jean Wemyss as Lady Angus, from 22 July 1659, that is to say, the date of the marriage contract between herself and her second husband Lord Strathnaver. The last item on her inventory is "A good maney books marked with the letters L.J.W. or A.A." One of those books may have been her sister's lute and poetry book which passed into the Sutherland hands, though Jean has not signed it with either set of initials (presumably standing for Lady Jean Wemyss or Archibald Angus, her first husband).

Even more fascinating is Jean Wemyss's account book (NLS Dep. 313/502). It covers the period 1650-54, during her first marriage to Angus. The volume is in Wemyss's distinctive hand throughout. It contains extraordinarily detailed month-by-month accounts, on between one and three folio pages for each month, from February

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[122] *Scots Peerage*, vol. 8, 503 and Fraser, vol. 1, 306.

[123] Volume 3 of Fraser's *Memorials* is devoted to the correspondence of the Wemyss family and includes three letters by Jean Wemyss (two from June 1672 on the subject of her dissatisfaction with the settlement of her father's estate (pp. 113-16 and 117), and one from 1704 on the aliment of her grandchildren (p. 166-67)). Her letters also survive in the NLS. Dep. 313/501 is an unbound collection of correspondence of the Earl and Countess of Sutherland from 1663-1715. Copies of letters from Jean Wemyss exist in MS 2670, ff. 189-90v (1677, on a dispute between her and the Marquis of Douglas, the father of her first husband), MS 9251, f. 158 (1698, seeking assistance for her grandson), MS 2955, f. 7 (1661?, to the Duke of Lauderdale on legal affairs). MS 2980, f. 11 is a letter concerning Jean Wemyss upon the death of her first husband, Archibald, Earl of Angus. His father, William Douglas (the subject of later disputes with the Countess of Sutherland), writes to his cousin Lady Alexander that Angus's widow Jean, "will be found Lyable to a part of the Lord Angus his fine."

1650 to December 1654. It is doubtful that these accounts of a newly married young woman would mention her sister Margaret who died a year or two before (in 1648 or 1649), but they may hint at her own musical, literary, or medical activities in the way that her book of medical receipts does.

This manuscript (NLS MS 3031) was started by Anna, Lady Elcho, Margaret and Jean's mother. Folios 1-31v contain "The Book of Receipts Phisicall" in a regular and elegant italic hand. This hand may be scribal; if Anna, Lady Elcho, did not actually write it herself, she is nevertheless stated as the owner of the collection in her daughter Jean's flyleaf note: "This Book was my mothers in w^{ch} are many Receits w^{ch} shee had from y^{e} most famous Phisitians y^{t} lived in her tyme, she Dyed in Nov^{br} 1649 J:W: Southerland" (f. ii^{v}). Aristocratic women often played a vital role in the practice of medicine during this period. Lady Elcho seems to have had contact with doctors of the time--it is probable that these recipes were used for her own practice of medicine at an amateur level. Receipts range from treatments for headache, jaundice, the French pox, the plague, and ringworm, to specifically female complaints ("For kanker in ane woman's pap's," to increase breast milk, to prevent miscarriage, to quicken birth, to cure diseases of the breast, and to quench the thirst of pregnant women).[124]

Her daughter Jean must have written the note on the flyleaf after she became Countess of Sutherland in 1679 (before that time she was Jean Gordon, Lady Strathnaver). It may have passed into her possession before that, but, in any case, she was not a merely passive owner of the volume. She has altered the titles of two of the recipes from her mother's portion of the book (on f. 25 she has crossed out "White seiknes" and replaced it with "Augue;" she has changed the following receipt on f. 25v, "For ye same," replacing "same" with "whyt sicknis"). She obviously felt that a mistake had been made and changed it to reflect her use of the receipt. Many of the later pages of the manuscript contain recipes in Jean Wemyss's hand. She seems to have followed her mother's example in getting remedies from physicians: "Doctor

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[124] These receipts form a small portion of the total number in the collection, but show the range of remedies available to the educated amateur.

Michels Recipt how to make a salve for thee Rickets in Childeren" (f. 59v), "A Receitt how to make a Cordiall jullip for my Lord by D^{r} Alacatt" (f. 70v), and "all the Receit on this & y^{e} other two pages preceding I received from Doctor Haall phisition at *Eor*" (f. 69). The book passed to a further member of the Sutherland clan, Jean Viscountess Maitland, the daughter of John, fifteenth Earl of Sutherland who married James Maitland in 1702 (she refers to the Countess of Lauderdale as her mother-in-law on folios 73v and 77; this would have been Margaret, who outlived her husband, John Maitland, the fifth Earl of Lauderdale, until 1742).[125] Other hands are dispersed in the book. Jean Wemyss has edited some later recipes; for example on f. 69v in a receipt of 1701 Jean has expanded the contraction "oz" to "ounce," obviously to make it clearer for her own use. This book passed to women with connections in the Sutherland family; it originated with the mother of the future Countess of Sutherland, Jean Wemyss, and passed to her granddaughter, perhaps via other female members of the Sutherland family along the way.

Besides the early pages of this receipt book, Margaret and Jean's mother Anna left behind further information about her life in two wills which are dated 18 June 1649.[126] Her first will sets down what shall be done with her "bodei clothes" when she dies and the second what shall become of her "iouls [i.e. jewels] and bodei klothes amongst my shilldrin." Her "dochtir Angous," that is to say Jean Wemyss (aged 20), is to get most of her clothes, but her other surviving daughter, Mary (aged 11), is also to receive some clothes, jewelry, and the cabinet which stands in her husband's study. Her eldest living son, John (aged three) is to receive her husband's portrait, jewelry, and "Doktir Arnots stone, that is for the ueimen in traueill." This may be a stone to help women in labour; it is interesting that she should give it to her male offspring. Her son Alexander (aged one) is to receive John's goods, should he die, and jewelry of his own. Jean Wemyss is to receive also her "laither beilt I gait from Doktir Arnott."

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125 *Scots Peerage*, vol. 5, 310-11.
126 Fraser, vol. 2, 231-234.

Besides her children, Anna Wemyss left bequests to her husband, father, brother, two goddaughters, two sisters, and one "Jeain Linsey" (perhaps a friend or servant).

Lady Margaret's father, David Wemyss, who became second Earl of Wemyss in 1649, married as his third wife Margaret Leslie in 1652. Several of the letters of Margaret, Countess of Wemyss, survive. In one to the Countess of "Swedeoll" of 11 December 1658, she writes that the Countess's nieces are both well but describes the sore arm of one of them. She writes how she has treated Mary's arm: "I haue put ane Lovter in hir neck to deuert the hoomours."[127] This Wemyss woman was also evidently a competent amateur practitioner of medicine. Her disposition in favour of her daughter, Margaret, Countess of Wemyss, the testament made upon her death, and her own will are all printed.[128] Among the debts owed by her are monies to three apothecaries for drugs.[129]

All of these manuscripts connected with Wemyss and Sutherland women merit mention here because they demonstrate some activities of the women who lived with and after Lady Margaret Wemyss. Her mother, Anna, Lady Elcho, practised medicine and had contact with leading physicians of the day. Her eldest daughter Jean, later Countess of Sutherland, kept a lute book when Margaret was still alive and went on to compile her own recipes, to consult with physicians, and to fight legal battles on behalf of her own inheritance. Her father's third wife was also no stranger to amateur medicine and to lengthy correspondence. Margaret was one of many Wemyss women who left written testimony to some activities of their lives.

Spring points out that a further music book, a compilation for lyra-viol and virginals which includes many Scottish tunes (Dep. 314/24), is found among the

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[127] NLS MS 14406, ff. 21-3. I have not been able to locate the meaning of this word. In Fraser three letters by Margaret Leslie are printed: two of 1652 to her future husband, David Wemyss, and one of c. 1662 to him on her intended return from London (vol. 3, 96-97 and 109). Several other letters by Margaret (Leslie), Countess of Wemyss survive in the NLS: MS 14406, f. 151 (?1670, to the Earl of Tweedale, wishing him success in his business), MS 3419, ff. 64-65 (1677, on a dispute involving her daughter and son), MS 2955, f. 47 (1677, to the Duke of Lauderdale on her son's contested succession to the estate of Leven).

[128] Fraser, vol. 2, 254-259. The disposition is dated 26 June 1683 and the testament 28 August 1688. Margaret Leslie died in February 1688.

[129] Fraser, vol. 2, 257. She owes George Stirling of Edinburgh £210, 1s.; John Lauder of Kirkcaldie £39, 3s.; and George Auchmoutie of Kirkcaldie £24, 6s.

Sutherland papers but that it does not resemble the hands in the Wemyss manuscript. It was, however, also associated with a woman's ownership: the only name in the manuscript is "Lady Mountgomre."[130] This hand has written at least one heading to a lute piece: "The kinge enjoys his oun again Harpsharp."

Hands in the Wemyss Manuscript

Wemyss's hand is one of two, or possibly three, in the manuscript. An assured hand, that of an adult and possibly a teacher, has transcribed the 17 songs for voice and bass viol which appear in the first section of the book (ff. 1-11).[131] That hand has also written on the second flyleaf: "A Booke/ Containing some pleasant aires/ of Two, Three, or fowre voices/ Collected out of diverse Authors/ Begunne june 5 1643." Below it Margaret has signed her own name, making it possible that she signed the book later than 5 June 1643. Perhaps it was only in 1644, the date she has written on the first flyleaf, that Margaret obtained the book. But given that the two hands interchange throughout the book, a dual compilation seems likely. Wemyss has also written her name at the end of a song ("Young and simple though I am I haue heard of Cupids name" on ff. 2-2v), though the song is in the teacher's hand. It is worth mentioning that this is the one song of the seventeen which is spoken in a female voice, and it is this song which Wemyss has signed (see below, p. 191). The teacher's hand is distinguishable not only by its fluidity but also in its use of abbreviations and in its more consistent spelling. The scribe tends to use "q" instead of "w" to abbreviate such words as when (q^n), which (q^{ch}), and what (q^t), common Scottish forms, which Wemyss does not do.

To introduce the second section of the manuscript Wemyss has written, "This boke containss som Lesons/ for the Lutt and som fine werses/ And Lines" on folio 11v. Eight poems follow in her hand. The third main section of the manuscript consists of

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[130] Spring, *The Lute*, vol. 2, 37. This is one of the manuscripts in which two instrumental versions of "Com love let's walk into the spring" ([ff. 8-9] of the Wemyss manuscript) appear (a lute version on f. 22v and an arrangement for keyboard on f. 26v).

[131] Spring suggests this in *The Lute*, vol. 2, 35 and "Wemyss" 5. In the latter, he also suggests that a more mature hand has entered some of the poems and a section of the lute music (ff. 28-37).

lute music in two parts. Spring suggests that the "corrupt and inconsistent" first part (ff. 17-27, 28 lute pieces) is the result of Margaret's first attempts to write down lute music. After twelve blank folios, a second section contains two distinct hands: a more skilled hand (at ff. 28-37) and likely Margaret's again (at ff. 37v-50).[132] Margaret has entered all of the titles for the lute tablature, suggesting that she worked closely with a teacher, sometimes writing the pieces herself, but sometimes getting assistance from him. Some of her comments in this section reinforce that these pieces are the result of lessons. On folio 24v, for example, she has written, "finnesss hulie and farie/ tun flat/ all thir 18 lesones is on the old".[133] Spring has traced all of the tunes in the lute section to either French, Scottish, or, less commonly, English sources.[134]

The final section of the manuscript consists of 19 poems, reversed (which I have foliated [ff. 1-23] for ease of reference). Margaret has written the first seven poems, the first four stanzas of the eleventh, the twelfth through the fifteenth poem, and the seventeenth through the nineteenth. Another hand, likely the teacher of the first section of songs, has included poems eight to ten (the final two stanzas of ten appear after poem 11), and poem 16. Given that the second hand has completed a poem begun by Wemyss, it is likely that the poems were entered contemporaneously. Margaret's hand is a main hand in the manuscript but another hand has entered songs with musical accompaniment and completed several of the poems. This hand may have also entered the more professional lute music; if not, then a second teacher specifically for solo lute lessons must have taught Margaret and probably her sister Jean as well.

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[132] Spring, "Wemyss" 9.

[133] Wemyss writes "finnesss" (or "finness") [i.e. finis] at the end of most of the pieces and poems. "hulie and farie" is likely the name of the piece. Flat tuning was the typical French tuning, becoming fashionable in the early seventeenth century, particularly in Scotland where links with France were stronger than between England and France. The 18 lessons in the "old" likely refers to old tuning or *vieil ton*, standard renaissance tuning for the lute. A later note, "thir last 4 lesons is on/ the sharp tun uhich/ called gautirs tune," (f. 26v), refers to one of the transitional tunings popularized by Jacques Gaultier, the most important of the French lutenists at the Caroline court.

[134] Spring, *The Lute*, vol. 1, 314. The lute pieces in the teacher's hand come from only Scottish and French sources; some of Margaret's pieces are English in origin.

Lute Music in the Wemyss Manuscript

One of the tutors employed to teach Margaret and Jean, and probably the younger children as well, was surely a music tutor. This tutor may have been formerly one of the musicians at the Scottish court. In 1603, when James VI's court moved to London, the "Castalian Band" of artists which had surrounded James was dissolved. Some of the artists followed him to London (like Sir Robert Ayton, whose poems are represented in Wemyss's manuscript) but most of the younger members, forced to remain in isolated castles up and down the country, stayed in Scotland.[135] Helena Shire examines the case of Sir William Mure of Rowallan, whose lute book (discussed above, pp. 167-68) and cantus volume of a set of part-books demonstrate the music available to him. Many of the pieces are taken from printed songbooks which may have been owned by the family for his children's musical education. After 1603 the musical and cultural life of the country had switched from the court to the castle where music could be found in printed and manuscript form and where there must have been excellent music teachers.[136] It may have been one of these musicians who was employed by Wemyss to teach his children.[137] Robert Phillips suggests that due to the significant number of French lute tunes present in Lady Margaret's book, her teacher may have been French.[138] By this time the popular lute music was French in origin and links between Scotland and France were strong. After 1600, the Jacobean masque and the developments in French lute music which were introduced through the court had the effect of associating the lute with the court and with cavalier culture.[139] The French lutenist Jacques Gaultier was given a prestigious post at court in 1619.[140] By

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135 D. James Ross, *Musick Fyne: Robert Carver and the Art of Music in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: Mercat, 1993) 144.

136 Shire, *Song, Dance, and Poetry* 213-14.

137 Several of the lute pieces in Wemyss appear in other Scottish lute manuscripts, suggesting that the teacher had contact with sources of popular Scottish tunes. Eight pieces are shared with Panmure MS 5 (NLS 9452), compiled c.1630-35, possibly in Paris; four with the Skene MS (NLS MS Adv. 5.2.15) compiled c.1615-35; and three with the Straloch MS (NLS MS Adv. 5.2.18; G.F. Graham's partial copy made between 1839 and 1847 (original now lost)) of 1629 (Spring, "Wemyss" 22-26).

138 Robert Phillips, ed., *Music for the Lute in Scotland*, vol. 1, (Shillinghill: Kinmor Music, 1995) 53.

139 Spring, *The Lute*, vol. 1, 62.

140 Denis Arnold, ed., *The New Oxford Companion to Music*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1983) 1101.

the later 1630s lute music was being seen as very much a conservative and elitist form of music; most extant lute manuscripts from the period beyond the "golden age" of lute music (1585-1630) were compiled by people (most commonly women) of the upper classes who were identifying themselves with an older, more privileged form of music.

While we can argue that lute music was becoming more associated with the court, in Scotland a particular cross-fertilization between lute music and folk music was occurring. It has been argued that manuscript lute books of the early seventeenth century show a fruitful contact between aristocratic amateurs from the Lowlands and professional Highland Celtic harper-minstrels. Margaret Wemyss's lute book and that of Robert Edward (NLS MS 9450) are later collections which demonstrate the tradition of this fusion of folk music with secular art music, creating distinctly Scottish tunes.[141]

Perhaps Wemyss Castle enjoyed a level of musical activity similar to another Lowland family, the Erskines, Earls of Mar. The household book of Lady Marie Stewart, Countess of Mar, gives evidence of visiting musicians for the period 1638-1642.[142] Marie Stewart, the second daughter of Esmé, first Duke of Lennox, married on 7 December 1592 as his second wife John Erskine, Earl of Mar. She died on 11 August 1644.[143] In 1638 payments were made to two blind singers who sang at dinner and to two "hieland singing women;" in 1641 "blind Watt y^{e} piper" played while Lady Marie exercised, and drummers and fifers (players on the fife, a wind instrument resembling a flute which is used mainly to accompany a drum in military music) played for her at least twice; in 1642 a woman clarshocher (a highland harper) visited the house, and three English fifers performed.[144] Visitors such as these may have also been common at Wemyss Castle.

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[141] Ross 145-46.

[142] William Dauney, ed., *Ancient Scotish Melodies, from a Manuscript of the Reign of King James VI. With an Introductory Enquiry Illustrative of the History of the Music of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1838) 361-362. This manuscript is now in the NLS.

[143] *Scots Peerage*, vol. 5, 621.

[144] Dauney 361-62.

Campion and Morley Songs, and Robert Edward's Manuscript

Wemyss's teacher may have provided her with the printed copies of Campion and Morley which form the first section of her manuscript. This portion of the manuscript (ff. 1-11) is all in the hand of another person, possibly a teacher; Margaret's hand appears only once as a signature (on f. 2v). Three of the songs in this section are taken from Thomas Morley's first books of airs, and the remaining 14 are from Thomas Campion's second, third, and fourth books of airs.[145] The songs are all on the topic of love: thwarted, hopeful, or celebratory. One of the Morley songs is a slight departure with its pastoral story of a nymph picking thyme for Thersis and running away laughing and blushing when Thersis cannot read her riddle ("She straight her light greene silken coats up tucked," f. 8v).[146]

Most of the songs are written from the male point of view, being sometimes vitriolic against women (for example, "If Love loves truth then women doe not love," f. 10), but the convention of women singing male-oriented songs, and vice versa was long established.[147] One of the songs is from a female point of view, however. "Young and simple though I am I haue heard of Cupids name" on folios 2-2v is in the voice of a wise young woman who knows what men desire when they kiss, and who is waiting for true love. It is only this song which Wemyss has signed. Can we speculate that this song in particular appealed to her because it is spoken by a woman? Did she sign the page to indicate some kind of choice of it? Perhaps the songs were selected by Margaret's teacher, but she had a particular fondness for this one.

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145 Thomas Morley, *The First Booke Of Ayres, Or Little Short Songs, To Sing and Play To the Lute, With The Base Viole...*(1600) (printed in F.W. Sternfeld, ed., *English Lute Songs 1597-1632. A Collection of Facsimile Reprints*, vol. 8 (Menston: Scolar, 1970)); Thomas Campion, *Two Bookes of Ayres...To be Sung to the Lute and Viols, in Two, Three, and Foure Parts: or by one Voyce to an Instrument...*(c.1613); Thomas Campion, *The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres Composed...So as they may be Expressed by one Voyce, with a Violl, Lute, or Orpharion..* (c.1618) (both Campion books printed in Sternfeld vol. 2).

146 Interestingly, this is the second part of a song; the first tells the story of Thersis and Milla who are walking in a garden telling wanton riddles to each other, when Thersis kisses her cheeks and asks her to pick a posie for him. In this context the action of the second part of the song now makes sense; but the person who selected part two of this piece, probably Margaret's teacher, was evidently not concerned with recording a complete story.

147 Jones 32-33. He points out that women's love songs became more common in the middle part of the century, citing as examples Campion's "My love hath vow'd" and "Fain would I wed," and Henry Lawes's "Ariadne."

The seventeen songs in the first section of the manuscript all contain a line or two of music for bass viol, headed "Bassus," and a several lines for treble, headed "Cantus," under which is the first verse of the song. Subsequent verses tend to be written below the staves. The bass viol part has been written at the top of the page and upside down, obviously so that the singer and instrumentalist could use the same copy of music when playing, indicating that this volume was used in performance of some type. This pairing of a solo treble voice and bass viol, without the inner parts, was common at this time in performance.[148] The placement of the parts on the page indicates that Margaret did not accompany herself on the viol. Song accompaniment by another person was becoming a more common practice into the seventeenth century. Women did accompany themselves on instruments when singing solo song (for example, John Danyel's pupil Anne Grene, mentioned above, p. 158, accompanied herself on the lute while singing) but evidently they were sometimes accompanied by other musicians.

The layout of the pages in the printed volumes of Morley and Campion differ somewhat from the transcription in Wemyss's song book. The main omission in Wemyss's is of lute tablature below the cantus line to accompany the songs. Both Morley and Campion have lute and bass viol accompaniment. Margaret's teacher has omitted the additional lute part, likely because by this time, the 1640s, it was becoming more fashionable for a singer to be accompanied by the bass viol than by the lute.[149] Solo lute playing in the French style still had currency in Wemyss's circles but lute for song accompaniment did not. The two Morley songs (the third and fourth in the printed version; on ff. 8v and 9 in Wemyss) which exist in the printed version[150] are

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[148] Spring, *The Lute*, vol. 2, 38. He points out that Campion suggested this type of performance in his introduction to the first book of his *Two Bookes of Ayres* (1613): "These Ayres were for the most part framed at first for one voyce with the Lute, or Violl." The second book is subtitled, "To be sung to the *Lute* and *Viols*, in two, and three Parts: or by one *Voyce* to an Instrvment."

[149] Jones 203-04.

[150] The only existing copy of Morley's first book of airs (in the Folger) contains only the first 13 songs; the fourteenth is incomplete, and the final nine listed in the table of contents are lost. One of the songs in Wemyss, "White as lillies was her face," is one of the lost songs (number 15 in the table of contents). This manuscript is thus an important source for Morley scholars. The two other Morley songs are transcribed faithfully, so it is probable that this song is very close to the printed version.

similar to Wemyss's layout in having the bass viol part upside down and the cantus part with additional verses facing the singer. Besides minor variants in spelling the words in the printed version are identical with the Wemyss manuscript. There are two small differences in the music: the scribe in the Wemyss manuscript has forgotten an accidental in the cantus part for "She straight her light greene silken coats up tucked" (f. 8v) and the scribe has inserted a repeat sign in both the cantus and bass viol parts of "With my love my life was nestled" (f. 9) because the final twenty notes are identical. Perhaps the scribe was running out of space on the page and so used an accepted form of musical abbreviation.

All of the 14 Campion songs[151] agree very closely with the printed versions in terms of music and words, but, again, they do not contain the additional lute tablature accompaniment. The layout is slightly different. The only song from the second book of airs, number 21, the final song in the volume, most closely resembles Wemyss in that it has the bassus part reversed at the top of the page and the cantus part, lute tablature, and additional verses upright. The songs in the third and fourth book of airs, from which the rest of the Campion songs have been copied, have the cantus and lute tablature at the top of the page, followed by the bassus part, and then the additional verses (sometimes these are spread across two pages). The part for bass viol is not reversed, making it less easy to use as a performance copy.

The versions of the songs in Wemyss correspond closely with their printed counterparts but with a few significant differences. As with the Morley songs, the lute tablature has been omitted. Some of the songs have spelling variants which reflect

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[151] The 14 songs are from the following Campion books: "Now let her change" (f. 1): book 3, song 2; "Be thow then my beautie" (f. 1v): book 3, song 19; "Young and simple though I am" (ff. 2-2v): book 4, song 9; "If any hathe the heart to kill" (ff. 3-3v): book 4, song 21; "Her farre inflaming eyes" (ff. 4-4v): book 4, song 19; "I Must complaine yet doe enjoy my Loue" (f. 5): book 4, song 17; "Come O Come my lifes de light" (f. 6v): book 3, song 23; "Thus I resolve and tyme hath taught me so" (f. 7): book 3, song 22; "Come o Come my lifes delight" (f. 7): book 3, song 23 [a repeat]; "So sweet is thy discourse to me" (f. 8): book 4, song 6; "Where shall I refuge seeke" (f. 9v): book 2, song 21; "If Love Loves truth" (f. 10): book 3, song 11; "Awake thow spring of speaking grace" (f. 10v): book 3, song 13; "If thow longst so much to learne" (f. 11): book 3, song 16.

Scottish orthography.[152] Musically, there are greater differences. Sometimes accidentals are omitted or added in Wemyss. Sometimes the values of notes are changed. Though key signatures were more fluid in the seventeenth century than they are today, in "If any hathe the heart to kill" (ff. 3-3v) Wemyss and Campion differ. In Campion the bassus and cantus part are in the key of E flat. In Wemyss the bassus part is in C and the cantus part is in B flat. The notes themselves are the same in Wemyss and Campion, and so this difference is not significant. The final three notes of "Be thow then my beautie" (f. 1v) have been changed in the Wemyss manuscript: Wemyss or her music teacher has decided to follow the upward progression of the bass line (BCDG; as opposed to the printed version's BGDG). Both versions make sense musically, but this change in Wemyss suggests that the printed version was mediated by someone who made their own musical decisions. Though the Morley and Campion books were printed decades earlier, they were evidently a source for one Scottish girl's musical education.

One of the Campion songs ("If Love loves truth," f. 10) appears in the manuscript of Robert Edward or Edwards (NLS MS 9450), a Scottish manuscript which has links with Wemyss's song book. It passed into the Panmure family collection, of which several manuscripts were owned by Lady Jean Campbell as is discussed above, p. 168. Edward was a minister of Murroes Parish near Dundee and in touch with the Maule family of Panmure. His manuscript contains music for cittern, keyboard, and instrumental ensemble, as well as poems, songs, psalms, notes, and excerpts on the history of music, and dates from 1633-1670.[153] Some of the lines in Edward's version differ from Wemyss's, which is nearly identical to the printed edition of Campion's third book of airs (c. 1618).[154] Three more poems are shared between

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[152] "Now let her change" (f. 1) has "q^{r}" in place of "where," a common Scottish abbreviation for "quhere." "Young and simple though I am" (f. 2-2v) has the most number of abbreviations of this type (e.g. q^{t}, q^{n}, q^{ch}).

[153] Helena Mennie Shire, "Robert Edwards' Commonplace Book and Scots Literary Tradition," *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 43-49; Kenneth Elliot, "Robert Edwards' Commonplace Book and Scots Musical History," *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961) 50-56.

[154] Wemyss] Edward
verse 2, line 2: then...wile] not...vylles
line 3: They] Vho

the Wemyss and Edward manuscript, making it tempting to suggest that channels of manuscript circulation existed between two noble families, the Wemysses of Wemyss and the Maules of Panmure.[155]

One of these shared poems is "Evin as the heart hurt in the chasse," of which Edward's copy contains only 16 lines of Wemyss's 46 ("Lyke as the heartt hurtt in the cheas," [ff. 16-17]). None of the variants are large, but some differences do occur.[156] The two manuscripts also share Montgomerie's "What mighty motion" (Edward has only the first verse, arranged for tenor voice) and "Come love let's walk" (Edward has the first verse set to music, with four additional verses on the facing page). Margaret Wemyss's links with other poetry and song collecting Scottish families such as the Earls of Panmure must be established.

Poems in the Wemyss Manuscript by Surrey, Ayton, and Montgomerie

The eight poems which follow the opening 17 Campion and Morley songs are in Margaret's hand and were very likely selected by her. Two of them refer to their song settings. The first poem, entitled "Made on Bukingams fauer" (f. 12), ends with the words "Thir linnes sings to the air of the lady cromliks liltt," and the fifth is headed "Mad on my lady binny" (f. 14). These refer to two well-known Scottish tunes,[157] the

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line 6: made] taind
verse 3, line 5: Yet had we rather wish q^t e're befall] farre better ver it any man befall
line 6: To have farre women fals then none at all] Then false to haue no uoman hawe at all

[155] There was a distant link by marriage between the two families: Jean, a sister of the second Earl of Wemyss (i.e. Margaret's aunt), married as her second husband Colonel Harry Maule of Balmakellie, second son of Patrick, Earl of Panmure, by whom she had no issue. She died sometime between 1655 and 1662 (*Scots Peerage*, vol. 8, 499).

[156] The poem occurs on f. 72 of Edward's manuscript. Key variants:
Wemyss] Edward
line 1: Lyke] Evin
line 3: his] Is
line 4: flying] fleing
line 6: hope] hopes
line 9: Which] q^t
line 10: wise] vayes
line 13: lo...has] loue...hathe
line 15: Which long...hath both] vhilk ey...had him
line 16: burnen] cruel

[157] "Cromlicks Lilt" and "The Lady Binnis Lilt" appear in the Balcarres manuscript (c.1700) and many other Scottish sources (Spring, *The Lute*, vol. 2, 38). The words most popularly associated with

second of which appears in the lute section of this manuscript on ff. 26v and 45-45v. "Made on Bukingams fauer" (f. 12) and "Buckingams Gost" (ff. 12v-13), for which a musical setting also appears in the lute section (f. 20), both admonish against the lures of reaching beyond one's sphere but neither is as scurrilous as some of the extant satirical poetry on Buckingham's role as favourite to King James and King Charles.[158] The first poem is spoken by someone who pines for Buckingham; this could be a man or a woman, given what is known about Buckingham's bisexuality. The second poem is spoken by Buckingham and praises the country life above the courtly one (it ends, "Let my fall teach yow all/ That to court doe resort/ Kings may choiss lou and reuard/ Bot not safly gard"). A poem in the section of 19 poems has also included information about its musical setting: "Beautie once blasted with the frost" ([f. 18]) ends with the instruction "This is sung to the tune of when the king shall enjoy his owin againe."[159]

Several of the poems have been identified with known poets: Henry Howard Earl of Surrey, Thomas Carew, Alexander Montgomerie, and Sir Robert Ayton.[160] Surrey's version of "If care do cause men cry, why do I not complaine" appeared in Tottel's *Miscellany*, a volume which was often reprinted in the later sixteenth century.[161] One might wonder how a poem of the mid-sixteenth century came to be

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"Cromlet's Lilt" are the lament of Chisolm of Cromlix over his duplicitous mistress, Helen, which Shire terms one of the finest "native airs" from this period (Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry* 256). Words and music are printed in Robert Chambers, ed., *The Songs of Scotland Prior to Burns. With the Tunes* (Edinburgh, 1862) 260-65; and in Kenneth Elliott, ed., "Cromleck's Lilt," *The Kelvin Series of Scots Songs* (Glasgow: Bayley, 1965).

[158] Neither poem figures in Frederick W. Fairholt, ed., *Poems and Songs Relating to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham; and his Assassination by John Felton, August 23, 1628* (London, 1850). These poems are not mentioned in the substantial sections on Buckingham in Joseph A. Taylor, *The Literary Presentation of James I and Charles I, With Special Reference to the Period c.1614-1630,* diss., U of Oxford, 1985, 133-160 and 226-243.

[159] This tune for lute appears in NLS MS Dep. 314/24, f. 1 (another music manuscript among the Sutherland papers).

[160] Spring has linked up the following: "Giue cair doe caus men cry why doe I not complaine" (Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey), "Fare weill fair saint may not the saes nor winds" (Thomas Cary; see p. 203 for the suggestion that this poem was written by William Fowler), "Giue mee more loue or mor disdain" and "Ladis fly from loues smoth tale" (both by Thomas Carew), "Whatt mighty motion so my mind mischiuˢ" (Alexander Montgomerie), and four by Robert Ayton: "Wer thos thine eys or lightnings from abowe," "What means this strangnes new of leate," and two versions of "When diafantes knewe/ by destenis decreed" (*The Lute*, vol. 2, 42 and 46-47).

[161] Editions appeared in 1557, 1559, 1565, 1567, 1574, 1585, 1587, and 1717 (Arthur E. Case, *A Bibliography of English Poetical Miscellanies 1521-1750* (Oxford: Bibliographical Soc., 1935 (for 1929)) 8-12.).

included in a Scottish girl's compilation of the mid-seventeenth century. The explanation in this case is that the poem gained currency as a song setting. Surrey's poem appeared in Thomas Wode's part-books (an anthology of sacred and secular part-songs compiled 1562-c.1592, with later additions by other hands after 1606 and c.1620), the manuscript *The Melvill Book of Roundels* (1612), Bodleian Ashmole MS 176 (c.1655), John Forbes's *Cantus, Songs and Fancies and Several Musical Parts, Both Apt for Voices and Viols* (Aberdeen; editions in 1662, 1666, and 1682), and in other sources.[162] *The Melvill Book of Roundels* was a manuscript compiled by David Melvill, the brother of Andrew Melvill, who was the master of the song-school of St. Nicholas, the burgh kirk of Aberdeen. David was burgh printer and bookseller in Aberdeen.[163] It contains 90 roundels and eight part-songs, of which "Give cair dois caus men cry" is the eighth song.[164] Comparing Wemyss's version on folio 16 with copies of the poem in Tottel's *Miscellany* (1557-1587), Melvill's book of roundels, as well as with the later MS Ashmole 176, and Forbes, we see significant variants. Wemyss has transcribed only 22 lines of Surrey's 60 lines as they appear in Tottel. Comparing Wemyss with Forbes, she does not include his tenth verse (which would fit between lines 18 and 19 of Wemyss) or any of the seven verses of "The Second Part."

The version of the song in Melvill's book of roundels is the closest to Wemyss. Its length is similar to Wemyss's version; its ten verses correspond with Wemyss's 11

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[162] Spring, *The Lute*, vol. 2, 42; and Hyder Edward Rollins, ed. *Tottel's Miscellany (1557-1587)*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1965) 313. John M. Ward lists nine sources which transmit the tune and ten which contain only the poem (*Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992) 121-22). One of these versions of the tune existed in the now lost Robert Gordon of Straloch lute manuscript of 1627-29 (a copy was made in c.1847 and is now NLS Adv. MS 5.2.18). That manuscript also contains music for "Come love let's walk" (cf. [ff. 8-9] of Wemyss) (E. Hood, "Fly Leaves--No. VIII. Old Scotch Musick," *The Gentleman's Magazine* 93 (1823) 122).

[163] Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry* 255; Elliot and Shire, *Music of Scotland* 220. David Melvill's bassus part-book of 1604 also survives (BL Add. MS 36484). Shire suggests that David made manuscript part-books for amateurs of nearby castles and universities. Less persuasively, Granville Bantock and H. Orsmond Anderton (the editors of *The Melvill Book of Roundels* (London: Roxburghe Club, 1916) xiii-xiv) suggest that David is the elder brother of the more well-known James Melvill (1556-1614), the Scottish reformer. The full title of the manuscript, which is now in the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., is "Ane buik off roundells. Whairin thair is conteined songs and roundells that may be sung with thrie, four, fyue, or mo voices haifing prettie and plesantt letters sum in latin and sum in Inglish quhilks ar an hundreth in number. Collected and notted by dauid meluill. 1612."

[164] The song for Cantus, Altus, Tenor, and Bassus parts, appears on f. 140 of the manuscript. The poem itself is on pages 47-48 of Bantock with a modern transcription of its music on pages 199-200.

(Melvill is missing two of Wemyss's verses but has an extra one which Wemyss has omitted).[165] The versions in Forbes and Melvill may descend from a similar strand of transmission; though their clefs differ, the tune is identical for both versions. If indeed Melvill's brother was the master of a song-school in Aberdeen, then that would explain why his version of the song is so close to that published by Forbes, whose songs were advertised on the title page as taught in the music-school of Aberdeen. The song in Melvill has been arranged for four voices and includes music for each part; only the cantus part is printed in Forbes. As is typical in these cases, it is possible that the differences are the result of the scribe's own alterations but it is equally (or perhaps more) possible that the variants represent a particular strand of manuscript transmission. Though Forbes is obviously not a source for Wemyss since it postdates her death, it is worth noting that besides the Surrey poem, it shares three more songs

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[165] Wemyss has copied of *Tottel* lines 1-16, 19-22, and 27-28; and of *Melvill* verses 1-8 and 10 (with an extra verse between verses 7 and 8). Key variants are:

line 1: Giue cair doe...I not] If care do...not I *Tottel*: Give cair dois...I nocht *Melvill*
line 2: Giue eury wight bewalls...doe Id not the sam] If eche man do bewaile...shew I not my paine? *Tottel*: Give everie man bevaill...do I nocht ye same *Melvill*
line 4: Joy...nor his...mourn] weale...or hath...moan *Tottel*: wealth...Or hes...mone *Melvill*
line 5: liu and hes sum tyme at] hauing life sometime haue *Tottel, Melvill*
line 6: drauing ox the seruing ass] bering asse, the drawing oxe *Tottel*: beiring of ye drawing ox *Melvill*
line 7: poys...which serues] peasant...that serue *Tottel*: pesant...That serveis *Melvill*
line 8: The and schipboy I...slau his tym to tak them eas] The shyp boy...slaue haue time to take their ease *Tottel*: ...sleyes... *Melvill*
line 9: poor ureach allon uhom cair] alas, whom care of force *Tottel*: alace puir wretche Quhom cair *Melvill*
line 10: uaill...uiep (i.e. weep)] wail...wake *Tottel*: weip...waill *Melvill*
line 11: painfull to pain from pain] pensiuenes to plaint, from plaint *Tottel*: paine to wofull plaint Frome pleint *Melvill*
line 12: painfull pain to pain...so] teares to painfull plaint...thus *Tottel, Melvill*
line 13: Ilk] No *Tottel, Melvill*
line 14: It moues mee to beuaill my uoe] But moueth me for to bewaile *Tottel, Melvill*
line 15: When I see men reioys sieing] For when men do rejoyce, since that *Tottel* [this line not in *Melvill*]
line 16: more pleasur in my pain] no pleasure in that place *Tottel* [this line not in *Melvill*]
line 17: Or when...haue ...desired light] And if...haue...desired sight *Tottel*: For quhen...men To have...delicht *Melvill*
line 18: Allac I think all men ar well] Alas think I eche man hath weal *Tottel*: Then do I think eache man content *Melvill*
line 19: Ginne] Then *Tottel, Melvill*
line 20: sik I then...resting] do I seke...secrete *Tottel, Melvill*
lines 21-23: Which thought that for the tym doeth much apac [i.e. appease] my grif/ Yet doeth it beid mee further pain to cause mee/ Mor mischiff] With thoughtes that for the time do much appease my paine./ But yet they cause a ferther fere and brede my woe agayne *Tottel* [these lines not in *Melvill*].

with Wemyss, demonstrating the common tradition both are drawing upon. The three songs are: "Come love let's walk" (ff. [8-9] in Wemyss), and two Morley songs, "White as lillies was her face" (ff. 5v-6 of Wemyss), the song lost in the only extant printed copy (see footnote 150) and "With my love my life was nestled" (f. 9 of Wemyss). A direct comparison of these pieces is not particularly relevant, given that Forbes is so much later than Wemyss, but the popularity of certain songs which occur in Wemyss is worth pointing out.

Four of Wemyss's poems are by Sir Robert Ayton, the poet and courtier. Two are versions of the same poem. No collection of his poetry was printed during his lifetime (1569-1638), but several important manuscript sources survive. His son, Sir John, collected his father's poetry in two British Library manuscripts (Add. MS 10308 and 28622), but Ayton's modern editor has pointed out that most of the available copies of Ayton's poems are from commonplace books.[166]

Ayton's poem, "Were those thine eyes or lightnings from above," appears in at least five extant manuscript copies, two of which agree with the Wemyss manuscript ([ff. 2-3]) in several variant readings.[167] In at least three cases the reading in Wemyss is different from that of the other manuscripts, reminding us of the individuality of manuscript transmission; but those links with other manuscript versions, especially the Hawthornden and Rawlinson manuscripts, also remind us that versions of poems can reflect particular strands of transmission.

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[166] Charles B. Gullans, ed., *The English and Latin Poems of Sir Robert Ayton*, 4th ser. 1 (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Soc., 1963) 251.

[167] The five manuscripts in which this poem appears are BL Add. MSS 10308 and 28622, Bod MS Rawl. poet. 31, NLS MS 2060 (Hawthornden MS), EUL Laing III 436. Significant variants are as follows:

line 2: glistring glances] glorious glimpses *10308, 28622, Laing*
line 3: by lowe] from love *10308, 28622*: from Iove [i.e. Jove] *Hawthornden, Rawl, Laing*
line 4: ther] their *Hawthornden*: his *10308, 28622, Rawl, Laing*
line 5: lest] last *Hawthornden, Rawl*: be *10308, 28622, Laing*
line 6: for to bee] to be some *10308, 28622*
line 7: nighes] night *Laing*: hight *10308, 28622, Hawthornden, Rawl*
line 8: To] Did *all*
line 9: Bot into] Yet even in *all*
line 11: Ther from] There force *all*
lines 13 and 14 in *Wemyss* are the same as those in *Hawthornden* and *Rawl*; the couplet in *10308, 28622*, and *Laing* is significantly different.

Another Ayton poem, "What means this strangeness new of late," exists in numerous manuscript copies, at least 15, four of which have been set to music by three different composers.[168] The variants in Wemyss's version ([f. 15]) generally agree with other manuscripts, and particularly with a group of four manuscripts which share almost all of Wemyss's readings.[169] Some of her variants seem to be unique.[170]

The third Ayton poem, which appears in two versions in the manuscript, is his early poem (pre-1603), "When Diafantes knew" ([ff. 5-6] and [ff. 9-14]). The poem runs to 102 lines and 96 lines (in which two half lines are counted as one) in its main copy texts (NLS MS 19.3.6 and BL Add. MS 10308), but Wemyss's first version has a mere 16 lines and her second has 80. A comparison with the two major sources of Wemyss's shorter version of the poem demonstrates that she and NLS MS 19.3.6 agree on five variants, she and Add. 10308 agree on three variants, and that she appears to be unique in 18 variants of her own.[171]

Though Margaret Wemyss was a Scot, and she has transcribed some poetry written by Scottish men into her manuscript, many of the poems are in English rather than Scots. Some of her vocabulary and spelling give her away as a Scot (for example, it is more common to find "u" for "w" and a macron over the "u" in Scottish sources), but in her choice of poems by Montgomerie, Ayton, and Montrose she is participating

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168 Gullens has grouped together 12 manuscripts into four groups according to their variants. The second group (MSS Bod Rawl. poet. 116, BL Add. 11608, BL Add. 53723, Bod Rawl. poet. 147) has the most variants in common with the Wemyss version (Gullens 302). Music accompanies four copies of the poem: Henry Lawes's setting appears in NYPL Drexel MS 4257 and in Lawes's autograph manuscript (BL Add. MS 53723), T. Blagrave has set the version in BL Add. MS 11608, and an anonymous setting accompanies the poem in BL Add. MS 29396. John Wilson may have intended to set the poem to music; only the text is present in his music book (Bod Mus. MS b. 1) (Jorgens, vol. 12, 534). Margaret Crum notes a version Jorgens has missed, in Bod. MS Eng. poet. c. 50 (W606). Settings of this song by Henry Lawes appeared in the second edition of John Playford's *Select Musical Ayres* of 1659, and in his edition of Lawes's *The Treasury of Musick* of 1669 (Cyrus Lawrence Day and Eleanore Boswell Murrie, *English Song-Books 1651-1702. A Bibliography with a First-Line Index of Songs* (London: Bibliographical Soc., 1940 (for 1937) 371).

169 Wemyss shares the following variants with at least the Group 2 MSS and often others: line 1: strangnes (instead of nyceness); line 3: consist (instead of well stand); line 17: equall (instead of efald, i.e. simple, honest).

170 Readings unique to Wemyss are: line 4: but (instead of it); line 6: thos (instead of such or doth); line 11: draw (instead of send); line 13: on[e] (instead of the); line 18: who (instead of none). Wemyss's use of "draw" at lie 11 is likely a mistake; Wemyss has partially crossed it out; it is a repetition of a word which appears in line 9.

171 Wemyss has copied the first 14 lines of the poem, and then jumped to lines 26 and 27, which end her version.

in a significant seventeenth-century trend. The gap was widening in Scottish poetry between the popular tradition (written in Scots) and the courtly tradition (which was increasingly being written in English). The Scottish language was vanishing as the language of literature.[172]

Ayton's poem, "When Diaphantes knew" is particularly interesting in this regard because it exists in significantly different versions. The NLS manuscript was written before the Scottish court moved to London and it is in literary Scots. The BL manuscript shows how Ayton altered his poem for an English audience; Scots accidence and spelling, and more obscure Scottish vocabulary, have all been modified.[173] Wemyss's versions of the poem seem to be at several removes from either of Ayton's versions; but in her shorter version of "When Diaphantes knew" she does appear to favour his earlier Scottish source over the more Anglicized version.

Besides his obvious popularity in manuscript sources, it is worth speculating as to whether Margaret Wemyss might have had a personal connection with Ayton, since both came from gentry families of Fife. A branch of the Aytons (or Aytouns), of Dunmore, married into the Wemyss family,[174] but no direct family links are found between Lady Margaret's and Sir Robert's immediate families. Sir Robert spent from 1603 at the English court and thus would likely not have had direct contact with Margaret's family unless it was through her father's political links with the English court.

Alexander Montgomerie's song, "What mightie motion," set anonymously, appears in at least three extant Scottish manuscript sources: the Drummond

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[172] Harriet Harvey Wood, ed., *James Watson's Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems*, vol. 2 (Aberdeen: Scottish Text Soc., 1991) xxi.

[173] Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry* 220-223.

[174] In the 1540s Andrew Aytone married Elizabeth Wemyss, the daughter of the Laird of Pittincreiffe; his son John, married the daughter of Sir John Wemyss, Agnes, who died in 1581; John's son Andrew had a daughter, Elizabeth, who married Sir John Wemyss of Bogey, and a son, John, who married Elizabeth Wemyss, the fourth daughter of John Earl of Wemyss on 18 April 1636 (information from a partially annotated transcription of Sir James Balfour's genealogy of the Aytons of Fife, which comes from his "Collection of the Scottish Shires," NLS MS 33.2.27, chapter 26. The bulk of it was written in 1637, but some notes were added in 1654. Balfour married Anna, the sister of the above-mentioned Elizabeth and John (Gullans 365-369)).

manuscript, Robert Edward's commonplace book, and Thomas Wode's part-books.[175] Montgomerie was a major figure at the court of James VI before he fell into disfavour due to his involvement in various Catholic plots in the late 1580s and 1590s. He was instrumental in the development of court-song at James's court, where poets and musicians flourished side by side.[176] Alexander Montgomerie's poems, of which more than 30 were set to music, were not printed but he was well-known at the time of his death (c.1598). His poems evidently circulated beyond the royal circles in which they originated.[177] Wemyss ([f. 17]) includes only stanzas one, two, and six, compared with Drummond's and Wode's six and Edward's one (with music for tenor voice). Wemyss's variants follow a similar pattern in that some are unique and others follow other manuscripts. In at least twelve instances Wemyss stands alone, agreeing with Edward's commonplace book on one reading.[178]

Songs and their Settings

A second song, the anonymous "Come Love, let's walk in yonder spring," ([ff. 8-9] in Wemyss) was popular in musical manuscript and printed sources of the

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[175] Elliot and Shire, *Music of Scotland* 177 and 216. The manuscripts are, respectively, EUL Drumm. MS De.3.70 (called Margaret Ker's or Cer's manuscript), NLS MS 9450 (Robert Edward's commonplace book), and Thomas Wode's Quintus part-book, Library of Trinity College, Dublin F.5.13.

[176] Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry* 179.

[177] Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry* 139-40.

[178] Key variants, with the Drummond, Edward, and Wode manuscripts, are as follows (following Wemyss's stanzas, i.e. 1, 2, and 6, numbered lines 1-20):

line 2: care...doth] cairs...do *Drummond*: cairs..doth *Edward*: care...doe *Wode*
line 4: both meatt both drink and sleep] of meit, of drink, of sleep *all*
line 5: then] now *all*
line 6: that pasion which] a poyson that *Drummond, Wode*: the poyson qwr *Edward*
line 8: in] through *all*
line 10: beill [i.e. swell] into] byll [i.e. boil] within *all*
line 11: may ueill infest] can weill impesh [i.e. prevent] *all*
line 12: my siknes sore with sorow] I feill my self with seikness *all*
line 13: that madnes doth from mei my mirth rem^{ou}] A madness maks my mirth fro me remove *all*
line 15: I fand freens] I felt, fra anis *Drummond*: I felt, fra ains *Edward*: I felt, once *Wode* (lines 17-20 in *Wode* are very different)
line 18: how but one book conditt shun perquier] For, but a book, I cund it soon perqueir *Drummond, Edward*
line 19: ane] and *Drummond, Edward*
line 20: your g les glou, lou] her jelous glove *Drummond, Edward*

period.[179] Elliot and Shire suggest that it was disseminated by broadside; in the song books, various stanzas from a larger poem have been selected.[180] Wemyss's version, in comparison with Forbes's 1682 printed edition, has used stanzas one, two, and four (which ends with the last two lines of verse three), then adds one stanza, possibly of her own composition.[181] A setting of this song also appears in Edward's manuscript. The first three verses of Wemyss are verses one, two and four of Edward's; verses three, five, and six of Edward do not occur in Wemyss.[182]

At least six more of the poems Wemyss has copied into the final section of her manuscript have manuscript musical settings.[183] "Beauty once blasted with the frost" ([f. 18] of Wemyss) was written by Henry Hughes and set to music by Henry Lawes. It appears in Lawes's autograph manuscript (BL Add. MS 53723) and in later printed songbooks of the seventeenth century.[184] "Farewell, fair saint" ([f. 2] of Wemyss) is attributed to "Mr. T.C. of his Majesties Bedchamber" in Sir Richard Fanshawe's translation of *Il Pastor Fido* (1647). This has been attributed to a Thomas Cary, who flourished in 1640,[185] but it appears in several manuscript sources including that of the Scot William Fowler, who is a candidate for its authorship.[186] It was set to music by

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[179] Elliott and Shire, *Music of Scotland* 182 and 217-18. Versions appear in Thomas Wode's part-books, Robert Edward's commonplace book (NLS MS 9450), in the later sources of Louis de France's music book of c.1680 (EUL MS Laing III 491), John Squyers' music book of 1699-1701 (EUL MS Laing III 490), and also in all three editions of John Forbes's *Cantus, Songs and Fancies* (Aberdeen, 1662, 1666, and 1682). The first four stanzas appear in BL Add. MS 15225, c.1616. Spring has also noted that instrumental versions (one for lute on f. 22v and one for keyboard on f. 26v) appear in the Sutherland manuscript of c.1680 (NLS Dep. 314/24, i.e. the manuscript owned by "Lady Mountgomre"), Robert Gordon of Straloch's lute book of 1629 (now lost; copy made c.1847: NLS Adv. MS 5.2.18), and John Skene's book of c.1630 (NLS Adv. MS. 5.2.15) (*The Lute*, vol. 2, 47). Day and Murrie cite the first printed instance of this song as Youll's *Canzonetts* of 1608, but no records for this source seem to exist. It also appeared in the three editions of Forbes's *Cantus, Songs, and Fancies* (Day and Murrie 201).

[180] Elliott and Shire, *Music of Scotland* 217-18.

[181] I shall not list Wemyss's variants at this point, because so many manuscript versions exist and it would be difficult to trace a common source.

[182] The variants with Edward's version are significant.

[183] Jorgens, vol. 12, first-line index.

[184] Jorgens, vol. 12, 374. It appears in the editions of Henry Lawes's third book of *Ayres and Dialogues* in 1658 and 1669 (Day and Murrie 181).

[185] Norman Ault, *Seventeenth-Century Lyrics* (London: Longmans, 1928) 137-38 and 479.

[186] It appears in volume 11 of the Hawthornden manuscripts. This volume, and volumes 12 to 15, contain the works of William Fowler, poet and secretary to Queen Anne, who flourished in 1603. His sister married John Drummond, first Laird of Hawthornden; their son was the poet William Drummond, to whom Fowler left most of his poetry. The first 10 volumes of the Hawthornden manuscripts contain Drummond's works and papers. "Farewell fair saint" is not in Fowler's

both Henry and William Lawes, appearing in both of their autograph manuscripts (BL Add. MSS 53723 and 31432), and is extant in many manuscripts and printed sources post-1653.[187]

Two songs by Thomas Carew, "Give me more love or more disdain" and "Ladies, fly from love's smooth tale," appear on the pages of Wemyss's manuscript ([ff. 6 and 7]). They were both set to music by Henry Lawes and appear in his autograph music book (BL Add. MS 53723); a different setting of the latter is also attributed to Lawes in two manuscripts, Bod MS Don. c. 57 and NYPL Drexel MS 4257.[188] Both poems, without a musical setting, are printed in Carew's *Poems* of 1640 and are extant in several manuscripts besides Wemyss's and in printed sources.[189]

Two further poems in the Wemyss manuscript have been set to music in manuscript songbooks: "Long have mine eyes gazed with delight" (ff. 15-16) and "Not that I wish my mistress" (f. 14). The former has been attributed to Thomas Campion due to its first printed appearance in Philip Rosseter's *A Booke of Ayres* of 1601 with Rosseter's musical setting, a collection for which it is believed that Campion wrote all of the lyrics. It is accompanied by an anonymous musical setting in NYPL Drexel MS 4257.[190] "Not that I wish my mistress" is a song by William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, which exists in two musical settings: by Henry Lawes in his autograph music book and by an anonymous composer who appears in NYPL Drexel MS 4257.

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handwriting in his volume (Henry W. Meikle, James Craigie, and John Purves, eds., *The Works of William Fowler, Secretary to Queen Anne, wife of James VI*, vols. 1 and 3 (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Soc., 1914 and 1940) 251 (vol. 1) and 27-8 (vol. 3). The variants between his version and Wemyss's are slight, the most significant being as follows:

Wemyss] Fowler
line 6: neiuer...your eyes] neirer...hir eyeis
line 7: winds and waus...your forme] vind and vave...hir forme
line 10: becalled] becalmed
line 17: uay of wing] waye of woving

[187] Jorgens, vol. 12, 408, lists 12 manuscripts. Ault lists six printed sources (479).

[188] Jorgens, vol. 12, 453.

[189] "Give me more love" appears in Folger MS V.a.124 and "Ladies, fly" is extant in at least two manuscripts: Folger MS V.b.43 and Bod Rawl. poet. 160 (Jorgens, vol. 12, 415 and 453; Crum L9). "Give me more love" appears in Henry Lawes's first and second books of *Ayres and Dialogues* (1653 and 1669). "Ladies, fly" also appears in Lawes's second book of *Ayres and Dialogues* (1669), as well as other Playford compilations: his *Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues* of 1653 and 1659, Lawes's *Treasury of Musick* of 1669 and his second book of *Select Ayres and Dialogues* of 1669 (Day and Murrie 227 and 272).

[190] Jorgens, vol. 12, 458.

It was first printed anonymously in *Wits Recreations* of 1641 and exists in at least seven manuscript versions which contain numerous variant readings.[191]

Wemyss and James Graham, first Marquis of Montrose

One of the poems in Wemyss's manuscript, "Burst out pour soull in main of tears" (ff. 14-14v), is a poem believed to have been written by James Graham, first Marquis of Montrose, the Scottish royalist commander (1612-1650). His most recent editor states that there are no known contemporary manuscripts of his poems. His papers were destroyed and so his poems came to be known through the memories of supporters and broadside balladeers.[192] The first edition in which this poem appeared was James Watson's of 1711; Watson must have had access to manuscript material to produce this and other Montrose poems.[193]

The poem is commonly believed to have been written on the death of Charles I. But the existence of the poem in the Wemyss manuscript, a collection associated with dates in 1643 and 1644, suggests the possibility that the poem was written much earlier. We do not know the exact date of Wemyss's death; she died sometime between 17 May 1648, when she was seriously ill, and her mother's death on 10 November 1649. It is reasonable to suggest that the illness of 1648 killed her. Portions of Wemyss's manuscript may have been written as late as 30 January 1649, when Charles I was executed, but an earlier date is more likely, not least because "Burst our pour soull" is the fifth poem to be written out of a total of 27.

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[191] Jorgens, vol. 12, 473. It was printed with a setting by W. Webb in Playford's *Select Musicall Ayres* of 1652 and 1653, and in the second book of Lawes's *Select Ayres and Dialogues* (1669) (Day and Murrie 297).

[192] Robin Graham Bell, ed., *The Collected Poems of James Graham, first Marquis of Montrose* (Hitchin: Mandeville, 1990) n. pag. Peter Davidson knows of the existence of a few words by Montrose in the Innerpefferay Library in Crieff, Perthshire, and of his poem on the killing of a dog among the Advocates manuscripts in the NLS (in a Scots commonplace book of the 1640s). Montrose's poem "Upon the Death of Charles the first," beginning, "Great! Good! Just!" was printed in the 1653 edition of John Cleveland's *Poems* (Brian Morris and Eleanor Withington, eds., *The Poems of John Cleveland* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967) xxviii).

[193] James Watson, *A Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems Both Ancient and Modern By Several Hands*, part 3 (Edinburgh, 1711) sig. P1v-2. In her edition, Harriet Harvey Wood claims that poems by Montrose and Sir Robert Ayton which appear in Watson must have come mainly from sources in manuscript since Watson has produced the earliest known text in print for most of them (xxi).

Watson does not claim in his 1711 printing that the poem was written on the death of Charles I. It is Mark Napier, in his edition of 1856, who first suggests, on the basis of verbal parallels with Montrose's letters written after Charles's death, that the occasion of the verse is Charles's execution.[194] Subsequent editors, like Bell, have assumed this identification, but Harriet Harvey Wood points out that the cause of the poem is his "crossed love" (line 4) and not the death of the monarch.[195] Napier's connections are not convincing, and the internal evidence of the poem supports the theory that the poem was written much earlier than 1649.

The differences between Wemyss's version of "Burst out pour soull" and the printed versions reveal that Wemyss had access to a different strand of manuscript transmission than was available to Montrose's later editors.[196] How Wemyss might

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[194] Mark Napier, *Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1856) xliii. Napier sees in lines 9-10 ("No; rather but augment my care,/ In making them appear the less") a parallel with a line in Montrose's letter of 15 Febraury 1649 to Chancellor Edward Hyde on Charles's execution ("Being afraid rather to *spoil* my thoughts than to express them"). Similarly, Napier finds the verbal echoes between lines 11-12 ("Seeing that but from small woes, words do come,/ But great ones, they are always dumb") and the same letter ("The griefs that astonish, speak more with their *silence* than those that *can complain*"). Napier compares this to Montrose's supposed reaction, recorded by his biographer and chaplain, George Wishart, upon hearing of the king's death: "not grief merely, but a passionate burst of lamentation, not simply anger, but the very phrenzy of indignation, seized him on the instant; so that, ere long he fell down in the midst of those around him, his limbs in a state of rigidity, and utterly deprived of animation and consciousness" (Napier 1856, vol. 1, xxvii; his translation of Wishart's original Latin).

[195] Wood 289.

[196] The four main editions of Montrose's poetry I have examined are Watson sig. P1v-2 (1711); Napier 572-73 (1838) (i.e. Mark Napier, *Montrose and the Covenanters*, vol. 2 (London, 1838)); Napier, vol. 1, xlii-xliii (1856); and Bell n. pag. (1990).

line 1: pour] my *all*
line 2: sith tempests] sighs tempest *Watson, Bell*: sighs' tempest *Napier 1838*: sighs-tempest *Napier 1856*
line 3: uhich neuers] let never *all*
line 4: bot points ut fourth...lowe] But murmure still...love *all*
line 5: Combind] Combine *all*
line 7: bot both poor soull] But, tush, poor drop, *all*
line 8: pasion] passions *Watson, Napier 1838, Bell*: passions [ere] *Napier 1856*
line 9: no way] No: rather *all*
line 11: Siing] Seeing *Watson, Napier 1838, Bell*: seeing that *Napier 1856*
line 12: when...sing] And...they sing *Watson, Napier 1838, Bell*: But...they are *Napier 1856*
line 13: yow suelling greues the bound your ~~selus~~ selfs] My swelling griefs then bend yourself *Watson, Napier 1838*: ...grief... *Napier 1856, Bell*
line 14: into the...yow] This...of mine to *all*
line 16: lembicke whence...ils] limbeck where...griefs *Watson, Napier 1838, Bell*: ...'lembick... *Napier 1856*
line 17: in my paine] thus in plaints *all*
line 18: burst in tears] melt myself *all*
line 21: might] may *all*

have come upon this poem is an interesting question. Her father's political and military career brought him into contact with Montrose on several occasions. In 1639 when George Gordon, Marquis of Huntly, was threatening a disturbance in northern Scotland, David Wemyss accompanied the Covenanters Montrose and Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven, on their expedition to Aberdeen to monitor him. Wemyss must have held a high position in Montrose's company, since he was mentioned as being present at the negotiations between Huntly and Montrose on 4 April.[197] But by May 1641 Montrose had left the strict Presbyterian Covenanting party in favour of the king.[198] On 1 September 1644 at Tippermuir Montrose and Wemyss met again, this time on opposite sides; Montrose beat the larger and better equipped Covenanting force under Wemyss's command.[199] Did Montrose write this piece before 1641, when he and Margaret's father would have had political contact? Or was the piece composed near the middle of the decade, when Montrose was gaining popularity as a successful general? It is interesting that a cavalier poem by a royalist should appear in the manuscript of a girl whose father was a staunch Covenanter (although we should be aware that after the Restoration the Earl of Wemyss adopted the status quo without apparent difficulty). Perhaps it was through her father that Margaret obtained the poem; his appreciation of poetry may have led him to discount its writer's differing political views.[200] Alternately, perhaps this poem was circulating in manuscript at the time and is the result of channels like the ones to which Robert Edward (whose manuscript, NLS MS 9450, shares four poems with Wemyss) must have had access.

Another exciting aspect of Wemyss's version of the poem is her title: "Mad on my lady binny." This was a well-known tune which appears in two versions in the lute portion of Wemyss's manuscript (on ff. 26v and 45-45v).[201] It had a wide circulation

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line 22: That or] E're that *Watson, Bell*: Ere that *Napier 1838, Napier 1856*
line 23: plaints tears] tears, plaints, *all*
line 24: may] might *all*

197 Fraser, vol. 1, 242.
198 DNB, vol. 8, 317.
199 Fraser, vol. 1, 248-250.
200 These views are not obvious from the poem itself.
201 The version on f. 26v is in "Renaissance" or "v*ieil ton*" tuning (i.e. the strings are tuned: G c f a

as a lute piece around 1650, appearing in Scottish sources for lute and other instruments. It is a piece which is distinctly Scottish in origin and later became popular in England.[202] The title Wemyss has given the poem suggests that it was written with the tune in mind, rather than being afterwards fitted to it. It is nearly impossible to establish whether this is the case. But it is worth noting that this poem had a musical setting, something editors of Montrose have not realized.[203]

Conclusions

At least 12 of the total of 27 poems copied into Lady Margaret Wemyss's music and poetry book have extant musical settings. Wemyss (or her teacher) included two of these settings in the separate lute section of her manuscript. Many of the poems were popular presences in manuscript songbooks and miscellanies. The second hand added the two Carew poems, finished one poem ("Com lowe lets walk into the spring"), and added the Henry Hughes poem ("Beautie once blasted with the frost"). Perhaps it is not a coincidence that all of these have known musical settings.

In terms of Margaret Wemyss's access to literary and musical networks, her manuscript poses some questions. Many of the poems were popular in manuscript sources: how did these sources become available to Margaret? Perhaps her lute teacher introduced her to them. The first section of 17 songs for treble voice and bass viol appear to have come from printed books of airs; did Margaret's teacher supply

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d' g'). The version on ff. 45-45v is in "English Gaultier's," "Sharp," or "Mersenne's Extraordinary" tuning (G c f a c' e') (Spring, "Wemyss" 23 and 26).

[202] The piece appears in the Ruthwen manuscript (Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, MS Fonds du Conservatoire National, Rés. 1110), Richard Mathew, *The Lutes Apology* (London, 1652), John Playford, *A Booke of New Lessons for the Cithern & Gittern* (London, 1652), Matthew Otley's Cittern Book (in Prof. John Ward's private collection, Cambridge, MA), the Andrew Blaikie MS (Dundee, Central Library, Wigton Collection), and James Guthrie's commonplace book (EUL MS Laing III.3) (Spring, "Wemyss" 26).

[203] At least two later manuscripts list tunes associated with Montrose. NLS Dep. 314/24, a late seventeenth-century compilation for lyra-viol and virginals, includes a version of "Montroses Ayre/ Harp sherp" (f. 19). The Balcarres manuscript, a manuscript of lute music compiled c. 1701-05, contains "Montrose tunes./ M^{r} Becks way." (p. 9) and "Montroses tune./ John Reds way." (pp. 216-17) (Matthew Spring, "The Balcarres Lute Book," *The Lute: Journal of the Lute Society* 32 (1992) 8 and 15). The title of a poem by Charles Cotton is "Song. Montross," beginning, "Ask not why sorrow shades my brow." This may be a song set to an air known as "Montrose," or it may have been written to mourn the death of Montrose (John Beresford, ed., *Poems of Charles Cotton 1630-1687* (London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1923) 164-65 and 409).

them? While some alterations by a person knowledgeable about music have taken place in several of the songs, the links with the printed sources of Campion and Morley are strong.

Wemyss evidently had substantial links with a manuscript tradition of poetry, some of it Scottish, but some of it English in provenance. Perhaps familial links between the Wemyss family and the Earls of Panmure, or between a branch of the Aytons and the Wemysses, allowed access to literary and musical manuscript sources. Four of the poems and songs in Wemyss's manuscript also appear in Robert Edward's. Was Margaret's father her link with courtly circles, which were by this time centred in isolated castles rather than a centralized court, or did she come to include one of his poems in her compilation because they were well-known to most people by the fifth decade of the century? A letter of June 1602 from Philip Gawdy to his sister-in-law, Lady Dorothy Gawdy, hints at channels of manuscript circulation of music. He writes, "And fyrst I will not dyscontent you with sending you two songes for the viall, that wer gyven me from a very worthy Musitian at Courte not doubting but shortly to bringe yow some better store."[204] Would Margaret have had access to any similar channels?

We know from a note on folio 42 that Margaret copied some lessons from her sister's lute book into her own; perhaps Jean Wemyss's compilation was similar to her sister's with its inclusion of poetry as well as music. Many of the poems are specifically Scottish (those by Sir Robert Ayton and Alexander Montgomerie, for example) and others became part of the Scottish song repertory (Surrey's poem, for example, which was printed in a Scottish songbook of 1662). Others may not have had specifically Scottish links, raising questions of the degree to which literature and music flowed between Scotland and England. Lowland Scots gentry were apparently isolated (though they had links with France); this led them to turn to their own traditions of song and dance for melodies. Spring has pointed out that the titles of

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[204] Isaac Herbert Jeayes, ed., *Letters of Philip Gawdy of West Harling, Norfolk, and of London to Various Members of his Family 1579-1616* (London: Nichols, 1906) 123; quoted in Woodfill 278.

many lowland Scots melodies suggested that they originated as songs, but that few have survived with the original words.[205]

The lute music section compiled by the teacher contains only Scottish and French pieces, though Margaret has included some English tunes in her section of lute music. Margaret's family may have had links with the English court, given their noble status, but evidence of the manuscript shows a stronger Scottish and French influence. Margaret's teacher must have been very up-to-date on fashionable French lute music, but also had knowledge of Scottish sources.

Can we suggest that upper class Scottish culture as a whole was more conservative in its artistic tastes? Given the loss of a centralized court in 1603 and the consequent shift of musical and literary activity to more isolated castles in the country, it seems reasonable to suggest that aristocratic Scottish society became more inward looking. Families such as the Wemysses probably had contact with traditional highland folk musicians (as the Erskines, Earls of Mar, certainly did), which consequently affected the lute music extant in manuscripts like Wemyss's. While the Montrose poem, "Burst out pour soull," appears in her manuscript very soon after its composition, most of the poems which have been matched with a known source date from many years earlier. Montgomerie was writing poetry in the early years of James VI's reign; more than a half century later Wemyss copied them into her book. A similar time lapse of decades is true for much of the poetry in the manuscript (by Surrey and Ayton, for example, as well as the poems on Buckingham, who was assassinated in 1628).[206]

Although we do not know much about Lady Margaret Wemyss's life, we can glean information about her taste from her manuscript. She learned French lute music which was seen by the 1640s as increasingly conservative and associated with an alienating court culture interested in exclusive forms such as the masque. But the lute music also reflects points of contact with the folk musicians of the Scottish highlands.

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205 Spring, *The Lute*, vol. 1, 301-03.

206 Elliot and Rimmer have suggested that the appearance of older music alongside the latest styles is typical of the seventeenth-century Scottish anthologies (44).

Her taste in poetry leaned more towards the courtly lyric in English than popular writing in Scots. She was also retrospective in her choice of poems and drawn to those with known musical settings. She came from a cultured aristocratic family whose female members were literate, musical, and skilled in amateur medicine. While Scottish culture at this time may have been restricted to isolated castles, Lady Margaret Wemyss's manuscript demonstrates that places such as Wemyss Castle offered the female members of their family access to a rich literary and musical life.

Conclusion

This thesis has examined how a female cross-section of seventeenth-century British society participated in manuscript culture. The religious positions of the women involved stretch from Puritan to Protestant *via media* (or "Anglican") to Catholic. They were active in England, Ireland, and Scotland and came from the ranks of the "middling sort," the gentry, and the nobility. Manuscript culture was not as exclusive as it might first appear.

These factors of religion, geography, and class did, however, affect the type of access to manuscript culture that these women had. The craftsman's daughter, Ann Bowyer, showed a preference for morally sound rhyming couplets extracted mainly from printed sources. Anne Southwell's literary activities stretched from transcribing songs, probably from printed collections, and popular poems circulating in manuscript, to writing her own poetry on religious and political subjects. The courtly Aston circle showed a preference for metaphysical conceits and elaborate Catholic verse. The aristocratic Lady Margaret Wemyss favoured love poems from Scottish and English manuscript sources, and lute music and songs both from popular printed sources and from a teacher who had links with the music of France as well as the native tradition.

But what unites these manuscripts is that they each indicate access to some kind of literary community. These communities were both material and conceptual for each of the compilers of these manuscripts. Bowyer's physical community included her siblings and possibly neighbouring families. Her intellectual contact with the printed works of poets like Spenser, Drayton, Sylvester, and Warner, demonstrates her engagement with a certain type of verse which had links with an emerging Protestant nationalism. Southwell connected with both an actual community around Acton and an intellectual one which included Protestant poets and great female figures of the Bible. Constance Fowler's manuscript shows her links with the group of family and friends around Tixall, and also with a conceptual Catholic community of priests and members of the gentry who shared a past of persecution. Physically, Margaret

Wemyss had music lessons with her sister, and had contact with at least one other person who compiled some of the poetry in her manuscript; intellectually, her choice of poems and songs particularly from the Scottish tradition, and her transcription of love songs which were often set as songs, link her with the Scottish equivalent of courtly culture which had moved to the castles.

A natural question which arises from such a study is whether there is anything distinctive about these manuscripts compiled by women as opposed to those by men. Was there a characteristic female subject matter? To what extent were the strictures of female education, outlined in the Introduction, borne out? Women were not generally taught foreign languages--all of these manuscripts are in the vernacular, except for the odd Latin word. All emphasize piety, except perhaps Wemyss's song book which records only love poems. The women's commonplace books, miscellanies, and song books examined here all tap into a standard body of works which circulated in manuscript. The poems of Donne, Ralegh, and King were among the most popular. All of the women, except for the morally stern Bowyer, use song sources, so often linked with poems in the period. Wemyss demonstrates her access to the Scottish musical tradition, in lute music and song. As we saw in the Introduction, women more often turned manuscripts into recipe books than men did--not surprisingly when the domestic domain was generally a female one.

These domestic and religious links reinforce notions of women's literary activities often being of a private nature. But women could tap into a more public sphere as well. Southwell wrote elegies on the kings of Sweden and Bohemia, evidently feeling she was entitled to commemorate these important Protestant symbols for posterity. She wrote letters to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, the wife of the Earl of Londonderry, and the Earl of Cork. Margaret Wemyss somehow obtained a poem by James Graham, first Marquis of Montrose, a very public and controversial figure, particularly for a girl whose father was a Covenanter.

These manuscripts are testaments to how women both read and wrote. If we consider these women to be writers then the view voiced by critics like Germaine

Greer, that any woman who wrote was "untrained, ill-equipped, isolated and vulnerable"[1] must be modified. Obviously women did not enjoy complete literary, or indeed social, freedom. But those with access to manuscript circulation were not isolated; they could have contact with like-minded literary people. Their manuscripts could be repositories for closely copied transcriptions of popular poems, or they could be sites for engagement with, alteration of, and response to the written word. The evidence of four manuscripts compiled by women shows that in manuscript culture there was indeed room for a woman to become "both Scribe and Author."

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[1] Germaine Greer et al., *Kissing the Rod: An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Women's Verse* (1988; London: Virago; New York: Noonday, 1989) 1.

Appendix A

First-Line Indexes of the Manuscripts

CHAPTER ONE

Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 51
Ann Bowyer's Commonplace Book

As virtous men passe mildly away 7

John Donne

Each thing must haue a time, and time doth try mens troth, ~~and a~~ 7v
goe soule ye bodies guest vpon a thankelesse errante 6

Sir Walter Ralegh

Good time goe tell ye trewthe what trewthe thou fyndste in him 6v
Happie is he yt standethe free ffrome euerie kinde of toyle 6
When fortune loue & time bad me be happy 5

CHAPTER TWO

Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.b.198
Lady Anne Southwell's Miscellany

Accept thou shrine of my dead saint	21v	Henry King
Adam first preist, first prophet and first Kinge	18	
All maried men desire to haue good wifes	16	
Alpha Omega, o^{h} thou first and Last	5	
Anger proceedes from a surcharged Gaule	8v	
Anger what art thow? Hast thow treuth to tell	9	
Beauty, Honor, yeouth, and fortune	9	
Behold the purchase, true loue doth Inherit	25	
Come forth foule monster, at truthes barr to stand	22v	
ffarewell fond world, the onely Schoole of Error	1	
F..ayne ~~w~~ould I dye whil'st thy braue muse doth liue	17	
ffly from the world, o fly, thow poore distrest	1	
Fortie twoe yeares; before oure sauiours birth	30v	
ffrayle Loue is like faire flowrie fields	10	
God doth ~~the~~^{with} doggs ~~and~~..^{a}dulterate weights exempte	47v	
Goe sole the bodies guest	2	Sir Walter Ralegh
Harken you potentates and mighty kinggs	52	
Here lyes a king, and gods anoynted	22	
If in the flesh where thow indrench'd do'st ly	1	
If to be borne the Image of the Lord	12	
In six dayes god made this admyred balle	37	
In this frayle worlde, where soules in earth are cladd	27	
In this our hartes corruption ^{is} most exprest	35	
It is an easy taske to pleade the Cause	8	
Like a cold fatall sweat which vshers death	24	Henry King
Like to a lampe wherein the light is dead	9v	Sir Arthur Gorges
Maliciouse fate enuyinge humaine glorie	22	
My loue from Cherubs soueraintye was in a manger laid	25	
Nature, mistris off affection	11	
Noe man may see the face of god and liue	34	
Now let my pen bee choakt wth gall	21	
O how happy were I dearest	9v	
Only eight soules the waued tost Church did keepe	23v	
Raise vp thy ffacultyes my Soule ti's time	28	
Seekeing for choycest attributes to Rayse	73	Henry Sibthorpe
Seest thow a man that's vassaliz'd to pleasure	8v	
shall I sublyme my Soule to frame a letter	1	
Since thou fayre soule, art warbleinge to a spheare	19v	
The more my soule doth shrinke from loue y^{e} more love doth inflame her	25	
The South winde blew vpon a springing Well	73	Roger Cox
Thou faythfull Harrole of the morne	21	
To tell the shrine that its faire saint is gone	23	

To thee my soule I rayse	7
Vnlesse himselfe against Himselfe weare bent	26
vertue consists in Action : and the wise	8v
Vouchsafe this fauor; as to tell me how	22
What if I wante the drosse of Tagus Strann	22
When I sitt reading all alone that secret booke	1
you Gyannts, or Hyennas that doe dwell	60

CHAPTER THREE

Huntington Library MS HM 904
Constance Aston Fowler's Miscellany

A certaine king married A Sonne	42v	
A louer if beloue'd, is such a state	146	
Accept thou shrine of my dead saint	146v	Henry King
Amount my Soule from earth A while	16	
But tell mee Dorus since no Obiecte heere	196	Sir William Pershall
Canne Teares meete with affections flame	145v	Sir William Pershall
Celia hath for a brothers absence sworne	187	Richard Fanshawe
Chast Flames of sacred virgins purely bright	26v	Sir William Pershall
Cupid did crye his mother chidd him so	47	
<Dear>e cosen pardon me if I mistowke	158v	Lady Dorothy Shirley
Death come thy selfe and let thy Image sleepe	49	Aurelian Townshend?
Disankerd from A blissfvll shore	22v	Robert Southwell
Dote not on that which may but cause thy woe	13	Robert Herrick?
Euer most Honour'd Sister tis to you	150	Herbert Aston
Except earth's saint this beautious image shee	6	Constance Aston?
Eyes gaze no more, as yet you may	48v	
Goe hence a way and at thy perting know	13	Robert Herrick
Hee can*n*ot worthelie be styl'd a louer	24v	Herbert Aston
I know your hart cannot ^{so} guilty bee	145v	Henry Thimelby?
I saw two swans come proudly downe the streame	185v	Richard Fanshawe
I striue to loue with out reward in vaine	48	Herbert Aston
If you would know the reason why	136v	
Ill busied man, why dost thou take such care	33	Henry King
In meditation where I sate	36v	
Infuse in to me all your choycest straines	155	Herbert Aston
Just as the Sunn beames, -- In midst of day i	7v	
Just (Seraphina) as a priest doth doubt	33v	Herbert Aston
Let folly praise, ~~wat~~ y^{t} fancy loues	35	Robert Southwell
Lett not thy grones force eccho from her caue	152v	William Habington
Madem you say I am sad I ansure noe	158	Katherine Thimelby
Make mee thy fancy and if I proue not	186	Herbert Aston
Mistres godmorrow, till you please to Rise	146	
My wretched sovle with sinne opprest	44	
O Blessed God O Saviovr Sweete	37v	
O Christ that Art the highest	45	
O God of thy great might	20	
O Jesu, thov my glory Art	7	
O Lord direct my hart direct my soule	13v	William Stafford?
O Loue whoes powre and might could never be wthstoode	185	
O pleasant port O place of rest	23v	Robert Southwell
See how the little starrs in Azure nights	27v	
Sleepe the best ease of the most troubled mind	31v	Katherine Thimelby

S^{r} Since you are profest to dwell	153v	Katherine Thimelby
Somtimes by Aprill arrogantly deckt	188	Walter Aston
Strange Alterations in my soule	31v	
Tell me Amyntas why you looke	28v	
Tell me (Lucinda) since my fate	143v	Thomas Cary?
The halfe staru'd Lambe warm'd in her mothers wooll	189	Thomas Randolph
The Heauens knowinge that the tedious way	28v	
The muses fayrest light, in no darke time	185	Sidney Godolphin
To dye and to dye younge; and to dye full	28	Sir William Pershall
To weepe were poore, thy most unhappy fate	52v	
Weepe the Heavens? and not wee	27	
What goodly ghost besprinkt with Aprill dew	137	Ben Jonson
When Abraham was An old man	39v	
When by sad fate from hence I summon'd am	188v	Owen Felltham
When from Th'Antipodes Apollo brings	32v	Sir William Pershall
When that aeternall word, with sacred Loue	8	
Whilst here eclipsed From those hapy beames	46v	Herbert Aston
Whilest I here absent languish out my time	25v	Herbert Aston
Who lives in love, loves best to live	35v	Robert Southwell
Why did you fayne both sighes and teares to gayne	136	Lady Dorothy Shirley
Why should I hide my sorrow & why these feares	145	
With bowed thoughts Lowe as this hollow cell	182v	Philip King
With such variety and dainty skill	188v	Richard Fanshawe

<u>Yale University, Beinecke Library Osborn MS b. 4</u>
<u>Herbert Aston's Miscellany</u>

A restless louer I espied to goe from place to place	4v	
All that I can sing of Loue	35v	
All you y^{t} would no longer	45v	Thomas Weaver
And would you fayne the reason know	28v	
Arme arme in Heauen there is faction	20	
Art thou gon in hast and will forsake mee	26	
As Willye once assayd	11	Robert Markham
Blame not my cheekes though pale wth loue they bee	36	
Blinde beauty if it be a loss	53v	
Canst gripe a whilwind in thy hand	33	
Come hither Melancholy	37v	
Come prithee Cupid play with mee	34v	
Deare why doe you say yo Loue	24v	Sir Robert Ayton
Feare to offend forbids my tongue to speak	15	
Fie on this courtly Life full of displeasure	18v	
Fond Loue why doest thou Dally	7	
Good folke for gold or hyer	55	rev. Michael Drayton
Hardby a christall spring As I my Lambes sate keeping	1	
Hayle sacred subject of my slender witt	34	

Here's a thing whose brayne is sicke	41	
I made <a covenant with my heart>	3	
I Preet^{h}y <leave, love me> no more	4	Michael Drayton
If Charles thow wouldst but grow so kind	48v	
If I vrge my kind desires	31	
If narcissus foolish boy	22	
In faith I can not keep my Sheepe	37	
Is it true I am derided	38v	
Know now my brethren heauen is cleere	43v	Francis Quarles
Let all the purifyed se^{c}t	13	
<Like> hermit poore in pensiue place obscure	2v	Sir Walter Ralegh
Like to the damaske rose yow see	5	Francis Quarles
Long haue my Eyes gaz'd with delight	32	Thomas Campion
Loues queene, sate in majestick pow<er>	9	
Mistake me not I am as cold as hott	45	
Mistris since you so much desire	30v	
No man loues fiery passion can approue	51	Sir Robert Ayton
No pedigrees nor prodigies	47	
Nor Loue nor fate dare I accuse	27	Richard Brome
O thers none ther's none but I	43	
O Thou sweet Muse from whence ther flowres	28	
Of all y^{e} rare muentions	39v	
Oh Roger heare me what I say	51v	
Rest a while you cruell Cares	31v	
Say not because no more you see	50v	
Should I the fates relentlesse moue	27v	
Since all men that I come among	17v	John Grange
Sorrow hath shut my silly soule vp	19	
Stay silly soule and doe not break	17	
Sweet I am not come too soone	16	Henry Harrington
Teares flow no more from my swolne eyes	36v	
Tell mee swet Jugge how spell'st thou Jone	1v	
<Th>e wench that sayes I will not doe	10v	
The witt hath long beholding beene	23	William Strode
Thou art not faire for all they ~~reedd~~redd and White	24	Thomas Campion
Thou mine eyes distill no teares	26v	
Thou sent's to mee a Heart was crown'd	6v	Sir Robert Ayton
Thou wafter off soules to blisse or bane	10	John Fletcher
When by the force of Loue strong art	25	
Wher is Apelles now to draw	8v	
Who now shall grace our playnes o hone o hone	49v	
Why art thou slow thou rest of trouble; Death	37v	
Your meaner bewties of the night	39	Henry Wootton
[canto 4] <.....rte.....orne>	2v	
[canto 6:] <..... > cares torment you: Cannot I your greifes	remoue 3v	

CHAPTER FOUR

National Library of Scotland Dep. 314/23
Lady Margaret Wemyss's music book

Songs with Music

Awake thow spring of speaking grace mute rest becoms not thee	10v	Thomas Campion
Be thow then my beautie named since thy will is to be myne	1v	Campion
Come o Come my lifes de light let me not in langour pine	6v	Campion
Come O Come my lifes de-light let me not in langour pyne	7v	Campion
Her farre inflamming eyes chiefe authors of my cares	4	Campion
I Must complaine yet doe enjoy my Loue	5	Campion
If any hathe the heart to kill Come rid me of this woefull paine	3	Campion
If Love loves truth then women doe not love	10	Campion
If thow longst so much to learne (sweet boy) q^{t} tis to love	11	Campion
Now let her change and spare not since she proues strang I care not	1	Campion
She straight her light greene silken coats up tucked	8v	Thomas Morley
So sweet .ij. is thy discourse to me And so delightfull is thy sight	8	Campion
Thus I resolve and tyme hath taught me so	7	Campion
Where shall I refuge seeke q^{r} shall I refuge seeke	9v	Campion
White as lillies was her face when she smyled she beguiled	5v	Morley
With my love my life was nestled in the some of happienes	9	Morley
Young and simple though I am I haue heard of Cupids name	2	Campion

Poems

Am I ambitius cause I dare aspyre	[19]	
Among the muses nine lo on I did espy	[1]	
Beautie once blasted with the frost	[18]	Henry Hughes
Burst out pour soull in main of tears	14	James Graham, first Marquis of Montrose
Com lowe lets walk into the spring	[8]	
Come muse and help mee murne	14v	
Fare weill fair saint may not the saes nor winds	[2]	Thomas Cary / William Fowler?
Giue cair doe caus men cry why doe I not complaine	16	Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey
Giue mee more loue or mor disdain	[6]	Thomas Carew

Good man for gold or hyer	[3]	
Ladis fly from loues smoth tale	[7]	Thomas Carew
Long hath myne eyes eyes gasied with delight	15	Thomas Campion?
Lyke as the heartt hurtt in the cheas	[16]	
No fate nor loue dare I acusse	12	
Not that I wold wish my mistres mor or less then that she iss	14	
	William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke	
phantastike phaetone heir Lays	[21]	
Poore Muse since thou must speak and hiddin worth defyn	[1]	
Toull thoull Gentell bels for a soull	13	
Wer thos thine eys or lightnings from abowe	[2]	Sir Robert Ayton
What heauen and ea^{r}th decrees	[7]	
What means this strangnes new of leate	[15]	Sir Robert Ayton
Whatt mighty motion so my mind mischiu^{s}	[17]	
	Alexander Montgomerie	
When diafantes knewe/ by destenis decreed	[9]	Sir Robert Ayton
When diafantes know/ by destinneese decried	[5]	Sir Robert Ayton
When sade and sillent night hade spread	[23]	
When Sinthia W'ith sueet consent	[3]	
Yow that in the Cuntrey Cell	12v	

Appendix B

Facsimile Excerpts from the Manuscripts

CHAPTER ONE
Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 51
Ann Bowyer's Commonplace Book

folios 5v-6
folios 6v-7

CHAPTER TWO
Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.b.198
Lady Anne Southwell's Miscellany

folio 2
folio 37
folio 74

CHAPTER THREE
Huntington Library MS HM 904
Constance Aston Fowler's Miscellany

folios 23v-24
folios 157v-158
folios 158v-159

CHAPTER FOUR
National Library of Scotland Dep. 314/23
Lady Margaret Wemyss's music book

folio 2
folio 2v
folio 14
folio 14v

I would like to thank Mary Clapinson of the Bodleian Library, Laetitia Yeandle of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Sara Hodson of the Huntington Library, and Lord Strathnaver for permission to include reproductions of these pages in my D.Phil. thesis.

Heare lyeth Thomas Grey Marques Dorset. Lord Astley. Lord
Ferrers of Grby, Bonuile and Harington who marryed Margaret
daughter of S^r Robert Cotton Knight, Controuler of Calleis,
which Thomas died the 10. of October in y^e 22: yeare of King Henery
y^e 8: 1530: whose bodye was taken vp Anno Dommi: 1608: in y^e 5: yeare
of King James, from the vault wherein it was first interred, by
reason of the fall of the church and y^e ruine of y^e chappell wherein
it was playd and is heare vnderneath placed, which body having laine
by the space of 77 yeares, was found perfect and sound, the flesh of y^e
bodye nothing perished nor hardned, but in colour proportion and softnes
like to any ordinary corps which might seame to bee thus preserued
by reason of the strong embalming and for that the vault wherein
he onely lay was flowing with water his stature was tall,
being six foote wanting foure inches and body large wnsuerable
thereunto, which now heare doth rest expecting the coming of y^e last
Day

The Lord Marques Dorset was taken vp in the churchyard
of Astley in Warwick shire at y^e new buildinge of the church
y^e 26^th of Maie, 1608.

MS Ashmole 51
ff. 5v–6

Goe lye y^e bodies quiet vpon a thankelesse errande,
Spare not to touche y^e beste, y^t truth shalle thy warrante,
Goe tell y^e lyes, y^e mydes must die, & giue theme all y^e lie,
Say to y^e courte it glowes, & shines like rotten wood,
Say to y^e churche it shewes, whats good but dothe noe good,
If court or church reply, then giue them bothe y^e lye
Tell men of hie condition, that rules affaires of state,
Their purpoise is ambition, their practise onelie hate,
And as y^e doe replie, still giue them all y^e lye,
Tell those that braue it moste y^t begge for more by spendinge,
Who in their greateste coste, seeke nobelinge but commending,
Wch when they haste as I commanded theme doon blabbinge all they ought to giue y^e
lye deserue noe lesse then stabbinge stabe at y^e he y^t will noe stabb y^e truthe can tell
Happie is he y^t standethe free ffrome euerie bande of toyle,
Saue from y^e foutile y^t was of adame & tillye of y^e soile,
& hathe noe trayne in vsures sume, of marchandise noe warre,
Wch flyes y^e gates of hie estates & splendinges at y^e barre,
Wch day soo cleere, but bringes at lengthe darke nighte,
Fare flowres doe fade, as fastie as y^e doe growe,
noe torche nor lampe, but burnes awaye there light,
Sume shines a while, then vnder cloude dothe goe,
y^e life of man is heere compared soe, it lastes a space,
Till borrowed breathe be payd & corse in tombe
Or graue is layd, noe honor wealthe force nor wisdome for,
nor worldly praise, prolonges our dayes, when death drawes neere,
& man may liue noe more y^e greateste kings are onlye borne to die,
Like poreste men ther passage home y^e take & nobel harte
Bar sitt in honors hie & all estates an ende of life must make

Good time-yee tell ye trewthe) what trewthe thou fyndst in him
Yeha're honeste menynge youthe) beyers no eyes ta dimme
ffynd place goe pleid for me & say what thou hast seene
what hathe beene domem-yf ffaulse if any wrong have bene
& people fayre your first) & prosecute me still
& lett me be accurste) if I have thought her ill
ffe nether tyme nor place) nor all ye worlde besydes
Can speake to his disgrace) whoe heere there doome
then feare not you his sa the) whoe fearse but good & yonn
for what ye writer sayth) vpon my scrole is trewe

Bee vertuous & assure thy selfe thou canst not then but thriue
The only portion it is said that men themselues surviue
Like fire the vicious such are they, as is ye hedlesse flye,
That killes it self and hurts his sight yt hath her in his eye.

things which presage both good & ill their
which heauen foreshowes but mortals cannot see
consider well before all other things
our vowes be kept we make to goe & singes
to leaue me thus forsaken at ye worst
my state more wretched then it was at first
e grieuous wrongs yt in my bosome be
should be as neere thy care as: to thee
~~ye virtuous mer mayde~~
ye virtuous men raise mist & away
wispering to their fits to goe
whilst some of their saad friends doe for
Now his breath goes & some say no
Soe lett vs melt & maze no woyse
Nor tear flouds nor sight tempests moue
twere profanation of our ioyes
To tell ye Laietye of our Loue

rmurings of ye earth cause harms & feares
men reckon wth ye aid ancl ment
our trepid ations of the spheares.
Though greater fears are innocent.

4 Dull. Sublunarie, lowens loue.
Whose soule is sense cannot admit
Absence, by cause it doth remoue.
Those which elementes it
things

yet stry ye vote in mischiefe vary quite
ffe comes too loone repentance still too late 7
ill newes hath wings & with ye wind doth goe
comforts a cripple & comes euer slow
for when iust heuen to chastice vs is bent
all things conuert to our due punishment
for when oppression's vp vnto ye chin
who lends not hand to thrust him in boldly in.

Let's Bee not by loue, soe much refind,
That our selues know not what it is,
Inter assured of ye mind.
Carelesse eyes, lipps & hands bee miss.
6. Our two soules therefore, which are one.
Though I must goe, endure not yett
A breach, but an expansion.
As gold to ayerie thinns beat,
If they bee two, they are two soe
As stiffe twin'd compasses are two,
Thy soule (the fixed foot) makes no shew,
To move, but doth if th'other doe,
8. And though it in the center sit,
Yet when th'other far doth rome,
It leanes and harknes after it,
And growes erect as that comes home,
Such wilt thou bee, to mee who must,
Like th'other foot obliquely runne.
Thy firmnes makes my circle iust,
And makes mee end where I begunne.

Finis

MS. Ashmole 51
ff. 6v-7

Yf sole the bodies quest
Then a thanke's wanted
Leave not to touch the best
The truth shalbe thy warrand
And yf they dare wage
Boldlie gaine them the lye

Tell those that breaketh most
They beg for more by pleading
And in their greatest gest
Seeke nothinge but amending
And yf they do deny
Then gaine them all the lye

God tell the court yt glose
And shines like rotten wood
God tell the church it shewes
What is good but doth not good
Yf court or church rebuke
Gaine court and church the lye

Tell schooles silent ignorance
And ouerlid kind by seeminge
Tell artes they want true grounde
And but by ostentatinge
Yf schooles or artes reply
Gaine schooles and artes they lie

Tell polititians they live
Attainge but others rights
Not loued unles they gaine
Not strong but by their slights
Yf politicks reply
Gaine politicks the lye

Tell sciences of their beginnings
Tell nature of decay
Tell offices of their endings
Tell justice of delay
And yf they doe deny
Then gaine them all the lye

MS V.1.198
f.2.

Tell men of high condition
That rule affayres of state
Their purpose is ambition
Their practise only hate
And yf they doe deny
Then gaine them the lye

Tell beautie it is a flourish
Tell youth it fades & wrye
Tell they all must perish
And fortune doth betraye
And yf they this deny
Then gaine them all the lye

Now when thou hast on 7
All though to gaine the lye
Stabb at thee he that will
But stabb the sole on 8

Commaunded thee doe blabbinge
Deserues not les then stabbinge
Doe stabb the sole on 8

The purest thinges receyue the fowlest spotts
how man hath made his soule sinnes emphy^the ator
forsaen his pylot runn agaynst the rocks
deface the Jmage of his deere creator
all things but hee stands in theyr first creation
hee fallen from that, is but a meere pryvation

Then o thou sees then nothinge doe not dare
to wrastle with almighty hand to hand
to take his name in vayne doe thou forbeare
least fretting lepros ouerspread thy land
and doe not slepe as secuer Jn this cryme
gods vengance is deuard but for a time

May wee not say hee is a foole or madd
that sheaths his sword in his owne harte or brayne
whoe tells a lye doth giue his selue the staff
nay kills it quite that takes gods name in vayne
then came and learne at our Jehovahs scoole
whoe take gods name in vayne is but a foole
Thou shalt keepe holy the
Sabeth daye
Jn six dayes god made this admyred balle,
this verdent couth, with lylyes over spread:
ingrayld it with a liquid Christall walle,
and hungg a double valence ouer headd
of fyre and ayre, frindge rounde with starry lights
vnder whose fabrick, walkes all lyuinge weights

There this immortall, mortall prince hee placed
whoe had freewill and free Commande of all
this all compleate and with all graces graced
the voyce of voyces to his type doth call.
labourre six dayes but keepe the seventh day holy
when hee bids rest, all labours ar but follye

MS V.b. 198
f. 37

74

Consecrated to the Memory of ~
The Honour and ornam^t of her sexe ~.

The Lady Anne Southwell.

Eldest daughter of S^r Thomas Harris of Cornworthy in the Countie of Devon
Kt and Seargeant at Law. Maried first to S^r Thomas Southwell of Spixworth in the Coun-
tie of Norff Kt. Afterwardes to Henry Sybthorpe Seargeant Maior and Privy Councile
our of the Province of Munster in Ireland, with whom she lived three yeares
The patterne of conjugall love & obedience.

She was a Lady by the generall verdict of all that knew her
Reputed the living Treasury of Grace and Nature Joyntly Conjuring

By Her
Zealous Constancy in Religion,
Exemplary vertue in life,
Pious frequency in Devotion,
Liberall Charity in Almes.
Discreet affability in Behaviour.
Profound Knowledge in learning
Permanent exactnesse in Beautie.
wch completed
To make her the exact Character of female perfection.

She Lived
Publiquely honoured by her soveraigne
Passionately affected by her equalles
Observantly reverenced by her inferiours
Worthyly admired by all.
And dyed

In Christian peace and resolution
the second day of Iuly in the yeare of our Lord 1632, being 63 & climacterical yeares of her age
expecting the second and Glorious Epiphany of our Saviour. Will when her precious name with
the memorie that happy memory of her worth, wch is but weakly expressed in this sad monument
an Endlesse affection dedicated to her by her sayd deare and sorrowfull husbande.

Henry Sybthorpe

MS V.b. 198
f. 74

With Sirons songs they fed mine eares
till cold Asleepe on Lowers layd
I found their tones turnd into teares
and short delights to long mishapps

ffor I enticed to their love
and soothed with their ill toyes
was trained to their poison dove
the end of all such flyting foyes

Whose Chaind in sin I lay in thrall
next to the Dongion of dispaire
till mercy raisd me from my fall
And grace my wine did repaire
finis

Man to the Wound
in Christs Syde

O pleasant port O place of rest
O royall rest O worthy wound
Some harbor med, weary, prest
that in the world no ease have found

I cry lamenting at thy gate
yet Dare not Adventure in
I have with med troublous mate
And tombed am with heapes of sinne

Discharge

MS HM 904
ff. 23v–24

Discharge me of this heavie load
that easie passage I may find
within this bower to make a bed
and in this glorious tombe be shrind

How must I live, how must I Dye
how would I flatter all my griefe
how would I call those paines Discry
which how Did make for my relife

How would I poore that bloodye sore
which Dint of Spitfull Speare Did breede
the bloodie wounds layd there in store
would force A stony hart to bleede

How is the syring of trickling teares
the mirrour of all mourning thoughts
with dolfull tones for Dumpish eares
and solomne shewes for sorrowed sights

O happie Soule that flies so high
as to Attaine this Sacred Cave
Lord send me wings that I may fly
And in this harbour quiet have
Sweete Jesus Say Amen

Yet neither beauty, vertue, nor the name
of brother, doth so much my mind inflame
To honour you, as doth that witt, and skill
By which you guide your high poetique quill:
I love you for the rest, this I admire;
in nothinge more then this doe I desire
To imitate you in; by this you tye
Eternall lustre to our familye:
How short's Joue borne minerua of your will
How short are all of us in honoring it,
How blest were one to dye if on his herse,
As others droppe a teare, you sticke a verse:
For nothinge you can write, but will survive,
when the world's ashes, it will be a Live.
persue deare sister then what u'haue begun
with so much splendour, Like the glorious sun
never denye us that inspiring Light,
which we receau'd, with such a high delight
from your pierian straines, but still inspire.
vs. with the heate of your poetique fire;
For as the sun by vertue of his great
Masculin Luster and his quickning heate,
of slime, and Mud, produceth liuing creatures
Differing in nature, and of seuerall features;
According to the mould from which they'r made,
So your lines heate, and splendour, doth invade
our dul, dead, muddy, minds; and doth create
New creatures, of what seem'd inanimate:
As euen these lines though creatures of my mind
By your poetique fire they are refin'd,
from these dull mould, you on them life bestow;
ther's nothinge in them from my witt doth flow:
By you they moue, all prayse to you is due.
for tis not I haue written this tis you.

upon the L[adie] saying C[ould] I could be sad in her company

Madem you say I am sad I assure no:
vnlesse it be because you say I am soe
I know some prayse for [illegible] speaking what is truee

MS HM 904 ff. 157v-158

But moues your weight whose truth doth vate of you.
Before your Spoke I found no cause of griefe
But in your speach you tooke all wished releife
From me your seruant placed me in want
Of meanes to shew my pouerty and scant
For I had now attayn'd what I desire'd
And consequently happy now required
Why I am sad or worde of most hiegh powre
To turne me miserable with in the howre
For I am greued that my exteriour show
Should contradict the joy I haue from you.
For madam doe me wright I doe protest
There is no joy if not by me possest.
When in your conuersation I can find
There be all treasures to delight the mind
And I unworthy should this possesse
Which might reward the worthyes and bless
Those that had ventered most for your deare sake
And I receaue this from you and not take
It as a blessing giuen to one by you
That from this time I should no sorrow know
Nor if in this in doubt I would bequeth
My place to others weare the willow reath
Therefore by these your fauors I intreate
You will beleeue my joy in you compleate M K T

The L.D. answere

Deare eyes pardon me if I mistooke
I thought the face had bin the truest booke
To reade the hart in but it face that's good
It seames by dull wits is not understood

159

Since curious Lines that drawne by Art and Skil
Study they may yet ignorant be still
I feared you sad because that smileing grace
Which oft hath joyed me was not in your face
Joy me it did because it made me see
You pleased to tollerate this place and mee
But in this act your fauors doth not find
You doe not onely like but doe comend
Friendship occasions this and you alasse
Doe vieu me threw a multiplying glasse
But what I can be vn to you I will
And with increase in me for your sake still
Which by your company I hope that I
Shall gaine doe much I shall you satisfye
But thinke not like a theefe I will conceale
From whome I stole the truth I will reueale
And say tis you that haue inriched mee
For whoes sake I did wish to steale From thee.
But this beleeue you cant fauore shew
To one more yours and will be euer so. The L.D.S.

MS HM 904
ff: 158v - 159

Cantus 3 Tho: Campr

Young and simple though' I am I have heard of Cupids name: Guesse I can

What thing it is men desire when they doe kisse. Smoak can never burne

thoy say but the flams which follow may

I am not so fowle or faire
To be proud or to dispaire
Guesse I can what thing it is
Men desire when they doe kisse
Smoake can never burne they say
But the flams that follow may

Faith tis but a foolish mynd
Yet me thinks a heat I fynd

Dep. 314/23
f. 2

Syke thrist longyng that doth byde
Ever on my tocaker syde
Wher they say my heart doth moue
Venous grant it be not Loue.

If it bee, alace ꝙt then
Werre not women made for men?
As good t'werre a thing werre past
That myst needs be done at last
Roses that ar overblowne
Grow lesse sweet then fall alone

Yet no churle nor ilhen gull
Shall my maiden bloome pull
Who shall not I bone shall tell
Who showld wodwld I cowld as weell
This I know ꝙt ever he bee
Some he myst or flatter mee

Mrs Margarit Weemys

Dep. 314/23
f. 2v

Bee your lou' neiier sa traw
Sam gaing to wers
on that fure excells all you'
an whom I neiier Knew
bat sll suir ill my breath
in acquarters ta death

Campased by S^r I Sūklīng

4 Nat that I wald wish my mistres mar or les then that shei is
Bat thes sins caūs them ta sett
your ta preskrefe into my fatt
Then I wald haue her richly spred
With natūrs biathsams ūnit and read
Shas withered lam sill quikly die
Without same feūell cram the eg
Then I will haū her am mat proūd
A fitch pryd may bee alloūd
She amōūris bag ūill play and preat
Sū fircly ūher hee finds no heate
Then I ūill haū her ful af ūitt
If that she knew how to hūfs wyfe fitt
Far shee whos insolence will dar
Sa try hir with sill sell her war
Then I will haū her kind ta bee
mistak me nat ta non bat mee
She that loūs an and loūs an uar
Will laū a kingdam aūr and aūr

Dep. 314/23
f. 14

Madam my lady binny

se Būrst oūt your saūll in main a fleays
and thaū my heart sith tempest maye
my taūng ūhich neūer plaint forbear
bat points ūt faūrth my crossed layre
Cambind togither all in an
A thūnder fourth my tragik mane

bat bath your saūll cūt breath brak air
can yarr my pasion exyres
na way bat agment my car
in making them ayear the less

Sing bot fram small Waes-wardes doe com
when great ones sing alwayes dumb

~~Let~~
gow Snelling greiues the bound yaur ~~faces~~ selfs
into the fatall brest yaw fill
the center vher all sarouss dwell
the lembicke vs nence all ils distill
that silint in my paine I may
consume and burst in tearfwlay

yet that I may contented dye
Only Wish befar my death
Grant yarant that my brest might bei
that or I doe expyre my breath
Since Stares plaintf teares expres no smart
yt may be seine into my heart finnes

Dep. 314/23
f. 14v

9 Come muse and help me mwnee
Sith my deliantes ar gone
For I haue lost vvhom I lawd best
My Sayes ar cwer thrown

Come poets and bringe yaur pennes
Write in most dulfull Ways
Wiep without measur this wordly trasour
Is taken befor eyes

o that I liued so long
o that my tyme Was such
to bee cyrest with such manrestt
for her I loued so much

yet mwse befor I die
yoe tell yee that fair one

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