‘Witness William Strode’:

Manuscript Contexts, Circulation, and Reception

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Trinity 2016

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Abstract

This thesis is concerned with how we read, edit, and understand the socio-textual relationships between seventeenth-century literary manuscripts. It takes as its subject William Strode (1601?-1645), poet, preacher, and Public Orator of the University of Oxford. In particular, this study examines the transmission and reception of Strode's English verse, predominantly by examining verse miscellanies of the 1620s, 1630s and 1640s.

Chapter 1 provides the most extensive account of Strode's life to date, situating his career as a manuscript-publishing poet alongside his academic and clerical careers and social and literary contexts. Chapter 2 studies Strode's autograph manuscripts in detail, focusing on an autograph notebook, in which Strode transcribed and revised his poems; a booklet of eight poems which provide insight into how Strode circulated his verse; and a no longer extant, authorial manuscript of Strode's verse, which raises the question of whether or not Strode intended to print his poems in a single-author collection. Chapter 3 follows Strode's poems from these autograph manuscripts into four verse miscellanies compiled by his most prolific collectors, and makes original arguments about how Strode's poems circulated in seventeenth-century Oxford. This chapter ends with a discussion of two poems by Strode, once thought lost to scholarship. Chapter 4 moves from Christ Church to consider the social and textual coordinates of Strode's Oxford, and non-Oxford readers, offering reconsiderations and revisions of arguments about the provenance of a range of verse miscellanies. Chapter 5 considers the reception of Strode's poetry in the verse miscellany, and uses this evidence to refine theorizations of 'social editing' and 'textual malleability', before offering guidelines towards an edition of Strode's English verse.

Acknowledgements

This thesis was funded by Merton College and the Faculty of English Language and Literature, University of Oxford. Financial awards were also provided by Merton College, the Maxwell and Meyerstein Fund, and a grant-in-aid from the Folger Shakespeare Library.

I am grateful for the supervision of Adam Smyth. Thanks also to Daniel Sawyer and Adam Abraham in Oxford for help with manuscript photography. For sofas and company in the US thanks are also due to Anthony Gallo, Kayla Beggs, and Mika the Corgi in Washington DC; Sam Taggart, Gary Canino, Spencer Peterson, Keaton Monger and Gizmo in Brooklyn; and Aaron Bartels-Swindells and Daniel Davies in Philiadelphia.

Thanks to mum, dad and Alistair, Karen and Peter for all their support. Last but not least to Sarah, Murray, and Sam.

Common Abbreviations and Transcription Conventions

Common Abbreviations

Add. MS	Additional Manuscript
AUL	Aberdeen University Library, Aberdeen, UK
BL	British Library, London, UK
Bod.	Bodleian Library, Oxford, UK
CCC	Corpus Christi College, Oxford, UK
CCEd	*Clergy of the Church of England Database* (London: King's College London, 2008-) http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk
CELM	*Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts, 1450-1700*, ed. by Peter Beal, http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/
CUL	Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, UK
Dobell	William Strode, *The Poetical Works of William Strode*, ed. by Bertram Dobell (London: the author, 1907)
EUL	Edinburgh University Library, Edinburgh, UK
fMS	Folio manuscript
Folger	Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC, USA
Forey	Margaret Forey, 'A critical edition of the poetical works of William Strode, excluding 'The Floating Island' (unpublished BLitt thesis, University of Oxford, 1966)
Herrick	Robert Herrick, *The Complete Poetry of Robert Herrick*, ed. by Tom Cain and Ruth Connolly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 2 vols
Huntington	Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, CA, USA
IELM	*Index of English Literary Manuscripts, 1450-1700*, ed. by Peter Beal (London: Mansell, 1980-1993), 2 vols, 4 parts
Morgan	Morgan Library and Museum, New York, NY, USA
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
n.s.	new series

NYPL	New York Public Library, New York, NY, USA
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004-)
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009-), www.oed.com
o.s.	old series
Portland PwV	Portland Literary Collection, University of Nottingham, Nottingham, UK
Rosenbach	Rosenbach Museum and Library, Philadelphia, PA, USA
SP	State Papers, held at the National Archives (TNA), Kew, London, UK

Citation of Manuscript Material

Where possible, all transcriptions from manuscript material adhere to the standardized forms found in the *CELM*, followed by Beal's combination of author abbreviation and numerical reference. For example, 'On a Gentlewoman that sung, and playd upon a Lute' (StW 378-409) refers to that poem in general. However, *CELM*, StW 408 refers to the specific copy of that poem in Rosenbach MS 240/7 (p. 35). Entries marked with an asterisk (*) are autographs. Entries marked Δ refers to a major manuscript collection for the author in question in the *CELM*.

Transcription conventions

\xxx/ text inserted above the line

/xxx\ text inserted below the line

~~xxx~~ deleted text by crossing out

<xxx> illegible word due to page damage, ink stains, or unreadable handwriting.

[xxx] text supplied by editor

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Introduction

William Strode (1601?-1645) certainly needs an introduction. The bare facts of his biography and literary career are easily outlined. Devon-born, Strode spent the majority of his adult life in Oxford. There, Strode was an active participant in the university's literary culture. He wrote poetry in English, Latin and Greek; he performed in plays (and in 1636, wrote one); delivered orations and sermons. Between the 1620s and the 1630s, Strode's English poetry became some of the most commonly transcribed material in the manuscript verse miscellanies that experienced a 'golden age' during this period.[1] However, by the time of his death in 1645, Strode's poems had not appeared in a printed edition organized around his authorship. Nor did anyone produce an edition shortly after his death. Since then, Strode has become a figure of obscurity, even in early modern studies. As Adam Smyth puts it, 'Strode, perhaps more than any other early modern poet, has experienced a remarkable shift in literary prominence'.[2]

This thesis is concerned with how we interpret, edit, and understand the socio-textual relationships between seventeenth-century literary manuscripts. It uses Strode as a case study of manuscript circulation and examines the production, dissemination and reception of his English verse, predominantly in verse miscellanies dating to between the 1620s and 1640s. Research for this thesis has involved the study of 221 manuscripts containing Strode's poems, the transcription and collation of those texts, and an analysis of the implications of this material for understanding the workings of early modern manuscript culture. This thesis presents original arguments about the extent of Strode's scribal popularity, and how his writings circulated in manuscript. It makes a series of methodological interventions into the study of manuscript verse miscellanies, and present a number of archival discoveries. Included amongst these discoveries are unrecorded manuscript copies of Strode's writings, additional witnesses to texts already known to scholarship, and two poems once thought lost.

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[1] H.R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 8.
[2] Adam Smyth, '"Art Reflexive": The Poetry, Sermons, and Drama of William Strode (1601?-1645)', *Studies in Philology*, 4 (2006), 436-64 (p. 436).

Ruth Connolly and Tom Cain have recently noted that it is 'still rare to find a detailed account of how scribal publication functioned from the perspective of a single author'.[3] This thesis provides such an account for Strode and argues that he is not only a critically neglected poet in need of re-introduction to early modern studies, but also an undervalued case study of scribal publication. The researcher of Strode's poetry is faced by a much wider variety of different kinds of evidence than is usually the case for researchers of early modern manuscript poets. The majority of Strode's poems survive in his own hand, and in many cases exhibit multiple stages of revision. By contrast, other well-studied manuscript-publishing authors including Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter Ralegh, John Donne, and Thomas Carew left only a small number of autograph witnesses. When working with such case studies, information about an author's intentions can be gleaned only by pragmatically reconstructing the readings of lost documents through the collation of extant, non-autograph manuscripts.[4] For Strode, it is possible to identify a plurality of textual agents at work with greater precision. In some situations, we can even follow a poem's evolution from draft fragments through to fair copies, revised copies, and multiple witnesses in readers' verse miscellanies.[5] Strode's textual record can therefore be used as a testing-ground for theories of textual production, dissemination, and reception. By doing so, this thesis mounts a cautiously sceptical critique of the application of an approach to the editing of early modern manuscript verse, which has come to be known as 'social editing'. Rather than see Strode as an embodiment of a number of prevailing assumptions – that manuscripts were inherently (and paradoxically consistently) malleable; that readers had little or no interest in a poem's authorship; and that they sought as a rule to adapt the poems they transcribed with little concern for textual fidelity – I demonstrate how the specificity allowed by Strode can complicate this model.

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[3] Robert Herrick, *The Complete Poetry of Robert Herrick*, ed. by Tom Cain and Ruth Connolly, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), II, p. 3. Subsequently cited as 'Herrick'.

[4] Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 320. See also Mark Bland, 'Stemmatics and Society in Early Modern England', *Studia Neophilologica*, 86 (2014), 29-47 (pp. 32-33).

Readers of this thesis will notice that it contains little conventional literary analysis of Strode's poetry, and that it devotes more of its attention to the interpretation of textual variants, the structure of miscellanies containing Strode's poems, and the social coordinates of his readers. To some extent, this is a fitting response to Strode's work, which is preoccupied by material culture – from pieces of jewellery to scraps of paper – and the physical possibilities and constraints of its own material forms.[6] But another justification for my approach is that Strode's texts cannot be adequately understood without first establishing their bibliographical contexts. In this respect, Strode's present marginalization from the canon of literary studies are similar to those faced by researchers of early modern women writers. On this subject, Gillian Wright has observed that 'it is not unknown to find studies [...] which devote so much care to describing the physical make-up of a manuscript or printed book that the contents of the text are scarcely addressed'.[7] It would be easy to dismiss such studies as overly technical and dry, but as Wright notes, '[i]t is arguable that a greater emphasis on material and biographical factors is a necessary first stage in the recovery of many previously unknown texts by early modern women which, unlike the work of their better-known male contemporaries, cannot silently benefit from the accumulated scholarly wisdom of the past four to five-hundred years'. Before Strode can be critically rehabilitated, an archaeology of his textual record – his life in the archive and the textual lives of his poems – needs to be established and the evidence classified. This thesis performs such a task by establishing textually and historically secure foundations upon which later interpretative and editorial work can build.

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[5] See for example, 'An Opposite to Melancholy' (*CELM*, StW 641-63). Two copies survive in autograph: CCC MS 325, fol. 94^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 641) and Portland MS Pw V 397, fol. [1^{v}] (*CELM*, *StW 642).

[6] See Smyth, '"Art Reflexive"': 'Strode's writing [...] meditates on the act and conditions of writing; his poems, sermons and drama turn back on themselves and dissect their potential, probing at questions fundamental to literary composition' (p. 438).

1. Data: Strode's textual record

The principal data upon which this thesis depends are the 221 manuscripts that contain copies of Strode's poems, catalogued by Peter Beal in the *CELM*. According to the latest updated version of the *CELM*, this amounts to 1,428 individual witnesses to Strode's English verse.[8] But to this number needs to be added a number of additional poems. Firstly, as Margaret Forey has demonstrated, 'A Song' ('Aske me no more whether doth stray'; *CELM*, CwT 722-64), long thought to be the work of Thomas Carew, should properly be considered the work of Strode.[9] This song had been printed as Carew's in 1640, but is never actually ascribed to him in any manuscript copies. The presence of the poem in Strode's Corpus MS, however, together with evidence of Strode's revisions, makes the case for Strode's authorship compelling. Beal acknowledges Forey's case for attribution in the *CELM*, although the witnesses themselves remain listed amongst Carew's records.[10] Forey has also convincingly demonstrated Strode's authorship of a popular funerary elegy dating to 1622 concerning the death of John Dawson, the butler of Christ Church (*CELM*, CoR 472-98). Formerly attributed to Richard Corbett, Forey has shown that the earliest collectors of this poem unanimously ascribed it to Strode.[11] Discoveries made during the course of this thesis also need to be added to this number. This includes four witnesses to poems already recorded in the *CELM*, three witnesses to two poems never before attributed to Strode, and an unrecorded manuscript prologue to *The Floating Island*. In light of Forey's attributions and my own manuscript discoveries, Strode's textual record can now be considerably expanded to at least 1,508 witnesses to Strode's English poems.[12]

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[7] Gillian Wright, *Producing Women's Poetry, 1600-1730: Manuscript and Print, Text and Paratext* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 10.

[8] Strode's record in the *CELM* includes further items: Latin and Greek poems (*CELM*, StW 1386-1467), prose speeches and sermons (*CELM*, StW 1468-76), dramatic works (*CELM*, StW 1476.5-83), letters (*CELM*, StW 1484-85) and documents (*CELM*, StW 1486-1501). A full list of additional manuscript discoveries relating to these sections can be found in Appendix 2.

[9] Forey, 'William Strode and the Elegy on John Dawson, 1622', *Notes and Queries*, 60 (2013), 518-21.

As Ruth Connolly and Tom Cain warn, '[i]t is exceptionally difficult to draw firm conclusions about the popularity of a poet based on the number of extant seventeenth-century witnesses, given that the scale of loss is unknown'.[13] It is also important to recognize that we do not have anything close to a good, working understanding of what popularity means as far as manuscript texts are concerned. Emma Smith and Andy Kesson explain that manuscript circulation 'is an important alternative locus of the popular' to print,[14] but to date the only work in this area has addressed only the specific genre of the verse libel.[15] It is clear that the study of scribal popularity would require an alternative set of methodologies to those currently used by researchers of print popularity. Zachary Lesser, Alan Farmer, and Peter Blayney, for example, have debated the ways in which the *English Short Title Catalogue* can be mined to assess print popularity. This includes factors such as the market shares of individual works and book-genres and their reprint rates.[16] These structures are irrelevant when applied to scribal texts, and it seems inevitable that the only useful means of understanding scribal popularity is to base assessments on the total number of extant witnesses, however fragmentary. This thesis offers a more textually secure definition of Strode's scribal popularity by interrogating what the data collected by the *CELM* really amounts to. Scribal popularity therefore needs to be qualitatively understood in relation to the ways in which poems were produced, disseminated and received, not simply through the lens of quantitative data.

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[10] Beal, *CELM,* CwT 722-64 http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/authors/carewthomas.html#bodleian-ashmole_id420987 [accessed 10 May 2013].

[11] Forey, 'William Strode and the Elegy on John Dawson'.

[12] This number has been calculated by identifying the total number of witnesses to Strode's English verse listed in the *CELM* at the time of writing (1,428), and adding to it the twenty-seven witnesses to the elegy on John Dawson (*CELM*, CoR 472-98), the forty-five witnesses to 'Aske me no more' (*CELM*, CwT 722-64), and the eight additional discoveries made by this thesis (for the canon of Strode's English poems), all of which are listed in Appendix 2.

[13] Herrick, II, p. 3.

Data from the *CELM* can, however, make it abundantly clear why Strode's poetry should command critical and editorial attention. Each entry in the *CELM* represents an individual act of reception, or as John Kerrigan terms it, 'reading recorded by the slow-motion of transcription'.[17] The data also represents the scribal labour invested in Strode's poetry by his early modern copyists.[18] Viewed from this perspective, Strode emerges as a crucial, if understudied component of miscellany culture.

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[14] Emma Smith and Andy Kesson, 'Introduction: Towards a Definition of Print Popularity', in *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England,* ed. by Emma Smith and Andy Kesson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 1-19 (p. 9).

[15] Andrew McRae, 'Manuscript Culture and Popular Print', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Volume I: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 130-41.

[16] For the popularity of printed playbooks see Peter Blayney, 'The Publication of Playbooks' in *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. by John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 357-83; Alan Farmer and Zachary Lesser responded with 'The Popularity of Playbooks Revisited', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 56 (2005), 1-32, and 'Structures of Popularity in the Early Modern Book Trade', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 56 (2005), 206-13. A recent addition to this field of study is Lukas Erne and Tamsin Badcoe, 'Shakespeare and the Popularity of Poetry Books in Print, 1583-1622', *Review of English Studies*, n.s., 65 (2014), 33-58.

Author	**Approximate number of witnesses to English poetic texts recorded by the *CELM*[19]**
John Donne	3,997
William Strode	1,508
Thomas Carew	1,289
Richard Corbett	764
Ben Jonson	739
Katherine Philips	571
Robert Herrick	415
Thomas Randolph	412
William Herbert, Third Earl of Pembroke	309

Figure 1 Strode's textual record compared with other poets in the *CELM*

Figure 1 displays the numbers of extant witnesses to verse in the *CELM* for ten poets. These figures show that Donne outstrips Strode by a considerable margin, confirming Daniel Starza Smith's recent claim that Donne's circulation in manuscript constitutes an 'unprecedented publishing phenomenon'.[20] Even so, the *CELM* reveals a significant discrepancy between the poets most commonly read in seventeenth-century manuscript verse miscellanies, and those most commonly studied today. With the exceptions of Randolph and Strode, all of the poets in Figure 1 have been edited since the 1990s, or are in the process of being edited, highlighting the need to re-introduce Strode's poetry to early modern studies. This thesis responds to this discrepancy by applying a range of bibliographical methodologies to Strode's textual record.

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[17] John Kerrigan, 'The Editor as Reader: Constructing Renaissance Texts', in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. by James Raven, Helen Small, and Naomi Tadmor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 102-25 (p. 119).

[18] For more on scribal labour see Marcy L. North, 'Amateur Compilers, Scribal Labour, and the Contents of Early Modern Poetic Miscellanies', *English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700*, 16 (2011), 82-111.

[19] This table includes the *CELM* records for English poetry, omitting dramatic texts, life records, and verse in other languages. For consistency, I include the numbers as they are listed in the *CELM*, and do not add to them additional witnesses located by other researchers. However, the table does add *CELM*, CwT 722-64 and *CELM*, CoR 472-98 to Strode's record.

[20] Daniel Starza Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers: Patronage and Manuscript Circulation in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 298.

According to Jonathan F.S. Post, the value of recovering a poet like Strode from obscurity is of limited value to literary scholarship. 'Poets largely popular in their own day are interesting only for the light they shed on contemporary reading habits and for the context they provide for understanding a Donne or a Jonson, a Herbert or a Milton, and for reminding us of their greater achievements'.[21] Strode's poetry does indeed shed light on contemporary reading habits, and draws attention to a significant distance between those of his age and those of our own. But should the purpose of literary research be to bolster our own critical prejudices about the value of certain poets, or should we allow archival evidence to challenge and refine our assumptions about the period? Reading Strode in manuscript shows that his collectors read him alongside works by Donne and Jonson, and not according to a false dichotomy between 'minor' and 'major' poets.

2. 'Passing over Strode': critical and editorial neglect

As it currently stands, Strode's critical and editorial history is still in its infancy, and it is worth confronting from the outset of this thesis why this is the case. Although Strode may well have planned to publish his poems in print, Strode's poems never appeared in a printed edition organized around his own authorship during, or soon after his lifetime. This fact gives Strode's poetic career a very different shape compared with many of his contemporaries, such as Corbett, Herrick and William Cartwright, whose publication in manuscript during the earlier seventeenth century was rounded off with a printed collection.[22] Had Strode's works found their way into such an edition, he would not necessarily have become institutionalized as a canonical figure in literary history, but he would have at least stood more of a chance of being at least *visible* to literary scholarship. As Peter Davidson explains:

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[21] Jonathan F.S. Post, *English Lyric Poetry: The Early Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. ix.

> If a writer is to become canonical (which is to say no more than that the writer's works are generally known to exist and are thought to have some value) they have to be at least to some degree available. If a late seventeenth-century or eighteenth-century publisher wanted to reprint a mid-seventeenth-century text, he would be much more likely to do so if there was a convenient copy-text available. What this means in practice is this: if the work of a mid-seventeenth-century poet was printed in a single author collection in the 1640s or 1650s, there was a potential for an easy reprint, and therefore for inclusion amongst the ranks of known writers of the period. In almost all cases, the poetry now admired as 'Cavalier' went through the following stages of publication: a mid-century printed collection, late seventeenth-century reprint or reprints, eighteenth-century reprints, subsequent inclusion in the series of 'The British Poets' which appeared in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, entry to the canon when English Literature becomes an academic discipline, critical attention, frequent appearance in anthologies thereafter.[23]

Even if poets were not guaranteed permanent literary fame by appearing in print, print publication during the seventeenth century began a chain of events that could lead to their later study by editors and critics. Having not made such a transition the canon of Strode's poetry is characterized by its dispersal in a variety of archival locations and bibliographical formats.

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[22] Jerome de Groot, *Royalist Identities* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 66-71. De Groot identifies a 'rush to print' during the turbulent years of the English Civil War (p. 67). See also Arthur Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 258; Warren Chernaik, 'Books as Memorials: The Politics of Consolation', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 21 (1991), 207-17. Examples of such editions include Richard Corbett, *Certain elegant poems, written by Dr. Corbet* (London: Printed by R. Cotes for Andrew Crooke, 1647), and *Poëtica stromata, or, a collection of sundry pieces in poetry* (n.p.: n. pub., 1648); Robert Herrick, *Hesperides: or, the works both humane and divine of Robert Herrick* (London: John Williams, Francis Eglesfield, and Tho[mas] Hunt, 1648); William Cartwright, *Comedies, tragi-comedies, with other poems* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1651).

[23] *Poetry and Revolution: An Anthology of British and Irish Verse, 1625-1660*, ed. by Peter Davidson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. xxxvii.

It was not until the early-twentieth century that Strode's poetry began to attract any critical or editorial attention. This process began with Bertram Dobell's 1907 edition, *The Poetical Works of William Strode*.[24] In this edition, Dobell edited a selection of English poems attributed to Strode based on two verse miscellanies in his possession (now Folger MS V.a.170 and MS V.a.245), together with *The Floating Island* and a list of Strode's Latin verse. As we might expect of an edition from this period, its reliability is dubious. Dobell gives no indication of why particular copy-texts have been selected, he silently alters accidental and substantive readings, and provides no textual apparatus. Dobell intended to recover Strode from critical obscurity, and claims in his introduction that after the publication of his edition 'it will be impossible to pass [Strode] over when reviewing the literary history of the generation which succeeded that of the great Shakespearean epoch'.[25] However, Dobell's edition did not live up to this promise; scholars continued to 'pass Strode over' in spite of the availability of his works for the first time in a single-author printed edition. By 1945, Strode was still barely a footnote to the history of seventeenth-century literature. In his contribution to *The Oxford History of English Literature*, for example, Douglas Bush described Strode as 'virtually a man of one poem', in reference to 'Song' ('I saw faire Cloris walke alone'; *CELM*, StW 747-834).[26]

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[24] William Strode, *The Poetical Works of William Strode*, ed. by Bertram Dobell (London: the author, 1907). Subsequently cited as 'Dobell'. A 2009 edition 'edited' and with a foreword by Tony Frazer is basically an abridged reprint of Dobell's edition. See *Selected Poems of William Strode*, ed. by Tony Frazer (Exeter: Shearsman Books, 2009).

[25] Dobell, p. cxiii.

[26] Douglas Bush, *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, 1600-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1945), p. 210.

The next significant contribution to Strode scholarship came in 1954, when Margaret Crum identified a notebook deposited in the archives of Corpus Christi College, Oxford (but temporarily housed for repair at the Bodleian) as Strode's autograph manuscript.[27] Now known as the Corpus MS, Crum discussed the notebook's provenance and ownership, identifying that it was used during the mid-seventeenth century by the antiquary William Fulman (1632-1688). Crum showed that Fulman made notes in the Corpus MS pertaining to another, now lost collection of Strode's verse. Fulman described the structure and content of the lost manuscript, the contents and structure of which Crum reconstructs. Crum suggests that the manuscript was another autograph collection, a fair copy that Strode had intended to see into print. This thesis discusses the fate of the manuscript and its function in Chapter 2, and argues that it can also inform our understanding of Strode's poems in circulation. In the short term, Crum's discovery had little immediate effect on Strode studies. A note by C.F. Main published in 1955 argues that 'Strode deserves more careful editing than he has had', but is apparently unaware that Crum's identification of the Corpus MS solves some of the problems of canon and text raised by Main.[28] Harry Morris, who produced two short articles on Strode's lyric poetry from a New Critical perspective, was also unaware of Crum's significant archival discovery.[29]

Crum suggested that her findings 'might provide material for a more nearly complete edition of Strode's poems, and one nearer to his own intentions both in readings and arrangement than was formerly possible'.[30] Margaret Forey's 1966 edition, an unpublished Oxford BLitt thesis, carried out this project by using the Corpus MS as the basis for almost all of its copy-texts, diverging from this policy only when a poem did not survive in autograph.[31] Forey also arranged her edition according to the structure of the lost manuscript. The Strode that Forey edits was one that none, or at least, very few of his collectors ever encountered in manuscript. Furthermore, by offering a partial collation, and minimal discussion of Strode's circulation in manuscript (both inside and outside of Oxford), Forey's edition risks doing the very opposite of Dobell's: understating the prominence of Strode in seventeenth-century manuscript culture. For what it is, however, a product of a decidedly 'New Bibliographic' editorial age, Forey's edition is accurate and thorough, offering a more precise account of Strode's canon than Dobell and remaining valuable to researchers of Strode's poetry. It does, however, have the disadvantage of being as difficult to access as the Corpus manuscript, still unpublished and 'embargoed' by the Bodleian in the absence of written permission from Forey herself. It is therefore unsurprising that Forey's thesis did little to rescue Strode from critical obscurity.[32]

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[27] Margaret Crum, 'William Fulman and an Autograph Manuscript of the Poet Strode', *Bodleian Library Record*, 4 (1952-53), 324-35.

[28] C.F. Main, 'Notes on Some Poems Attributed to William Strode', *Philological Quarterly*, 34 (1955), 444-448. Main questions Dobell's attribution of 'Song' ('As I my flockes lay keeping, mine Eyes fell a sleeping'; *CELM*, StW 723-25) to Strode (p. 448). But Crum's discovery of the Corpus MS, where the poem occurs on fols 65^{v}-66^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 723) verifies Dobell's attribution claim.

[29] Harry Morris, 'The Poetry of William Strode', *Tulane Studies in English*, 7 (1957), 17-28; 'Strode's Longer Elegy', *Renaissance News*, 12 (1959), 170-71.

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[30] Crum, 'William Fulman and an Autograph Manuscript', p. 325.

[31] Margaret Forey, 'A Critical Edition of the Poetical Works of William Strode, Excluding 'The Floating Island' (unpublished BLitt thesis, University of Oxford, 1966). Subsequently cited as 'Forey'.

[32] Only one note on Strode was published between the completion of Forey's edition and the revival of interest in Strode by manuscript scholars discussed in the next section. See Dirk Erpenbeck, 'William Strode's "On Chloris Walking": A Version from Esthonia', *Notes and Queries*, 24 (1977), 207. Erpenbeck identifies an extreme case of Strode's 'Song' ('I saw faire Cloris walke alone'; *CELM*, StW 747-834) in a notebook compiled by an interpreter to the German legation of the Duke of Schleswig Holstein to the court of Shah Sefi I in Isfahan, Persia, 1637. This manuscript is now Tallinn, Ajaloo Museum, Fond 114, nim. 1, S/U, 7a (*CELM*, StW 768).

3. Strode and English manuscript studies

At this juncture, it becomes practical to discuss Strode's critical history in relation to the development of scholarly interest in manuscript verse. Although Strode frequently appears only in passing in this scholarship, it was because of these studies that the case for Strode's critical recovery became a priority once again.

As early as 1949 Edwin Wolf II argued for the textual importance of 'manuscript commonplace books', and between the 1950s and 1970s a number of important editorial projects advanced our understanding of the cultural and textual significance of manuscript miscellanies.[33] Particularly significant in this regard is Mary Hobbs's work on the 'Stoughton MS', a privately owned verse miscellany including verse by Strode, Corbett, and others, bound with a single-author collection of Henry King's poetry.[34] Hobbs edited the Stoughton MS and outlined a series of social and textual relationships between a group of miscellanies associated with Christ Church. Taken as a whole, the pioneering research on miscellanies during this period constitutes a powerful rejoinder to the neglect of manuscript evidence in prior editorial work. J.A.W. Bennett and H.R. Trevor-Roper's 1955 edition of Richard Corbett's verse, for example, made the decision to base its copy-texts on the 1647 and 1648 printed sources which derived from manuscripts of the 1620s and 1630s, rather than on the more textually authoritative manuscripts.[35]

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[33] Edwin Wolf, II, *The Textual Importance of Manuscript Commonplace Books of 1620-1650* (Charlottesville, VA: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1949). See Charles Frederick Main, Jr., 'An Early Stuart Manuscript Miscellany: Harvard Ms. Eng. 686' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1954); David Coleman Redding, 'Robert Bishop's Commonplace Book: An Edition of a Seventeenth-Century Miscellany' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1960); Howard H. Thompson, 'An Edition of Two Seventeenth-Century Poetical Miscellanies' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1959).

[34] Mary Hobbs, 'An Edition of the Stoughton Manuscript, An Early C17 Poetry Collection in Private Hands Connected with Henry King and Oxford, Seen in Relation to Other Contemporary Poetry and Song Collections' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1973).

[35] Richard Corbett, *The Poems of Richard Corbett*, ed. by J.A.W. Bennett and H.R. Trevor-Roper (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. lii-liii.

With the publication of Peter Beal's *IELM* (1980-1993), the conditions for reassessing Strode's poetry became more conducive. Beal has observed that before this time, 'manuscripts were considered of peripheral interest' to early modern studies, but the *IELM* made it possible to easily quantify the extent of a thriving manuscript culture that coexisted with print between the mid-fifteenth and early-eighteenth centuries.[36] Beal's index of Strode's manuscripts confirmed that he was 'one of the most popular lyrical poets of his time'.[37] Although the *IELM* did not immediately prompt a critical reassessment of Strode, it gave stimulus to a better understanding of the cultural and textual worlds in which Strode's poems were circulated and read. During this period, the foundational studies of manuscript culture were published by Harold Love, Mary Hobbs, and H.R. Woudhuysen.[38] Harold Love's *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (1993) significantly advanced scholarship on manuscript texts by establishing a precise set of terms to describe the workings of manuscript circulation. Love demonstrated the need to think about manuscript texts not as 'unpublished', but as part of a publication system parallel to the world of print. Love offers three categories of scribal publication, all of which are important to the present study's exploration of Strode. 'Author publication' occurs when 'the production and distribution of copies takes place under the author's personal direction'.[39] 'User publication' involves the circulation of texts horizontally between readers, rather than the vertical transmission of texts from author to reader.[40] 'Entrepreneurial publication' took place ‘when manuscripts were produced and circulated for gain by a scribe or stationer’.[41] Although this category of publication appears to have been uncommon for early seventeenth-century verse miscellanies, a small number of manuscripts containing Strode’s work (discussed in Chapter 4) were indeed published in this way.

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[36] Beal, 'Introduction: Do Manuscript Studies in the Early Modern Period have a Future?', *Shakespeare Studies*, 44 (2004), 49-55 (p. 49).
[37] Beal, *IELM*, II, p. 351.
[38] Love, *Scribal Publication*; Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992); Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney*. See also Beal's *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
[39] Love, *Scribal Publication*, p. 47.
[40] Ibid., pp. 79-83.

Love also provided a thorough account of the social contexts in which manuscript texts were circulated. Noting an ‘overwhelming tendency’ for scribally publishing networks to coincide with ‘social groupings of one kind of another’ such as families, colleges and the Inns of Court, Love uses the term ‘scribal community’ to describe these sites of textual production, circulation, and reception’.[42] Crucial to this thesis is that the term does not imply the closure or exclusivity of ‘coterie’, and instead allows for connections between different scribal communities.

Mary Hobbs’s *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (1992) describes one such scribal community by focusing on Christ Church, Oxford.[43] Through the case study of Henry King, Hobbs showed how the social setting of Christ Church enabled the rapid circulation of texts inside and beyond the college. King used his chaplain Thomas Manne (besides other *amanuenses*) to circulate his own poems along with a regularly updated miscellany of works by other poets. Hobbs also advanced our understanding of Strode’s poetry and its circulation by identifying a close textual relationship between Strode’s Corpus MS and the verse miscellany of his second cousin, Daniel Leare (BL Add. MS 30982).[44] This thesis builds on Hobbs’s argument by identifying further, similar case studies in Chapter 3.

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[41] Ibid., p. 73.

[42] Ibid., p. 83.

[43] Hobbs, *Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, p. 9.

[44] Ibid., pp. 120-22.

H.R. Woudhuysen explains that the emphasis of manuscript studies began to change:

> What initially began as a way of thinking about how manuscripts might be used to improve the texts of canonical authors expanded into a more wide-ranging concern with the nature of authorship and the social production and consumption of all sorts of works.[45]

Arthur Marotti's *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* (1995) illustrates this change in emphasis by theorizing the distinctions between manuscript and print, and discussing the relative roles of authors and readers within the two media. Marotti argues that in manuscript 'it was normal for lyrics to elicit revisions, corrections, supplements, and answers, for they were part of an ongoing social discourse. In this environment texts were inherently malleable, escaping authorial control to enter a social world in which recipients both consciously and unconsciously altered what they received'.[46] Marotti's argument is heavily influenced by the bibliographical theories of Jerome McGann and D.F. McKenzie, who had reacted against New Bibliography's author-centric paradigms of editing by offering instead a more socio-centric understanding of authorship, textual circulation and reception. In *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (1983), McGann had proposed that '[a]uthority is a social nexus, not a personal possession' and that 'the fully authoritative text is [...] always one which has been socially produced'.[47] Similarly, D.F. McKenzie had argued that in a more sociological understanding of textual scholarship, 'an author disperses into his collaborators, those who produced his texts and their meanings'.[48]

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[45] Woudhuysen, 'Sidney's Manuscripts (again)', *Sidney Journal*, 30 (2012), 117-25 (pp. 117-18).
[46] Marotti, *Manuscript, Print,* p. 135.
[47] Jerome McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), pp. 48, 75.
[48] D.F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 27.

The implication of Marotti's argument is that authorial intention cannot, and should not be recovered. For Marotti, authorial agency is the defining variable of a literary criticism he seeks to displace. This thesis is sceptical about this aspect of Marotti's argument, and uses the case study of Strode to refine our understanding of authorial intention and readers' agency in the verse miscellany. In Chapter 3, for example, I show how Strode's most prolific collectors took care to acquire large, and textually authoritative collections of his work. In Chapter 5, I show how evidence of Strode's poems being creatively rewritten by verse collectors was a relatively rare occurrence. Rather than applying theories of social editing to understand Strode's reception in manuscript, I argue instead that the nature of the evidence in question should be allowed to shape its own methodology. In Strode's case, the rare survival of so many autograph manuscripts makes it inevitable that we must confront the issue of authorial agency, which is materially present in the form of manuscripts, rather than reconstructed through textual collation.

Out of the revival of interest in manuscript texts, the study of verse miscellanies in particular has developed into a distinct field of its own. Adam Smyth's study of printed miscellanies, a book-genre in which Strode received extensive remediation, complications Marotti's binary relationship between manuscript (malleable) and print (fixed), by showing how printed re-presentations of manuscript verse expose the instability of texts; printed miscellanies could introduce unique variants into the transmission history of a poem, or, through their reception by readers, find their way back into manuscript through transcription.[49]

Joshua Eckhardt's *Manuscript Verse Collectors and the Politics of Anti-Courtly Love Poetry* (2009) develops Marotti's proposals for a reader-centric account of manuscript culture by abandoning the author as a category of analysis altogether. Instead, Eckhardt examines how the agency of miscellany compilers distinguishes them from 'the authors, stationers, and readers who animate most literary histories'. According to Eckhardt, by 'routinely countering or complementing love poetry with erotic or obscene verse, manuscript verse collectors arguably formed an unrecognized poetic genre [...] *anti-courtly love poetry*'.[50] This thesis also attends to the agency of verse collectors and recognizes that what it meant to 'witness William Strode' in the context of a miscellany differed from individual to individual. However, my methodology does not view miscellany studies as having to make a choice between authors or compilers as a focus, and instead proposes a more inclusive approach by examining the fullest possible range of agencies involved in a text's production, circulation, and reception.

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[49] Adam Smyth, *Profit and Delight: Printed Miscellanies in England, 1640-1682* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2004).

In addition to these studies, a special issue of the journal *English Manuscript Stuies, 1100-1700* and an essay collection edited by Eckhardt and Daniel Starza Smith have helped to refine methodologies for dealing with verse miscellanies.[51] More recently, a less well-trodden path through archives containing miscellanies was taken by Sebastiaan Verweij, who focuses on manuscripts from Scotland. Verweij's study establishes Scotland as very different terrain for literary manuscript circulation, particularly concerning the transmission of verse in miscellanies, with 'very little evidence that vernacular poetic cultures flourished' at the Scottish Universities of St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Dundee.[52]

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[50] Joshua Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors and the Politics of Anti-Courtly Love Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 5.

[51] See *English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700*, 16 (2011) and *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England*, ed. by Eckhardt and Daniel Starza Smith (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

[52] Sebastiaan Verweij, *The Literary Culture of Early Modern Scotland: Manuscript Production and Transmission, 1560-1625* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 4.

Scholarship on verse miscellanies provides essential contexts for understanding Strode's poetry, but it is significant that little sustained critical attention to date has been directed towards the circulation of texts at the universities, which were key sites of textual production and circulation during the period. Rare exceptions to this are John Gouws's work on the Christ Church poet Nicholas Oldisworth (1611-1643), a figure who was considerably less widely circulated in manuscript than Strode.[53] Most relevant to the present thesis is Christopher Burlinson's work on Richard Corbett. Burlinson argues that Strode and Corbett's working relationship as bishop and chaplain significantly shaped the nature of how each poet produced and circulated verse in the 1620s and 1630s.[54]

The vast amount of editorial work on manuscript verse is another key component of this study's methodological background. Harold Love's guide to editing manuscript verse in *Scribal Publication* has significantly contributed to my thinking,[55] as has the editorial and textual scholarship applied to other poets. *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne* (1995-), Ruth Connolly and Tom Cain's recent edition of Robert Herrick's manuscript verse, and Scott Nixon's unpublished doctoral thesis on Thomas Carew, have explored many of the same scribal networks in which Strode's poems travelled.[56] As Mark Bland explains, transmission histories can be 'mutually informative' and comparing those histories of individual case studies can help us to better understand the scribal networks of the early modern period.[57]

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[53] Nicholas Oldisworth, *Nicholas Oldisworth's Manuscript (Bodleian MS. Don.c.24)*, ed. by John Gouws (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies in conjunction with Renaissance English Text Society, 2009). See also Gouws's articles 'Nicholas Oldisworth, Richard Bacon, and the Practices of Caroline Friendship', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 47 (2005), 366-401, and 'Nicholas Oldisworth and MS Don.c.24', *Bodleian Library Record,* 15 (1994-96), 19-36.

[54] Christopher Burlinson, 'Richard Corbett and William Strode: Chaplaincy and Verse in Seventeenth-Century Oxford', in *Chaplains in Early Modern England: Literature, Patronage and Religion*, ed. by Hugh Adlington, Gillian Wright, and Tom Lockwood (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 141-159. At the time of writing a chapter on patronage and pedagogy at Christ Church by Burlinson was due to be published. See 'Maecenas and "Oxford-Witts": Pedagogy and Flattery in Seventeenth-Century Oxford', in *Re-evaluating the Literary Coterie, 1580-1830 from Sidney to Blackwood's*, ed. by Will Bowers and Hannah Leah Crummé (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 35-53.

[55] Love, *Scribal Publication*, pp. 313-56.

4. Outline

Chapter 1 establishes the biographical and cultural contexts necessary for Strode's re-introduction to early modern studies. Since Strode has never received a sustained scholarly study, it is necessary to establish how his activities as a manuscript-publishing poet relate to his educational, professional, and social contexts. In the process, I interrogate the problems and frustrations raised by writing Strode's. What precisely is the relationship between Strode's life and writing, and is it possible to extract a single, clear, narrative about Strode's literary career? Can indeed, Strode be accurately described as a poet or rather one of many educated men in the early modern period who happened to write verse?[58] A conclusion of Chapter 1 is that, as a poet, Strode is best approached through a careful analysis of archival evidence read together with a sense of his work's tightly occasional qualities.

Chapter 2 begins this process by confronting the wealth of autograph evidence that survives for Strode: a notebook, now known as Corpus Christi College, MS 325 (Corpus MS; *CELM*, *StW Δ 1) and a fair copy of eight poems in Nottingham MS Portland Pw V 397 (Portland MS; *CELM*, *StW Δ 3). In addition to these resources the chapter also considers a lost manuscript (Untraced, ‘Strodes other Copie’; *CELM*, *StW Δ 2) – apparently a carefully ordered authorial collection – known only through notes added to the Corpus MS by the late seventeenth-century antiquary William Fulman (1632-1688) who owned the manuscript after Strode’s death. All three pieces of evidence offer unparalleled insight into how an early modern poet transcribed, revised, and arranged his work. I discuss the form and function of each manuscript and argue that this evidence of Strode’s authorial agency should play a central role in any future edition of his work.

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[56] Donne, John, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne,* gen. ed. Gary A. Stringer (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995-); Scott Nixon, 'A Reading of Thomas Carew in Manuscript' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1996), 2 vols. See also Nixon's 'The Manuscript Sources of Thomas Carew's Poetry', *English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700*, 8 (2000), 186-224.

[57] Bland, 'Stemmatics and Society', p. 31.

[58] Dennis Kay, 'Poems by Sir Walter Aston, and a Date for the Donne/Goodyer Verse Epistle "Alternis Vicibus"', *Review of English Studies*, n.s., 37 (1986), 198-201 (p. 198).

Having established how Strode used his manuscripts to revise, circulate, and collect his work Chapters 3 and 4 trace the circulation of those writings in verse miscellanies. Chapter 3 identifies the mechanisms by which Strode disseminated poems to verse collectors within Oxford University and identifies four manuscripts which exhibit exceptionally strong ties to Strode and his work: AUL MS 29 (Elizabeth Lane MS; *CELM*, StW Δ 4), BL Add. MS 30982 (Leare MS; *CELM*, StW Δ 10), Folger MS V.a.170 (Dobell MS I; *CELM*, StW Δ 18), and Yale Osborn MS b 205 (Osborn MS II; *CELM*, StW Δ 30). I identify precise textual connections between Strode’s autograph manuscripts and these verse miscellanies, advancing in the process original arguments about how Strode’s poems circulated and the provenance of these critically understudied verse miscellanies. Chapter 3 ends by demonstrating the evidence of these collectors’ access to Strode’s lost ‘other Copie’ (*CELM*, *StW Δ 4), and texts previously considered lost to scholarship along with that manuscript. The chapter introduces two such poems within three manuscripts, thereby illuminating a definite textual connection between the miscellanies of Strode’s most prolific verse collectors and the lost ‘other Copie’.

Chapter 4 proceeds to consider and classify the remaining manuscript evidence. Some of these miscellanies were compiled by individuals from within the Oxford scribal community but others were produced by collectors associated with Cambridge University, the Inns of Court, and beyond. The chapter's main contribution is to revise arguments about the provenance of a miscellany containing large amounts of Strode's poetry (Folger MS V.a.245; Dobell MS II; *CELM,* StW Δ 19). For the first time, I present the evidence that this miscellany shares connections with a group of miscellanies based at the Inns of Court. Above all, Chapter 4 sets out to ascertain the nature of Strode's canon beyond Oxford, which in the vast number of cases appears to have been understood to consist of only a small number of items.

Finally, Chapter 5 discusses the reception of Strode in the manuscript verse miscellany. The chief aim of this chapter is to understand what Strode's textual record reveals about the malleability of his verse in the verse miscellany, specifically with regards to the relationship between authorial intention and readers' agency. Chapter 5 makes a critical intervention in scholarly debates about theories of 'social editing' by showing that in Strode's case, evidence of verse collectors deliberately altering and creatively rewriting the poems they transcribed was rare. The unusually specific nature of Strode's textual record in fact suggests that entrenched assumptions about the negligible role played by authorial agency in the manuscript medium, and the inherently malleable nature of scribal texts, have been overstated. This chapter explores patterns and tendencies in Strode's reception by examining a series of case studies that help to refine the analysis and nomenclature of reception by manuscript verse collectors.

5. Scope: a note on Strode's Latin and Greek writings

It is possible that Strode regarded Latin poetry as superior to verse written in the English vernacular. As he states in one poem addressed to the students of Magdalen College, Oxford, the poetry of Christ Church 'speakes Lattin, aimes at Poetry', and 'scornes [...] ~~English~~ \vulgar/ riming Ballatry'.[59] However, this study lacks the space to devote significant attention to this aspect of Strode's literary output. To date, only two of Strode's Latin poems have received critical comment. Victoria Moul has discussed Strode's translation of Ben Jonson's 'Ode to himselfe' (*CELM*, StW 1409-13; JnB 367-81), as one that emphasizes Horatian qualities already present in Jonson's text.[60] Christopher Burlinson has also discussed Strode's Latin poem addressed to William Laud (*CELM*, StW 1431-32), congratulating him on his election as Chancellor of Oxford University, a text I discuss in further detail in Chapter 1 (see Section 1.5 'Chaplaincy to Richard Corbett').[61] Further attention of this kind is needed to contribute to our understanding of Strode as a poet and translator.

It is though, important to recognize the key differences between the extent to which, and ways in which Strode's non-English writings circulated. Unlike his English writings, Strode's sixty-nine Latin and Greek poems survive in all but three instances in only the autograph Corpus MS. This fact strongly suggests that these writings were scribally published in a more targeted manner, or that Strode sought to restrict their circulation as best he could. The three exceptions are Strode's Latin translation of Corbett's verse letter 'To his sonne Vincent Corbett' (*CELM*, StW

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[59] 'An Answere made to Maudlins Rimes and their Factions, concerning the Proctors', CCC MS 325, fols 75^{r}-77^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 17).

[60] Victoria Moul, *Jonson, Horace, and the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 203-04.

[61] Christopher Burlinson, 'Richard Corbett and William Strode: Chaplaincy and Verse in Seventeenth-Century Oxford', pp. 150-55.

1387-94; CoR 560-83). This poem survives in seven non-autograph witnesses and the Corpus MS (*CELM*, *StW 1387), in every case appearing together with Corbett's English original. The two poems therefore are likely to have circulated together, explaining this rare moment of connection between the circulation of Strode's Latin writings in contexts where his English poems were typically found.[62] Of similar popularity was Strode's translation of Jonson's 'Ode to himselfe' (*CELM*, StW 1409-13; JnB 367-81), a poem which does not survive in any autograph witnesses. As with the translation of Corbett's verse letter, the circulation of this translation can also be explained by its combined circulation with related texts. Five out of the six witnesses to Strode's Latin translation of Jonson are found in verse miscellanies together with Jonson's original (*CELM*, JnB 376, 377, 378, 379.5, 380.5) and combinations of other texts; a translation of the Ode by Thomas Randolph (*CELM*, RnT 413-19: 413, 417, 418, 419), and verse letters by Randolph (*CELM*, RnT 20-32: 23, 29, 30, 32) Thomas Carew (*CELM*, CwT 1022.5-35: 1033), and Francis Beaumont (*CELM,* BmF 100-116: 106).[63] In such collections, Strode is presented as part of a Jonsonian community in verse, a literary relationship perhaps strengthened by Jonson's visit to Christ Church in 1619.[64] Only one witness contains Strode's translation alone; a transcription included in a letter written in the hand of Sir Kenelm Digby.[65] The third Latin text to survive in a witness besides the autograph Corpus MS is the aforementioned poem celebrating Laud's election as chancellor, which survives in a letter in the hand of Corbett (*CELM*, StW 1431-32: 1432).[66]

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[62] Five of these non-autograph witnesses are verse miscellanies. See BL Add. MS 30982, fol. 43^{r-v} (*CELM*, StW 1388); Folger MS V.a.245, fol. 22^{r} (*CELM*, StW 1389); Bod. MS Rawl. poet. 147, pp. 84-85 (*CELM*, StW 1391) and MS Rawl. poet. 206, pp. 52-53 (*CELM*, StW 1392); Los Angeles, Clark Library MS 1950.024, p. 12 (*CELM*, StW 1393). The two other witnesses are found on leaves within composite volumes, in gatherings with Corbett's English original. See Bod. MS Rawl. D.398, fol. 185^{r} (*CELM*, StW 1390) and Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 12443A, Part I, pp. 10-12 (*CELM*, StW 1394).

[63] See Folger MS V.a.152, pp. 79-80 (*CELM*, StW 1409), V.a.170, pp. 194-97 (*CELM,* StW 1410) and V.a.322, pp. 171-81 (*CELM*, StW 1412); Newport, Isle of Wight Record Office, NWD/APR/9Z/1, fols 137^{v}-38^{v} (*CELM*, StW 1413); Dublin, Trinity College, MS 877 [Part II], fols 269^{v}-70^{r} (*CELM*, StW 1414).

[64] For Jonson's visit to Christ Church, see Ian Donaldson, *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 429-434. For a discussion of Jonsonian community (albeit one omitting mention of Strode), see Ruth Connolly, 'Model Followers: *Imitatio* amongst the 'Sons' of Ben', in *The Oxford Handbook of Ben Jonson*, ed. by Eugene Giddens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)
http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199544561.001.0001/oxfordhb-

In some other circumstances, Strode's Latin texts were written exclusively for print publication rather than manuscript circulation. Twelve poems survive in both the Corpus MS and printed books. Six of these texts are Strode's contributions to printed volumes of Latin occasional verse, published by the University of Oxford.[67] Three were written by Strode into the Corpus MS, but published under the names of other authors in *Britanniae natalis* (1630), a volume of poetry published by the University of Oxford to celebrate the birth of prince Charles.[68] Three other

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9780199544561-e-31 [accessed 17 September 2016]; See also Scott Nixon, 'Carew's Response to Jonson and Donne', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 39 (1999), 89-109.

[65] Bod. MS Montagu d.1, fols 30^{r}-31^{r} (*CELM*, StW 1411).

[66] Morgan MA 420 (St. Paul's Cathedral vol. 1, p. 59; *CELM*, StW 1432).

[67] See 'Ad Clarissimus Dominum Ioannem Cirenbergium, Sacrae Antiquitatis Assertorem celeberrimum', CCC MS 325, fols 18^{v}-19^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 1386), first published in University of Oxford, *Ad magnificum et spectatissimum virum Dominum Iohannem Cirenbergium* (Oxford: John Lichfield, 1631), sigs A4^{r}-B1^{r}; 'Caroli et Mariae Epitaphium', CCC MS 325, fols 21^{r}-22^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 1416), printed in University of Oxford, *Epithalamia Oxoniensia* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1625); sigs B1^{r}-B3^{r}; 'In obitum Sauilij Mathematici', CCC MS 325, fols 12^{v}-13^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 1449), printed in University of Oxford, *Ultima linea Savili* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1622), sig. D2^{v}; 'In Reditum Charoli Principis ex Hispania', CCC MS 325, fols 15^{r}-16^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 1454), printed in University of Oxford, *Carolus redux* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1623), sgs E3^{v}-E4^{r}; 'Tergemino Sponsus muniuit Sceptra Leone', CCC MS 325, fol. 22^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 1467), printed in *Epithalamia Oxoniensia*, sig. B3^{r}.

[68] The Corpus MS shows that Strode translated Corbett's 'On the Birth of Prince Charles' (*CELM*, CoR 511-12) from English into Latin. See CCC MS 325, fols 24^{r}-25^{v} (*CELM*, CoR 512), and University of Oxford, *Britanniae natalis* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1630), sigs. K4^{r-v}. Another Latin text celebrating the birth of prince Charles beginning 'Magne Puer, qui mostratum circumspicis Orbem' is copied next to an English translation in the Corpus MS, to which Strode adds the note 'For Dr Leonard Hutton' (CCC MS 325, fols 24^{v}-25^{r}; *CELM*, *StW 1459). Hutten (1556/7-1632) was a member of Christ Church and Corbett's father in law (see Peter Sherlock, 'Hutten, Leonard (1556/7-1632)', *ODNB*). The English version of the poem is attributed to Corbett in the *CELM* (CoR 758-59). In *Britanniae natalis*, the Latin translation is published as Hutton's (sig. K4^{r}). The Corpus MS contains a further Latin verse written for the same occasion, 'Natalitium principis Caroli' (CCC MS 325, fol. 28^{v}; *CELM*, *StW 1461). This poem was attributed to Valentine Sotherton (*d.*1642), a member of Christ Church, in *Britanniae natalis* (sig. I4^{v}). For more on Sotherton, see 'Sotherton, Valentine (CCEd Person ID 17080)', *The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1450-1835* http://www.theclergydatabse.org.uk, [accessed 17 June 2015].

instances are Latin elegies and epitaphs contributed by Strode to a printed mourning book commemorating Sir Rowland Cotton (1581-1634).[69]

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This thesis uses the individual case study of Strode as a means to explore wider methodological questions about manuscript circulation, textual transmission, authorship, and reception. As an individual case study there are aspects to studying Strode's poetry that are not true for other poets. As such, Strode cannot be used to establish a new paradigm for understanding manuscript culture. Indeed, one of this study's central arguments is that manuscript publication is so contextually specific as to require evidence to generate methodology rather than the application of a general methodology to evidence. Even so, the case study of Strode can inform and contribute to existing scholarship in the field of manuscript studies, and benefit researchers working with different poets. The rare combination of the specificity and comprehensiveness of Strode's textual record enables us to scrutinize key assumptions about manuscript culture, bibliographic and editorial methodologies. In this way, my use of Strode as a case study can be seen as analogous to the branch of historiography known as 'Microhistory'. Michael Johnston's introduction to an edited collection on the fifteenth-century manuscript compiler and scribe Robert Thornton (*fl.* 1418-1456) dwells on the implications of such an approach.[70] Giovanni Levi, a historian in this field, describes the 'unifying principles of all microhistorical research' as 'the belief that microscopic observation will reveal factors previously unobserved [...] [p]henomena previously considered to be sufficiently described and understood assume completely knew meanings by altering the scale of observation'.[71] Carlo Ginzburg – another microhistorian – argues that 'a close-up look permits us to grasp what eludes a comprehensive viewing, and vice versa'.[72] This thesis does not aspire to write a microhistorical study from Strode's perspective, but hopes that the same attitude of approaching an overlooked case study in great detail, can help to unsettle some of the assumptions inherent in established paradigms. Nor am I suggesting that manuscript studies should descend into highly specialized, fragmented areas of research interest, but that the field itself would benefit from a case study that allows us to refine our methodologies.

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[69] See CCC MS 325, fol. 36^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 1426); fol. 36^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 1456); fol. 37^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 1451). These texts appear in Edward Heigham, ed., *Parentalia spectatissimo Rolando Cottono* (London: A[ugustine] M[atthews], 1635), sigs B3^{v}, B3^{v}-B4^{r}, B3^{v}.

[70] Michael Johnston, 'Introduction: The Cheese and the Worms and Robert Thornton', in *Robert Thornton and his Books: Essays on the Lincoln and London Manuscripts*, ed. by Susanna Fein and Michael Johnston (York: York Medieval Press, 2014), pp. 1-13 (p. 1). See also Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer, 'Current Trends in the History of Reading', in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, ed. by Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 1-23 (p. 4).

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[71] Giovanni Levi, 'On Microhistory', in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. by Peter Burke (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), pp. 93-119 (pp. 101-102). Cited in Johnston, 'Introduction', p. 1.

[72] Carlo Ginzburg, 'Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It', trans. by. J. Tedeschi and A.C. Tedeschi, *Critical Inquiry*, 20 (1993), 10-35 (p. 26). Cited in Johnston, 'Introduction', p. 2.

Chapter 1

Strode's Biographical and Literary Contexts

Strode occupied a number of prominent positions within the religious, political, and educational institutions of early modern England. This chapter describes those contexts and explores their relationship to Strode's writing life. It builds on existing scholarship on Strode's biography in Anthony Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*, John Prince's *The Worthies of Devon* and Forey's *ODNB* entry, to offer the most extensive account of Strode's life to date.[1] As the first sustained study of Strode in many decades, a discussion of Strode's biography has obvious importance in providing answers to basic questions about the facts of his life. But an account of Strode's life is also important for allowing us to map his writing life across a series of regions, institutions, social circles, and patronage relationships. This chapter argues that although Strode's life does not itself consistently offer exhaustive interpretative frameworks for his verse, it can provide useful insights into how that verse was shaped and occasioned by the contexts in which Strode lived and worked.

1.1 Devon

The precise date of Strode's birth is unknown, but since he signed his age as 19 years old in 1621 upon matriculating at Oxford, it would have been in or around 1601/2.[2] Baptized at Shaugh Prior, a village near Plymouth, Strode was one of three children born to Philip Strode (*d.*1605) and Wilmot Strode (neé Houghton; *d.* after

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[1] Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses, an exact history of all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford*, 4 vols (London: F.C. and J. Rivington, Lackington, et al., 1813-1820), III, pp. 151-53; John Prince, *Danmonii Orientales Illustres; or, the worthies of Devon* (London: printed for Rees and Curtis, Plymouth; Edward Upham, Exeter; and Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, London 1810), pp. 730-36; Forey, 'Strode, William (1601?-1645)', *ODNB*.

[2] Oxford University Archives, S.P.39, Register Ac., fol. 59^{r} (*CELM*, StW 1488).

1620), originally of Houghton Tower, Lancashire.[3] Strode's older sister Mary (the addressee of one of Strode's verse letters) was baptized in 1599, and his brother Philip was baptized in 1603.[4]

Details of Strode's early life are scant. We know that his father died within two years of his baptism, and that his mother remarried soon afterwards to one William Bonde of Holewood, Cornwall.[5] What happened to Strode at this point is unclear, but in *The Worthies of Devon* John Prince states that he came into the guardianship of his relatives in Devon. 'His relations', Prince notes, 'observing in him a great vivacity of parts, and a genius inclining him to books and learning kept him close at school in the country'.[6] Which 'relations' these were is unclear, but Forey suggests that it was Strode's father's first cousin, Sir William Strode (1562-1637) of Newnham.[7] Sir William, the eldest son of Richard Strode (*d.*1581), a wealthy landowner and MP, would have been financially well equipped to cater for Strode's upbringing and education. The Strodes were important political figures in the borough of Plymouth, which neighboured the family seat of Newnham, and had been since 1437. Indeed, their significance registers in the architecture of St Mary's Church, Plympton, which includes a number of monuments to the family. But Sir William rose to an even greater prominence from 1597, after becoming the first of his family to become a Member of Parliament.[8] He was knighted in the next year, and continued to sit in the next seven parliaments, besides serving as recorder for Plymouth in 1614, a magistrate and deputy lieutenant.[9]

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[3] *The Visitation of the County of Devon: Comprising the Heralds' Visitations of 1531, 1564 and 1620*, ed. by J. L. Vivian (Exeter: for the author by Henry. S. Eland, 1895), p. 718.

[4] Ibid. For the verse letter, see 'To his Sister' (*CELM*, StW 1129-37).

[5] Vivian, p. 42.

[6] Prince, *Danmonii Orientales Illustres*, p. 731.

[7] Forey, 'Strode, William', *ODNB*.

[8] For Sir William's biography, see John Ferris, 'Strode, Sir William (1562-1637)', *ODNB*. For more information on the legal, political and administrative contexts of the Devon in which Strode was raised, see Mary Wolffe, *Gentry Leaders in Peace and War: The Gentry Governors of Devon in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1997). See also Mark Stoyle, *Loyalty and Locality: Popular Allegiance in Devon During the English Civil War* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994).

If Strode was raised by Sir William, he would have spent his childhood at the family's estate, now known as 'Old Newnham', near Plympton.[10] There he would have been raised alongside Sir William's ten children. Strode evidently did retain an enduring connection with the children of Sir William, because the final pages of the Corpus manuscript witness some early drafts for a funerary epitaph on Ursula (*d*. 1635), Sir William's third daughter.[11] Two years later, when Sir William died, Strode wrote epitaphs commemorating him, as well as his first wife Marie (neé Southcoute; *d*.1618) and second wife Denys (neé Glanville; *d*. 1635).[12] The monument still stands in St Mary's Church, Plympton, and depicts Sir William flanked by Marie and Denys, above a sculpted relief of Sir William's ten children (Figure 1.1). Strode's work on the monument would have necessitated collaboration with his cousin and namesake William (*bap*.1594, *d*.1645). William, the second son of Sir William was an MP and one of the Five Members whom Charles I attempted to impeach for high treason in 1642.[13] At Sir William's feet lies an inscription that tells us that his son placed the monument, addressed to the memory of his father, mother, and his father's second wife. Directly above the figures of Sir William, Marie and Denys, are the English funerary epitaphs by Strode himself, which offer high, but measured praise, describing Sir William as

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[9] Ferris, 'Strode, Sir William', *ODNB*.

[10] For more on Old Newnham, see Nikolaus Pevsner and Bridget Cherry, *The Buildings of England: Devon* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 582-84.

[11] Ferris, 'Strode, Sir William', *ODNB*. See 'On Ursula Chichester', CCC MS 325, fol. 131^r (*CELM*, StW 142). Ursula married Sir John Chichester (1598-1669), MP. Strode's lines were not, however, included in the monument to Ursula which stands to this day in Bishops Tawton Church, Devon. See Paul Hunneyball, 'Chichester, John (1598-1669), of Hall, Bishops Tawton, Devon', *The History of Parliament Online* http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/chichester-john-1598-1669 [accessed 21 January 2016].

[12] See *CELM*, *StW 122.

[13] C.H. Firth, 'Strode, William (*bap*. 1594, *d*.1645)', rev. L.J. Reeve, *ODNB*.

> Religions Champion
> His country's staff, Right's bold distributer,
> His neighbour's guard, the poore man's almoner.[14]

In his epitaph, Strode may have had in mind Sir William's criticism of landlords' excessive rents during a period of economic depression in Plymouth during the 1620s.[15] And when he describes Sir William as 'His Neighbours Guard', Strode may have remembered Sir William's care for the local area's struggling economy when faced with increasing pressure to support further taxation: 'I would help the king and yet look to the country'.[16] But however accurate, such praise is simultaneously highly surprising coming from Strode himself. It is important to note that, by the time Sir William died in 1637, Strode's professional and clerical duties would have considerably estranged him, at least in political terms, from the rest of his family in Devon. Sir William was hostile to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, a committed Calvinist who supported the militant puritan preacher Samuel Hieron (*bap*. 1572, *d*. 1617) as his advocate and by helping him to establish a weekly lecture at Modbury, Devon.[17] In stark contrast, Strode was the recipient of Laudian patronage, and actively criticized such preachers in his popular ballad of *c*. 1634-5, 'The Townes new teacher' (*CELM*, StW 1178-88). Sir William showed hostility towards Charles I's controversial ship money taxation,[18] whereas Strode praised the results of this in his panegyric 'On his Majesties Fleete' (*CELM*, StW 502-05).[19] It is therefore not surprising that Sir William's biographer attributes the epitaph not to

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[14] Text cited from memorial to Sir William Strode, St Mary's Church, Plympton. See also CCC MS 325, fol. 40^r (*CELM*, *StW 122).

[15] Ferris, 'Strode, Sir William', *ODNB*.

[16] Wallace Notestein, Francis Helen Relf, and Hartley Simpson, eds., *Commons Debates, 1621*, 7 vols (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1935), II, p. 90.

[17] Ferris, 'Strode, Sir William'. See also Vivienne Larminie, 'Hieron, Samuel (*bap*. 1572, *d*. 1617)', *ODNB*.

[18] Ferris, 'Strode, Sir William' *ODNB*.

[19] For more on 'The Townes new teacher' and 'On his Majesties Fleete', see Section 1.6, '"But in a Sense Ambiguous": poetry, playwriting and politics, 1635-1636'.

Strode the poet and public orator who was employed to publically and floridly praise the king, but to William Strode, the son of Sir William.[20]

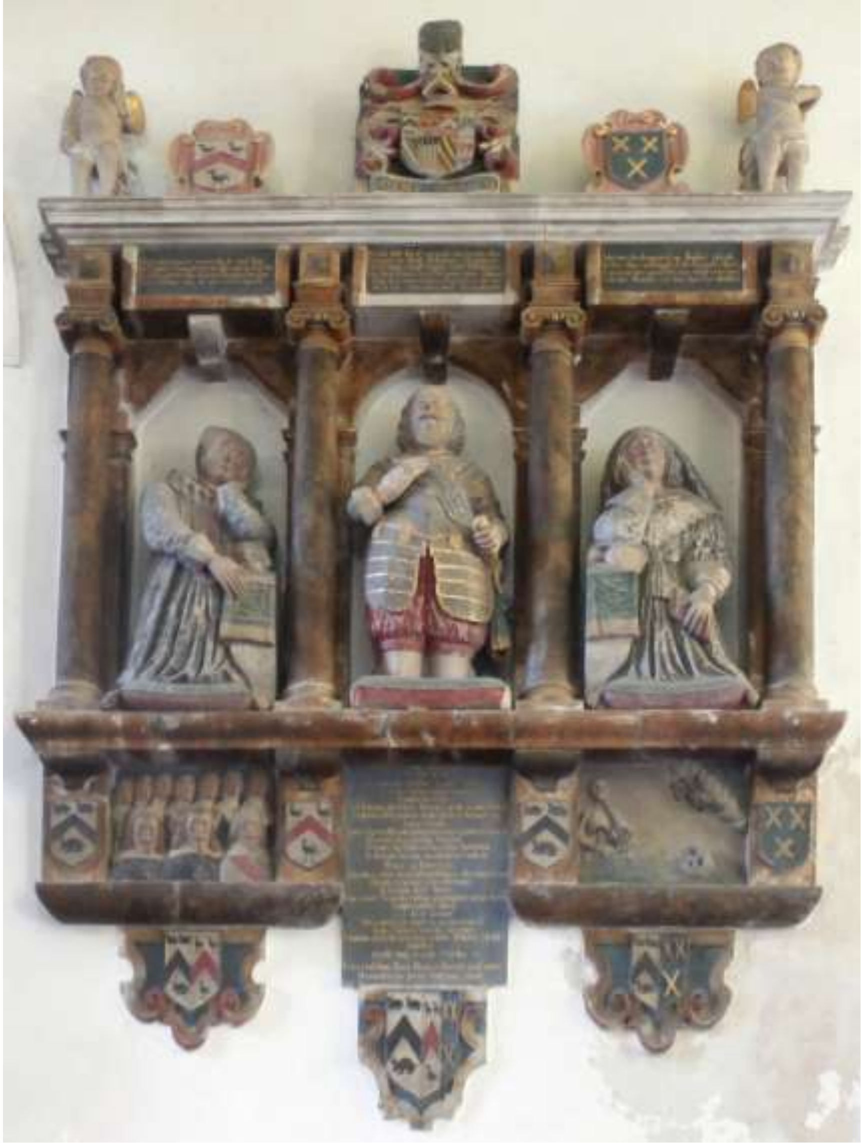

Figure 1.1 Memorial to Sir William Strode and his family in St Mary's Church, Plympton

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[20] Ferris, 'Strode, Sir William'.

1.2 Westminster School

Prince claims that Strode was educated in Devon, ‘close [...] in the country for some years’ until his relatives ‘found an opportunity of sending him to the college-school at Westminster’.[21] The required standard for all pupils entering Westminster was simple. The statutes (dating back to the school’s 1560 re-founding under Elizabeth I) dictated that none could enter the school before the age of seven years old, an+ d before they had ‘thoroughly learnt by heart at least the eight parts of speech and can know how to write at least moderately well’.[22] Strode must have been an impressive student, because he was elected as a King’s Scholar, one of forty annual recipients who won free education, housing, and meals. Success depended on the candidates’ ‘teachableness, the goodness of their disposition, their learning, good behaviour and poverty’.[23] The election exam required Strode to perform before a collection of senior figures:

> The Dean of our college of Westminster, the Dean of Christ Church, Oxford and the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, or their deputies. These three shall join with themselves three other examiners, each a master of arts of his own college, and the Schoolmaster of Westminster School.[24]

Strode would have been selected as one of ‘the best learned of [Westminster’s] scholars of the highest form’, and would have been ‘set themes by the Examiners’, to which he would respond ‘in verse or prose, by heart or in writing, his sentiments on the themes set’.[25] In addition, the examination demanded rigorous testing of the candidates' 'proficiency in grammar, the humanities, and writing'.[26] Depending on how consistently the school imposed the condition of 'poverty', the fact that Strode qualified for the scholarship possibly reveals something of his financial situation at the time.[27] The statutes claim that 'none shall be chosen into this number who is already heir, or will be heir on his father's death, to an inheritance of more than £10' per year'.[28]

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[21] Prince, *Danmonii Orientales Illustres*, p. 731.

[22] The statutes are printed and translated from Latin in *Educational Charters and Documents, 598 to 1909*, ed. by Arthur F. Leach (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), pp. 497-526 (p. 501).

[23] Ibid., p. 499.

[24] Ibid. At the time, the Dean of Christ Church was William Goodwin (1555/6-1620) and the Master of Trinity College was John Richardson (*d*. 1625). For a list of dignitaries involved in the election examination see *A List of the Scholars of St. Peter’s College, Westminster*, comp. by Joseph Welch (London: J. Nichols, 1852), pp. 1-14.

[25] *Educational Charters*, p. 501.

The daily routine and curriculum of Westminster can be pieced together from the school statutes, as well as a document in the National Archives, Kew, possibly copied out by William Laud as a record of his time as a Prebendary of Westminster between 1610 and 1611. Titled 'This course was in my time taken by the Schoolm*aste*r of West*minster* spec*ifically* for those of the 6. & 7. formes, wherein I spent my time there', the manuscript probably does not reflect Laud's own experiences, but those of an informant who had himself attended the school.[29] The school day, which ran from five o'clock in the morning until eight o'clock in the evening, was punctuated by religious worship, grammatical instruction, and exercises in the composition and translation of texts between the Latin, Greek, and English languages. The first form studied 'Ludovico Vives, Corderius's Dialogues, or Boys' Talkes' and Cato', while the second studied 'Sacred Dialogues, Erasmus' Conversations' and 'Terence or Aesop's Fables'.[30] The third form studied 'Sturmius' Select Epistles of Cicero', Terence and Sallust. In the fourth form, they studied Terence, Sallust and Greek grammar, as well as Ovid's *Tristia*, Cicero's *De*

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[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., p. 499.

[28] Ibid., p. 501.

[29] SP 16/181, fols 72^{r}-73^{v}. T.M. Baldwin explains that the account could not possibly describe Laud's own experiences, because at the time it describes, Laud was based in Canterbury. See Baldwin, *Shakspere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke*, 2 vols (Urbana, IL: Illinois University Press, 1944), I, p. 359. Baldwin provides an abbreviated transcription of the document (I, pp. 359-60).

[30] *Educational Charters*, p. 511.

Officiis and ‘Lucian’s Dialogues in Greek’; in the fifth, Justinian, Cicero’s *Amicitia*, and Isocrates, besides Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, or Plutarch; and in the final two forms, Cæsar’s *Commentaries*, Livy, Demosthenes, Homer and Virgil, Hebrew Grammar and the Psalms in Greek and Latin. These texts would be read to the boys by the Schoolmaster or Usher, and the boys were expected to ‘gather the flowers, phrases or idioms, antitheses, epithets, synonyms, proverbs, similes, comparisons, stories, descriptions of seasons, places, persons, fables, sayings, figures of speech, apothegms’. This practice of reading with a mind to extract, and potentially re-use texts in the boys’ own compositions, is one that would have begun the habit of keeping a commonplace book, or even a verse miscellany. It almost certainly influenced Strode’s own creative practices, which he would later describe in two verse epistles as a ‘store house’ and ‘veine of Poetry’, from which he gathered appropriate content.[31]

The relationship between Strode’s Westminster education and his verse is difficult to gauge, but it is possible that some of his poems date from his time at Westminster. Since Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* was a set text for study and translation at Westminster, it may be that Strode’s own translation of Ajax’s debate from Achilles was completed as a schoolboy.[32] It is clear, however, that the Westminster curriculum and culture of learning were conducive to the formation of poetic talent. When Strode first arrived at Westminster in around 1607/8, George Herbert would have just left the school to take up a place at Trinity College, Cambridge. At around the same time, Henry King would have left for Christ Church. Other poets who attended the school include William Alabaster, William Cartwright, Richard Corbett, Giles Fletcher, Ben Jonson, Martin Lluellyn, Nicholas Oldisworth, and Andrew Marvell. Encouragement of English poetic composition at Westminster School would later be strengthened under Lambert Osbaldeston, headmaster between 1622-1638.[33]

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[31] Bod. MS Eng. poet.e.97, p. 137 (‘To Sir Edmund Ling’; *CELM*, StW 1153); pp. 138-39, 138 (‘A Newyeares-gift’; *CELM*, StW 264).

[32] CCC MS 325, fols 52^r-58^r (*CELM*, *StW 1206). Strode’s other translation from Latin, ‘The Description of Ætna out of Claudian’ (*CELM*, StW 58-59) may also date to his Westminster years. However, his ‘Translation of the Nightingale out of Strada’ (*CELM*, StW 1189-1205) could date no earlier than 1617, the year in which Famianus Strada’s *Prolusiones* were first printed. See *Famiani Stradae romani e societate Iesu prolusiones academicae* (Rome: Iacobum Mascardum, 1617).

In 1617, Strode took a second scholarship examination, this time for a place as a King's Scholar at Christ Church, Oxford, or Trinity College, Cambridge. After examinations in Latin, Greek and oratorical performs, Strode as elected by William Goodwin, then Dean of Christ Church, to a scholarship at the institution in which Strode would go on to spend the majority of his adult life.

1.3 Christ Church, 1617-1628

Little is known about Strode's education at Christ Church during the 1620s. We do not know, for example, who his tutors were, or how his studies progressed. But it is reasonable to assume that, as a King's Scholar from Westminster, he was an impressive student. During the 1620s, he earned two degrees from Christ Church, graduating Bachelor of Arts in 1621 and Master of Arts in 1624.[34]

Christ Church poets saw themselves as part of a poetic tradition fostered by the college from the sixteenth century. Richard Corbett's 'Iter Boreale' (*CELM*, CoR 279-315), an account of Corbett's journey with three other Christ Church men to the Midlands, is a perfect illustration of this continuity between sixteenth-, and seventeenth-century Oxford.[35] Corbett's Oxonian rewriting of Horace's journey to Brundisium (*Satires* I.V) was not without precedent in Christ Church. Richard Eedes and William Gager, two Christ Church poets who wrote primarily in Latin during the sixteenth century, had scribally published similar texts, 'Iter Boreale' and 'Iter Australe'.[36] Poetry – as well as drama – was thus a key tool for constructing and consolidating a corporate ethos in early modern Christ Church.

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[33] Raymond A. Anselment, 'The Oxford University Poets and Caroline Panegyric', *John Donne Journal*, 3 (1984), 181-201 (p. 185).

[34] For an overview of the humanities degrees in early modern Oxford, see Mordechai Feingold, 'The Humanities', in *The History of the University of Oxford, Vol. IV*: *Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. by Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 211-359.

Strode was joining a pre-existing literary community, and his participation in this culture can be identified almost immediately after his arrival, when, on 16 February 1617, he acted in Robert Burton's comedy *Philosophaster* (1606; revised 1616).[37] Burton's comedy is a topical satire on seventeenth-century academic culture, in the manner of the *Parnassus Plays*. Set in Osuna, Spain, the play describes the activities of a group of philosophasters (pseudo-philosophers) at a recently established university. They rob, cuckold and abuse members of the town until their immorality is detected by the genuine scholars Polumathes and Philobiblos, and reported to the Duke of Osuna. By the end of the play the philosophasters are punished and the university reformed. An extant manuscript copy of the play in Burton's hand (Cambridge, MA, Harvard Theatre Collection MS Thr. 10) records that the play was 'Acted on Shrouemonday night 1617. Feb. 16', beginning at 'about .5 at nyght and ended at eight'.[38] Burton's manuscript includes details about the roles played by Strode and other members of Christ Church. Strode, who is described as 'Scholler of the house', played the role of Tarentilla.

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[35] Andrew McRae suggests that the poem's popularity 'may be attributed largely to the way that it affirms the values of Corbett's circle, through its satiric excursions and prevailing mood of jocular conviviality'. See McRae, *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 172.

[36] See Richard Eedes and George Peele, *Oxford Poetry by Richard Eedes and George Peele*, ed. by Dana Sutton (New York: Garland, 1995).

[37] For an edition and translation see Robert Burton, *Philosophaster*, ed. and trans. by Connie Mcquillen (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1993).

[38] See Burton, *Philosophaster*, p. 200, for a transcription.

Other members who performed that night included the Christ Church poets George Morley, Thomas Goffe, and Lambert Osbaldeston, later the headmaster of Westminster. Strode's part of Tarentilla possibly provides some clues about his appearance at this time. Tarentilla, daughter of the bawd Staphilla, is instructed by her mother to ensnare the young and wayward academics of Osuna. Amphimacer, one of the philosophasters who attempts to woo Tarentilla with bad love poetry describes her appearance as one that 'surpass[es] the image of feminine women' (2.6. 79). Strode may have been selected for the role because of a particularly diminutive and youthful appearance.

To have acted in Burton's play, Strode must have demonstrated competence in Latin and rhetorical performance. Strode's Latin abilities are suggested by his first appearance in print in the following year, for a funerary epitaph on the death of Queen Anne in *Acadamiae Oxoniensis Funebria Sacra* (1619), a printed book of epitaphs published by the University of Oxford.[39] Publishing in the commemorative volumes of Oxford and Cambridge University (which by 1625 had become 'a firm habit [...] to celebrate major events of joy or sorrow in the royal family'), would have brought advantages to Strode.[40] As Raphael Falco observes, 'it was both an honour for young poets and an opportunity for them to advertise themselves – not as poets necessarily but as members of an elite group of putative mourners, which gave them visibility on the patronage market'.[41] Strode's precise position within the print book tells us something of his status at the time. Alberta Turner explains that in such collections 'we find a definite attempt to choose at least some of the authors, to explain their importance in full signatures, and to arrange them in a sequence of academic and social rank'.[42] Strode's relatively junior status is reflected by his position in the anthology, towards the central sections. By contrast, senior figures like the Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses and Regius Professors occupy more prominent positions in the outer pages. Appearing in this volume is an indication of Strode's emerging literary reputation; less than two years into his enrolment at Christ Church and before even taking a degree, Strode was contributing to volumes of poetry that commemorated events of national importance.[43]

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[39] University of Oxford, *Academiae Oxoniensis funebria sacra* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1619), sig. N2^{r}.

[40] Alberta T. Turner, 'Milton and the Convention of the Academic Miscellanies', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 5 (1975), 86-93 (p. 86).

[41] Raphael Falco, *Conceived Presences: Literary Genealogy in Renaissance England* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), p. 189.

Strode presumably wrote and circulated poems in manuscript before his arrival at Christ Church. However, his entry into the manuscript record cannot be verified until 1622, with a funerary elegy concerning the death of one James Van Otten (1568-1622), a Belgian surgeon employed by the university.[44] There is no reason to suspect that this poem did not circulate from its likely date of composition in March, 1622, but none of the three witnesses to it are dated earlier than 1628.[45] To identify the earliest datable artefact containing Strode's poems we instead need to look at the verse miscellany compiled by the Christ Church poet George Morley (London, Westminster Abbey MS 41; Morley MS; *CELM*, StW Δ 27). The Morley MS, which can be dated from the early 1620s, also contains a copy of Strode's 1622 elegy on John Dawson, the butler of Christ Church (*CELM*, CoR 472-98).[46] In total the Morley MS contains fourteen poems by Strode, showing that a number of his poems had entered circulation by the early 1620s.[47]

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[42] Turner, 'Milton and the Convention of the Academic Miscellanies', p. 87.

[43] For more on the university commemorative volumes, see Anselment, 'The Oxford University Poets and Caroline Panegyric', and James Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry in the English Civil Wars: The Drawn Sword* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), Chapter 1.

[44] 'On Mr James Van Otten's death. March 1°' (*CELM*, StW 507-09). Van Otten matriculated on 6 April 1621. See 'Oade-Oxwick' in *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1700*, ed. by Joseph Foster (Oxford: University of Oxford, 1891) *British History Online* *http://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714/pp1084-1103* [accessed 3 October 2015].

[45] See BL Add. MS 30982, fols 24^{r}, 70^{v}-71^{r} (*CELM*, StW 507, 508) and Rosenbach MS 239/27, pp. 331-332 (*CELM*, StW 509).

[46] London, Westminster Abbey, MS 41, fol. 54^{v} (*CELM*, CoR 481). Cf. 'Introduction', Section 1, n. 10. For the date of the Morley MS, see Hobbs, *Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, p. 88.

Strode's most prolific period as a manuscript-publishing poet dates from this time, until at least May 1633. For ease of reference it is helpful to refer to the poems from this period as Group I, and those after as Group II.[48] As Chapter 2 explains in greater detail, these periods can be defined by examining the patterns of distribution between the Corpus MS and the miscellanies compiled by Strode's most active collectors, particularly Daniel Leare. Group I includes all of Strode's most widely circulated lyrics, such as 'Song' ('I saw faire Cloris walke alone'; *CELM*, StW 747-834.5) and 'Song' ('Keepe on your maske, yea hide your eye'; *CELM*, StW 835-67.7). The poems of Group I comprises a number of different genres; love lyrics, religious verse, funerary elegies and epitaphs, translations from Latin, verse letters, pastoral songs and anti-puritan satires. Such generic diversity attests to the fact that Strode wrote for an audience who were accustomed to reading miscellaneous assemblies of texts. Indeed, miscellaneity was a defining model of Strode's poetic output. As a result, it can be difficult to articulate a critical response to Strode's verse, which frustrates attempts to identify in it, what T.S. Eliot offered as a defining feature of 'major' poetry, a 'continuous conscious *purpose*'.[49] This thesis argues that an appropriate critical response to Strode's poems can instead be found by returning to the socio-literary contexts and circumstances from which these poems emerged. A reading of the circumstances, individuals, and institutions that prompted Strode's writing does not reveal the unfolding of a poetic career striving towards any single ambition, but instead a model of authorship rooted in a set of specific social contexts and events. Strode's ideal of creativity, therefore, is analogous to the gaze of the speaker of his 'Song' ('As I out of a Casement sent'; *CELM*, StW 726-40); as a poet, Strode was '[u]pon noe certaine obiect bent, but only what occasion brought'.[50] While it may be considered an oversimplification to reduce all of Strode's poems to a set of specific occasions – historicism taken to extreme – recognizing the tightly occasional nature of Strode's verse is key to approaching it on its own terms, and in its own cultural and material contexts.

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[47] For these poems, see *CELM*, StW Δ 27 http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/repositories/westminster-abbey.html#westminster-abbey_id724295 [accessed 3 October 2015].
[48] Forey, 'A Critical Edition', pp. lx-lxv.
[49] T.S. Eliot, 'What is Minor Poetry?', *Sewanee Review*, 54 (1946), 1-18 (p. 10).

For these contexts we need to look to the socio-literary environment of Christ Church. Strode's poems not only circulated within this setting, but was also stimulated by university friendships, events, and the peer-to-peer bonding fostered by the college environment. Strode collaborated with other Christ Church poets, such as Richard Corbett and Jeramiel Terrent, and composed poems on behalf of members of the college, including one Peter Apsley.[51] He wrote elegies on members of the university, ranging from senior figures like the President of Magdalen College, to undergraduates.[52] Within this period, Strode's poetry was some of the most collectable at Christ Church. Based on the numbers of extant witnesses collected by the *CELM*, we can see that he was both more prolific and more widely circulated than other poets from within the Christ Church scribal community.

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[50] CCC MS 325, fols 63^{v}-64^{r}, 63^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 726).

[51] See 'On Faireford windores' (*CELM*, StW 483-501) and Corbett's 'Upon Faireford Windowes' (*CELM*, CoR 687-712). Strode's notes in the Corpus MS tell us that 'On a Locke burnt by the owner' (*CELM*, StW 469-70) was written for Peter Apsley. See CCC, MS 325, fol. 129^{r-v} (*CELM*, *StW 469). Apsley matriculated at Christ Church in 1621. See 'Appleyard-Azard', in *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714*, ed. by Foster *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714/pp29-50 [accessed 3 October 2015].

[52] See 'On the death of doctor Langton, President of Maudlin Colledg' (*CELM*, StW 549-52) and 'On Dr Lanctons death' (*CELM*, StW 478-82). Strode also wrote two poems commemorating the death of Mary Prideaux, daughter of John Prideaux, Rector of Exeter College. See 'On Mistress Mary Prideaux dying younge' (*CELM*, StW 511-25) and 'On the death of Mistress Mary Prideaux' (*CELM*, StW 555-64). For a recent discussion of these texts, see Forey, 'Elegies on the children of Dr John Prideaux, 1624-5', *Seventeenth Century*, 30 (2015), 301-16. Strode wrote an elegy concerning the death of one Sir John Portman (*d*. 1623), who was a member of Wadham College. See 'On the death of the young Baronet Portman, dying of an Impostume in the head' (*CELM*, StW 597-604); 'Popham-Price', in *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714*, ed. by Foster *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714/pp1181-1208 [accessed 3 October 2015].

However, Strode's circulation does not seem to have translated into any clearly defined poetic reputation. That is, I have encountered no references dating to this period of Strode being recognized as a highly esteemed poet at Christ Church, other than in the large numbers of manuscript witnesses to individual poems.

1.4 Ordination and promotion

In 1628 Strode was given a series of promotions in his academic and clerical careers. In 1628 he was ordained as a priest at St Giles Church, Oxford, and he became proctor of the university in the same year, which gave him responsibilities for enforcing discipline and university statutes.[53] An entry in the diary of Thomas Crosfield (1602-1663), fellow of Queens College, implies that Strode had a keen sense of the privileges his promotions brought him. On 7 March 1630 Crosfield notes that 'procto*u*r Stroud [...] of Ch. Ch. mist his course for preaching pr*e*tending his place to privilidge him, beca*u*se he is next to Doctors by y^{e} title of Proctor'.[54]

It was not long until Strode was able to enjoy yet another elevation in his status, when he was promoted to the rank of Public Orator. This role required Strode to deliver orations at university ceremonies and to address royals and dignitaries. That Strode received the promotion is another testament to his reputation for skilled rhetorical performance and eloquence. As Helen Wilcox has observed of George Herbert's parallel role at Cambridge University, the role of Public Orator attested to 'excellent scholarship, mastery of the classical languages, and widespread literary knowledge'.[55] Little evidence survives, however, of Strode's oratorical performances, and we know of only a few occasions on which he delivered orations;

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[53] Oxford University Archives, Dioc.e.13, p. 22 (*CELM*, StW 1495).

[54] Thomas Crosfield, *The Diary of Thomas Crosfield*, ed. by Frederick S. Boas (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935), p. 41.

[55] Helen Wilcox, 'Herbert's "Enchanting Language": The Poetry of a Cambridge Orator', *George Herbert Journal*, 27 (2003/4), 53-66 (p. 55).

in August 1629 at the Bodleian Library before Charles I and Henrietta Maria; in 1635 before the court at Woodstock, and in 1636 at Christ Church gate to welcome Charles I and his entourage to the city; and at the funeral of the astronomer John Bainbridge (1582-1643).[56] Shortly before the completion of this thesis I found a series of manuscripts in the National Archives, Kew, in Strode's hand, which relate to this period of his career. In SP 16/296, fol. 145^{r-v}, I have identified an autograph copy of Strode's 1635 Woodstock oration. The identification of Strode's hand is without question, with every letterform corresponding to the copious amounts of known examples of Strode's hand, as demonstrated in Appendix 1.1-2.[57]

I have also identified a further two manuscripts in Strode's hand, dating to his time as Public Orator. One is a letter sent by Strode on behalf of the students of Christ Church to Sir Dudley Carleton on 7 January 1629, thanking him for his negotiations in affairs relating to the election of the university proctor.[58] The second was written by Strode on behalf of Christ Church to William Laud on 9 January in the same year, thanking him for his involvement in the establishment of new statutes respecting the election of proctors.[59] These letters should now be added to the only recorded autograph letter in the *CELM*, a formal letter sent by Strode to thank Sir Thomas Roe for his gift to the Bodleian Library of a fifteenth-century copy of the synodal epistles of the Council of Basel.[60] Collectively, these letters attest to another facet of Strode's duties as Public Orator: penmanship. As H.R. Woudhuysen notes, '[t]here was a particular connection between the post of

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[56] *CELM*, StW 1468-76.

[57] For images of SP 16/296, fol. 145^{r-v}, see Appendix 1, Figure 1.

[58] SP 16/131/fol. 131^{r-v}. For images of the manuscript, see Appendix 1, Figure 2.

[59] SP 16/131, fol. 132^{r-v}. For images of the manuscript, see Appendix 1, Figure 2.

[60] SP 16/186, fol. 51^{r-v}. The only other examples of Strode's letters survive in a booklet copied during the late seventeenth century by the antiquary Thomas Smith, which show Strode writing to Charles I, William Laud, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, Sir Dudley Carleton, Viscount Dorchester and others, between the 1630s and 1640s. See Bod. MS Smith 26, pp. 17-32 (*CELM*, StW 1484).

University Orator and the ability to write the fine italic hand favoured by the University'.[61] These newly discovered manuscripts, which can be compared with examples of Strode's hand in Appendix 1, attest to another way in which Strode was involved in the textual economies of Christ Church. The texts await translation and further discussion.

1.5 Chaplaincy to Richard Corbett

In 1628, Richard Corbett became Bishop of Oxford, and Strode followed him as chaplain. As a chaplain, Strode would have performed a variety of roles, ranging from secretarial work to assisting at ordinations, at visitations and in preaching. For example, Strode would have aided Corbett in his consecration of Lincoln College Chapel in 1631.[62] Initially, Strode would have remained in Oxford and would therefore have been able to continue circulating his own verse amongst Christ Church verse collectors. It was during this period (i.e. between 1628-1633) that Daniel Leare, Strode's distant relative and most prolific collector, was able to transcribe copies of Strode's poems directly from the Corpus MS (see Section 3.2, 'The Leare MS').

There is, in fact, evidence that Strode and Corbett's working relationship fostered poetic composition and collaboration. The Corpus MS contains some poems by Corbett in Strode's hand with the subscription 'R: Ox:', together with Strode's Latin translations presented as a kind of parallel-text edition, as if to emphasize the creative connection between bishop and chaplain. The first of these poems was written originally by Corbett in English to celebrate the birth of prince Charles in 1630, faced by Strode's Latin translation, signed 'Latin'd by WS'.[63] This is followed by a shorter poem on the same occasion (*CELM*, CoR 759), which Strode tells us was written for Corbett's father-in-law, Leonard Hutten (see Introduction, Section 5, n. 70). In the poem following this, Strode transcribed Corbett's poem addressed to his son upon his tenth birthday (*CELM*, CoR 560-83) in the Corpus MS, together with a facing page Latin translation and the subscriptions 'R: Ox'., and 'Latin'd by WS'. Corbett's poem circulated widely, surviving in a total of twenty-eight witnesses, with seven of these manuscripts copying the poem alongside Strode's Latin translation.[64] One of these manuscripts, a miscellany compiled by a New College student during the 1630s records the professional working relationship out of which these texts emerged by subscribing Strode's translation, 'W Strode his Chaplaine'.[65]

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[61] Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney*, p. 76. See also Alfred Fairbank and Bruce Dickins, *The Italic Hand in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge Bibliographical Society Monograph, 1962), p. 12.

[62] An account of the ceremony is transcribed in a volume titled 'Miscell: Divin: M:S', owned by Falconer Madan, but has since been lost (*CELM*, CoR 764.8). The manuscript was however, edited by Andrew Clark for the Oxford Historical Society. See *Collectanea: Fourth Series* (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1905), pp. 141-55. There is no mention of Strode in the account, but for a poem Strode wrote concerning Lincoln chapel, see CCC MS 325, fol. 18^{r}-^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 1466).

One other text by Strode dating to Corbett's tenure as Bishop of Oxford is a Latin verse in praise of William Laud, celebrating his election as Chancellor of the university (*CELM*, StW 1431-32). Strode's autograph copy survives in the Corpus MS, as well as in a contracted form sent in a letter by Corbett to Laud.[66] The letter contains puzzling evidence about the relationship between Corbett, Strode, and the workings of patronage networks. Corbett writes to Laud:

> Not longe after your L*o*rdships Election theis verses wer brought mee in honor of the Chancellor; sure the man had a good meaning that made them and i[s] rathr to bee comended for his nature then his Art. It is in your L*o*rdships

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[63] CCC MS 325, fols 23^{v} (*CELM*, CoR 512), 24^{r}-25^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 1460).

[64] See *CELM* CoR 560-583.5. For copies with Strode's translation, see *CELM* StW 1387-94.

[65] Bod. MS Rawl. poet.206, pp. 52-53 (*CELM*, StW 1392) .

[66] CCC, MS 325, fol. 35^{r-v} (*CELM*, *StW 1431).

> power wheather your self will read them or not, and as
> much in the same power wheather any else shall read them.
> For as yet they haue past no hands but mine owne, and ar
> Not in the memory scarss in the Conscience of the Author.[67]

As Christopher Burlinson has recently explained, it is difficult to tell precisely what is happening in this letter. Corbett's intentions in sending the letter to Laud are ambiguous – does he want the letter to benefit Strode, himself, or both? – and his attitudes towards Strode's poem are ambivalent. That is, he praises Strode's good intentions in composing the poem, but states that the poem is itself not of high quality. The most likely explanation is that Strode's letter is used by Corbett as a means to involve himself in the distribution of Laudian patronage. As Burlinson asks, '[b]y keeping his chaplain's name from Laud, is Corbett retaining part of the agency within that process of patronage, ensuring that Laud would have to seek his advice before offering advancement to his chaplain, or even finessing Strode's dedicatory poem into an opportunity for his own favour and advancement?'[68] Crucially, the letter tells us that the effects of Corbett and Strode's working relationship on the circulation of verse was not mono-directional; Corbett on this occasion transmitted Strode's verse, just as much as Strode by copying Corbett's poems into his Corpus manuscript may have acted as Corbett's disseminator.

This suggestion was first made by Mary Hobbs, and it is indeed plausible to imagine that in Oxford, Strode transmitted Corbett's verse much in the same way that Thomas Manne transmitted Henry King's whilst employed as King's chaplain.[69] But when Corbett was translated to the See of Norwich, and Strode followed him again as chaplain (along with another Oxford man, Thomas Lushington (1590-1661)), the evidence for Strode's agency as Corbett's disseminator becomes less secure.[70] Four poems by Corbett dating to his time in Norwich survive in the Corpus MS: an epitaph on his mother (*CELM*, CoR 56-58), 'For Trinity Sunday, an Anthymne' (*CELM*, CoR 225-26), and funerary elegies on the death of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden (*CELM*, CoR 186-202) and John Donne (*CELM*, CoR 557-59). Corbett's epitaph on his mother survives in only the Corpus MS and a secretarial copy in the Harley manuscript of letters and papers associated with his tenure as Bishop of Norwich.[71] Strode's transcription varies from the secretarial copy only occasionally in spelling and punctuation, suggesting that both scribes were working from the same manuscript.

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[67] Morgan MA 420 (St Paul's Cathedral vol. 1, p. 59; *CELM*, StW 1432).
[68] Burlinson, 'Chaplaincy and Verse', p. 153.
[69] Hobbs, *Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, p. 2.

Only two poems in the Corpus MS by Corbett, dating to his time in Norwich appear to have circulated widely: elegies on the death of John Donne and King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden.[72] If Strode was indeed Corbett's disseminator during this period, it would be expected that the Corpus MS is textually related to the other manuscript witnesses. But there is little evidence that this is the case. Christopher Burlinson, who has collated the Donne elegy in full for his forthcoming edition of Corbett, reports that none of the other eighteen witnesses are related to Strode's copy in the Corpus MS. Instead, they appear to derive from whatever source found its way into the 1633 printed edition of Donne's verse.[73]

I have identified a similar pattern for the less widely circulated elegy on Gustavus Adolphus. Besides the Corpus MS, this poem survives in two other manuscripts: BL Harley MS 6917 (belonging the London miscellany compiler Peter Calfe), and Folger MS V.a.245 (a manuscript linked to the Inns of Court).[74] Strode's copy differs substantively from both witnesses, notably in lines seven ('dares' for 'can') and nine ('Keepe Sweden for a Bett at the last Day' for 'Nor shall it bee a bett till the last day'). Strode therefore appears to be copying from a different source to those other collectors, raising the possibility that it he was working from Corbett's poems, Corbett or Strode had revised the poem by this time. Alternatively, Strode was copying from a witness some distance along the path of transmission, but given his proximity to Corbett at this time, this interpretation seems unlikely. While we cannot discount the possibility that Strode did not share his copy with other collectors, no evidence of such activity survives. Burlinson has suggested that one reason for these patterns of circulation lies in geography: 'the transmission of verse was more shaped and constrained by geography than by institutional and ecclesiastical relationships themselves, that chaplains were able to act as conduits to their bishops' poems only when they dwelt in a centre of poety transmission such as Oxford or London'.[75] This is confirmed by Strode's own poetic activity during this period. The only text by Strode which we can say certainly dates to this period is his 'A Prologe crownd with Flowres', written for 'the Florists Feast at Norwich'.[76] Strode may well have composed additional verses during this time, but such evidence is either lost or its Norwich context is not made clear by the Corpus manuscript. But it seems significant that no verse miscellanies containing Strode's works can be certainly connected with Norwich. Although the bishop-chaplain relationship may have sustained the writing of verse, Norwich seems to have marked a dead-end in its transmission.

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[70] See H. J. McLachlan, 'Lushington, Thomas (1590-1661)', *ODNB*.
[71] BL Harley MS 464, fol. 14^{r} (*CELM*, CoR 56).
[72] CCC MS 325, fols 50^{r} (*CELM*, CoR 197), 50^{v} (*CELM*, CoR 558).
[73] Christopher Burlinson (email to the author, 18 July 2016). For the printed copy, see John Donne, *Poems, by J.D. with elegies on the authors death* (London: John Marriot, 1633), sig. 4C1^{v}.
[74] BL Harley MS 6917, fol. 87^{v} (*CELM*, CoR 557); Folger MS V.a.245, fol. 33^{v} (*CELM*, CoR 559).

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[75] Burlinson, 'Chaplaincy and Verse', p. 155.

[76] CCC MS 325, fols 125^{r}-26^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 675). The Florists' Feasts were a kind of convivial competition and meeting held for the examination and comparison of florists' specimens. See Ruth E. Duthie, 'English Florists' Societies and Feasts in the Seventeenth and First Half of the Eighteenth Centuries', *Garden History*, 10 (1982), 17-35 (pp. 17-18).

There is evidence for Strode's non-poetic activities as Corbett's chaplain in Norwich. My discovery of Strode's hand on the back of a letter in a volume of papers related to Corbett's tenure as Bishop of Norwich, suggests that Strode may have performed some kind of secretarial role.[77] Strode's 1633 sermon, preached at a visitation in King's Lynn, Norfolk, was presumably linked to Corbett's visitation of his diocese that year, and can certainly be read alongside Corbett's struggles to deal with the problem of religious nonconformity.[78] As Matthew Reynolds explains, Corbett had initially opted for a policy of toleration, allowing nonconformist preachers such as William Bridge (1600/1-1671) a platform. But the policy backfired, and allowed religious controversy to spread throughout the diocese.[79] Strode's sermon is explicitly concerned with the problem of nonconformity, taking as its text Psalm 76:11, 'Promise to the Lord, and keep it, all ye that be round about him'. The sermon enjoins priests to remember the oaths they kept at their ordination, and Strode is explicit about his choice of text, and the context of his sermon's delivery. 'What Place more fit than This [?]', Strode asks,

> where some private Innovators have lately conspired against our sworn form of Religion? And what Time more seasonable, than the time of this Meeting, call'd to give an account of sundry publick Promises, Ecclesiastick and Sacerdotall, freely made by deliberate choice, confirm'd by Oath and Subscription? And what Persons more apposite Hearers than your selves,

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[77] BL Harley MS 464 is a composite volume of ecclesiastical papers, most of which relate to Corbett's tenure as Bishop of Norwich. On fols 4^r-15^r, the manuscript contains secretarial copies of letters, and a copy of Strode's Latin epitaph on Corbett's mother, in a formal secretary hand that cannot be identified as Strode's (*CELM*, CoR 56). However, on the recto of a letter addressed by Corbett to Sir Hamond Le Strange, dated to 31 March 1633 (*CELM*, CoR 785), Strode's hand is found making a list of names under various geographical headings, from 'Berks' to 'Wales'. I have been unable to identify most of the individuals listed by Strode, or the function of the list. See Appendix 2.3 for further details.

[78] By this time, Strode had been made rector of East Bradenham. The appointment is not recorded in *The Clergy of the Church of England Database*, but is referenced by Sidney Lee in his *DNB* entry for Strode. See Sidney Lee, 'Strode, William (1602-1645)', *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, 66 vols (London: Smith Elder, 1885-1900), LV: pp. 61-62 (p. 61).

[79] Matthew Reynolds, *Godly Reformers and Their Opponents in Early Modern England: Religion in Norwich, c.1615-1643* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), p. 168.

> especially bound to make and perform them, by your high Office, your near attendance on the Lord your God?[80]

The profusion of proximal *deixis* in these lines makes it clear that Strode saw the sermon as a response to a particular set of circumstances, in keeping with this chapter's construction of Strode as an occasional writer. Strode uses the sermon as an opportunity to enforce discipline and conformity amongst the clergy, with vows, oaths and promises associated with control and harmony, countered by the chaos of rebellion and disorder. Throughout, the sermon reads as a rooting-out of corruption, with nonconformity figured as an illness reaching all levels of society. The priest, according to Strode, 'is an Angell', and because of this, 'he seldome falls without a Train; the height of his Dependance, enlarges the contagious Power of deriving his disorder: Well might his sin be rated æquivalent to that of the whole people, for the defection which to day is His, to morrow will be Theirs'.[81]

1.6 'But in a Sense Ambiguous': poetry, playwriting, and politics, *c.*1635-1636

After Corbett's death in July 1635 Strode returned to Oxford. Within a month, we find evidence of him performing his duties as Public Orator before Charles I at Woodstock. It may well be that Strode's comparison of the King to Justinian – and to Christ – flattered and impressed the King, because he received shortly afterwards a further benefit: the promise of a Christ Church canonry, which Charles annexed to the position of Public Orator.[82] The canonry would have allowed Strode to marry, but did not fall vacant until 1638.

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[80] Strode, *A sermon preached at a visitation held at Lin in Norfolk* (London: printed by W. Wilson for Sameul Brown, 1660), sig. A2^{r}.

[81] Ibid., sig. D3^{v}.

[82] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, April-Dec 1635*, ed. by John Bruce (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1865), p. 565.

Strode's demonstrations of royal loyalty at Woodstock were obviously a condition of his employment as orator, but from this moment, there is evidence of increased praise of monarchic authority. One manuscript witness to Strode's Woodstock oration perfectly encapsulates this; a letter sent by an anonymous writer to one Robert Sawer of Stratfield Saye, Hampshire, also contains Strode's poem 'On his Majesties Fleete'.[83] The poem praises the King's naval power, realized through his Ship Money levy. In October 1634, Charles had levied the coastal towns of England and Wales for ship money, which required the local authorities to provide fully manned and furnished warships prepared for six months of active service by 1635.[84] The levy was controversial, and seen as an unconstitutional tax (the King of course, governed without the Lords and Commons during his period of personal rule).[85] Strode's own guardian back in Devon, Sir William, had in fact supported protests there against the tax, and was summoned before the Privy Council because of this early in 1635.[86] As a sign of Strode's own strikingly different loyalties (or of his pragmatism), his own poem celebrates the completed fleet as a sight surpassing belief:

> Cease now the talk of wonders nothing rare;
> Of Floating Ilands, Castles in the Ayre,
> Of Wooden Walls, Groves Walking Flying Steedes,
> Or Troian Horse. – ~~Floating Iles great store,~~
> The praesent Truth exceedes
> Those Ancient Fables. ~ Floating Iles, great store

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[83] BL Add. MS 29975, fols 108^r-09^r (*CELM*, StW 504; 1472). The letter is addressed 'To his much respected & kind friend Mr Robert Sawer at Stratfieldsay in Hampshire'. I have not been able to trace the identity of sender or recipient.

[84] See Kenneth R. Andrews, *Ships, Money and Politics: Seafaring and Naval Enterprise in the Reign of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 128. See also Michael James Lea-O'Mahoney, 'The Navy in the English Civil War' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Exeter, 2011); Wolffe, *Gentry Leaders*, p. 25.

[85] See Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), esp. pp. 552-601.

[86] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1631-3*, p. 27; Ferris, 'Strode, Sir William', *ODNB*.

> Sent from the Brittish Ile now guard her Shore.[87]

Strode's praise in these lines in fact contains an unmistakable echo of Corbett's sycophantic 1623 verse letter addressed to the Duke of Buckingham (*CELM*, CoR 342-71). Then, Corbett had used the image of the floating island to suggest that the nation was cut adrift by Buckingham's absence in Spain with Charles (as part of the protracted Spanish match negotiations):

> I've read of Ilands flotinge and removed
> In Ovids time, but never heard it prov'd
> Till now: that fable by the Prince and you
> By your transportinge England is made true.[88]

Although Strode deploys the allusion to different ends – as a symbol of national security rather than disarray – the similarities between the beginnings of both poems strongly suggests that in Corbett's absence, Strode is staking out his claim as his poetic successor.

The same may be said of Strode's only other well-circulated text during this period, an anti-puritan ballad known as 'The Townes new teacher'.[89] In the manner of Corbett's own anti-puritan satires such as 'The Distracted Puritane' (*CELM*, CoR 59-70), Strode's poem attacks a lecturer's lack of learning (his 'small Hebrew and noe Greeke'), his lack of refinement ('Shopboard breeding and Intrusion'), but most of all, his zealous sense of righteousness; his 'Words unthought, quick Revlation', 'Boldness in Praedestination', his 'Threates of Absolute Damnation', and 'Certainty of some Salvation | For his owne Tribe not evry Nation'.[90] Strode's poem confronts what had become a common trope in manuscript culture. John Rous noted in his diary at the time that 'Many of these Rimes came out in these late time, about 1634 and 1635, on both sides', before copying out a poem titled 'The New Churchman', to which 'The Townes New Teacher' responds.[91] The poem also seems to have lingered in the minds of its readers. John Cleveland, to whom the poem was actually ascribed, notes scornfully in 'How the *Commencement* grows new', 'It is no *Curranto* news I undertake, | New teacher of the town I mean not to make'.[92] Abraham Wright, Strode's contemporary, who included the poem in his 1656 printed miscellany *Parnassus Biceps*, may have had it in mind when writing the preface to his manual *Five Sermons, in Five Several Styles* (1656). Strode's dislike of 'Shopboard breeding', a critique of the preacher's lack of education, and therefore (from Strode's, and no doubt Wright's perspective), unsuitability as a preacher), resurface in Wright's statement: '*there is a vaste difference betwixt* Shop-board-breeding *and the* Universities; *the preaching of the one being hardly learn'd under a double* Apprenticeship, *whereas the other* Knack *may be compass'd far sooner then the easiest* Trade, *a truth which these* Times *have abundantly clear'd*'.[93] Strode continued therefore, to respond to the values of university audiences, and by around 1635 had adopted Corbett's combative relationship (at least in verse) to Puritanism.

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[87] CCC MS 325, fols 121^{v}-22^{r}, 121^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 502).
[88] BL Add. MS 22603, fols 39^{v}-41^{r}, 39^{v} (*CELM*, CoR 355).
[89] The poem survives in ten manuscript witnesses besides the Corpus MS. See *CELM*, StW 1178-88.
[90] CCC MS 325, fols 114^{r}-15^{r}, 114^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 1178).

However, it is worth noting the surprising proximity in the Corpus MS between 'The Townes new teacher' and a poem that defends puritans. 'An answer to the song against the New=Inglanders' (*CELM*, *StW 32) is copied between fols

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[91] John Rous, *Diary of John Rous, incumbent of Santon Downham, Suffolk, from 1625-1642*, ed. by Mary Anne Everett Green (London: Camden Society, 1856), pp. 78-79.

[92] John Cleveland, 'How the *Commencent* grows new', *Poems by J.C., with additions* (London: n.pub., 1651), sig. E5^{r-v}.

[93] Abraham Wright, *Five Sermons, in Five Several Styles* (London: Edward Archer, 1656), sig. A4^{r}. This usage of 'Shop-board breeding' is in fact, attributed to Cleveland by the *OED*, no doubt because it was in *J. Cleaveland Revived* that the poem first appeared in print attributed to any author. See 'shop-board, *n'*. *OED Online,* Oxford University Press, June 2015 [accessed 20 July 2015]. See *J. Cleaveland Revived* (London: Nathaniel Brooke, 1659), pp. 58-60.

111^{r}-12^{v}, separated from 'The Townes new teacher' by only one opening. The poem answers an attack on puritan *émigrés* who had set out from Plymouth to settle in New England, which circulated in manuscript. It criticizes the 'Counterfeit elect' and proclaims:

> Let them [i.e. the puritans] sell all & out of hand
> p*re*pare to goe for new England
> to build Babell strong & sure
> now called A church unspotted pure.[94]

Conversely, Strode's poem wishes the New Englanders well:

> Let such as to new Ingland goe
> Not goe with scoffs, youl stay them soe:
> Whither they truely bee all Saint
> Or some that use spirituall paint;
> Whether the cause bee debt or zeale,
> Or want or Will, O doe not raile:
> They'l plant a Land, King make it Sure,
> They'l call a Church, God make it Pure.[95]

In this verse, Strode finds himself on a different footing from the polarized rhetoric of 'The Townes new teacher', but instead of occupying the other side of the debate, he instead counters 'railing' with tolerance. He can accept that not all of the New Englanders are 'Saint', and, borrowing one of Corbett's metaphors for puritan hypocrisy, acknowledges that in some cases the appearance of righteousness is 'spirituall paint'.[96] The point is that in this poem, Strode manages to escape the binary that dominates at other times, his own verse, and its companion-texts in miscellany culture. Where Strode had previously extolled the power of religious music in 'A Musicall Contemplation' (*CELM*, StW 240-45), and of religious art in 'Of Faireford windores' (*CELM*, StW 483-501), he is content to 'Lett their Religion for our Ease | Bee sett to any tune they please'.[97]

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[94] Bod. MS Ashmole 38, fol. 225^{v}.

[95] CCC MS 325, fols 111^{r}-12^{v}, 111^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 32).

[96] Corbett compares the stained glass of the church's windows to a puritan's character. Their 'life is colourd in [the] paint, | The inside Drosse, the outside Saint'. See Bod. MS Eng. poet.e.97, p. 36 (*CELM*, CoR 688).

The answer to why Strode wrote such a poem lies in the extended title he gives the poem in the Corpus MS: 'made at the request of a Well=wisher to that side; but in a Sense Ambiguous'.[98] Strode mentions 'Warham' in the poem, who can be identified as John Warham (1595-1670), a minister of Crewkerne, Somerset. After pressure to conform during Laud's tenure as Bishop of Bath and Wells, Warham emigrated to New England in 1630.[99] Although I have not identified who Strode's 'well-wishing' acquaintance of the pilgrims may have been, his family connections in Devon would not be short of any such individuals. Strode's family may have requested that he write an answer-poem to counter the invective against the pilgrims. This would explain why Strode himself adds the note that the poem is 'in a Sense Ambiguous', unwavering or uncertain about its own position to the subject. It is possible, of course that Strode was more tolerant than his connections to Corbett, his verses 'On Faireford windores' and 'The Townes new teacher' would suggest. This is Forey's interpretation, and she also notes that in 'The Townes new teacher' it is hypocrisy and short-sightedness that Strode targets, rather than puritanism itself. Strode does, after all, criticize the preacher's certainty in the salvation of 'his own Tribe not evry Nation'.[100] Pragmatism instead, seems a more plausible explanation; Strode was a poet who was able to respond to different occasions in different kind, depending on the circumstances in question. Certainly, pragmatism must explain why Strode was able to write a poem in praise of ship money, and then only two years later praise the very same relative who had publicly opposed it.

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[97] Corpus Christi College, MS 325, fols 111r-12r, 112r (*CELM*, *StW 32).
[98] Corpus Christi College, MS 325, fols 111r-12r, 111v (*CELM*, *StW 32).
[99] Susan Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims: New World Settlers and the Call of Home* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 188.
[100] Forey, 'William Strode's *The Floating Island*: Play and Political Propaganda', *Seventeenth Century*, 27 (2012), 129-56 (p. 142).

In August 1636 we can see another manifestation of a less tolerant and moderate Strode. Combining both the royal praise of 'On his Majesties Fleete' and the anti-puritanism of 'The Townes new teacher', *The Floating Island Island* gave these values expression in dramatic form. Along with William Cartwright's *The Royal Slave*, and George Wilde's *Love's Hospital*, *The Floating Island* was one of three tragicomedies written for the royal visit that summer. Laud was the architect of the visit. He had set about the task of reforming the university since his election as Chancellor in 1631, and the finalized version of his new statutes was submitted to the Convocation of the university only two months previously. [101] As Kevin Sharpe puts it, it is possible to see in the royal visit of 1636, 'the enactment in image and ceremony of the spirit and body of the statutes'.[102] Upon the arrival of the royal party at Christ Church gate on 29 August, Strode greeted them with an oration, which although now lost, was according to Laud, 'well approved'. [103] Later that evening, Strode's dramatic contribution to the festivities, *The Floating Island*, was performed. Taking the form of a moral allegory, Strode's tragicomedy concerns the deposition of wise King Prudentius by rebellious courtiers, personified as passions, such as 'Sir Amorous', 'Malevolo' and 'Melancholio'. Forewarned of the threat of deposition, Prudentius flees the court and is replaced by Phancy as Queen. In Prudentius's absence, the court descends into political, moral and sexual disarray. In response, Phancy seeks death while ‘Desperato’ attempts to snare the remaining passions into suicide. Only the restoration of Prudentius can avert the tragedy, and restore balance in the kingdom.

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[101] See Kevin Sharpe, 'Archbishop Laud and the University of Oxford', in *History and the Imagination: Essays in Honour of H.R. Trevor-Roper,* ed. by Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Valerie Pearl and Blair Worden (London: Duckworth, 1981), pp. 146-65 (p. 146).

[102] Ibid., p. 150.

[103] William Laud, *The second volume of the remains of the most reverend father in God, and blessed martyr, William Laud* (London: Sam Keble, Dan Brown, Will Hensman, Matt Wotton, and R. Knaplock, 1700), p. 102.

Performed in Christ Church’s great hall, the play was a spectacular affair, with scenery designed by Inigo Jones and songs set to music by the Lawes brothers. (It must have been at this time that Strode was able to put a selection of his love lyrics into the hands of Henry and William.)[104] One eyewitness account of the play by Brian Twyne (1580-1644), the University of Oxford’s first Keeper of the Archives, describes ‘a goodly stage made at Christchurch from *th*e vpperende of *th*e hall allmost to *th*e hearth’. He describes scenery in ‘*th*e p*er*fect resemblance of *th*e billowes of *th*e sea rolling vp downe, and [an] artificial Iland w*i*th churches & houses, wauinge vp & downe really & flotinge in *th*e same in one whole piece’.[105] But however visually and musically impressive, Strode’s play was badly received. William Laud remarks that it ‘was very well penn’d but yet did not take the Court so well’.[106] Another eyewitness, George Garrard wrote to Viscount Conway describing how ‘That Night a Play was in Christchurche hall presented to his Ma*ies*tye, fitter for schollers then a Court, My L*or*d Carnarvan flewe out against yt, Sayd it was the worst that euer he sawe, but One that he sawe at Cambridge’.[107]

In Strode’s defence, it is almost certain that he was writing the play at the request of Laud, and the ability to compose short lyric poems, sermons and orations does not necessarily translate directly to writing for the stage. Strode’s moralistic play was in keeping with Laud's reforming ambitions for the university. A reading of *The Floating Island* as Laudian propaganda is indeed persuasive, as Margaret Forey has demonstrated in a recent article. The character of Malevolo, for example, refers to 'Some biting Libel, venemous word or Book | Against some prosprous Object which I hate', and refers to his punishment of having his ears cut: 'My Eares are questioned. Locks which I have scorn'd | Must hide my Eare stumps'.[108] Forey sees these as 'clear and unambiguous' references to Prynne's anti-theatrical text *Histrio-mastix* and his punishments for its publication: in 1634 Prynne's ears were partially cropped, he was fined and stripped of his degree. To hide the mutilation, he grew his hair long, a practice he had previously criticized in his *Unlovelinesse of love-lockes* (1628).[109] The possibility of Laudian patronage helps to explain how Strode came to write the play at all. Most importantly, *The Floating Island* serves as yet another example of how Strode's literary output was strongly influenced by pragmatism, and the requirements of a specific occasion.

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[104] The budget for the plays, including payments to Inigo Jones and the Lawes brothers can be found in Christ Church, Oxford MS Ch. Ch. Arch. D.P.xi.a.15, fol. 23^{r}. See John R. Elliott, Jr. and John Buttrey, ‘The Royal Plays at Christ Church in 1636: A New Document’, *Theatre Research International,* 10 (1985), 93-106. For a thorough discussion of Strode and Henry Lawes, see Ian Spink, *Henry Lawes, Cavalier Songwriter* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 45-48.

[105] Bod. MS Twyne 17, p. 201.

[106] Laud, *The second volume of the remains*, p. 102.

[107] SP 16/331, fols 1^{v}-2^{r}. Cited in A.J. Taylor, ‘The Royal Visit to Oxford in 1636’, *Oxoniensia*, 1 (1936), 151-58 (pp. 153-58).

It is difficult to tell how disappointed Strode was by the reception of his only play. But the success of Cartwright's *The Royal Slave*, which was recalled for an additional performance at Hampton Court, must have smarted. After *The Floating Island*'s two performances in Oxford, Strode sent a fair copy of the play to his Devonian patron, Sir John Hele.[110] The manuscript included a dedicatory epistle in which Strode recounts the play's poor reception.[111] Strode describes a scene of manuscript circulation of a text that nobody wants:

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[108] Strode, *The Floating Island* (London: printed by T.C. for H. Twiford, N. Brooke, and J. Place, 1655), sig. B1^v.

[109] Forey, 'William Strode's *The Floating Island*', pp. 134-35. Forey also identifies likely targets for Strode's satire elsewhere in the play; Melancolio, is Henry Burton, then rector of St Matthew's, Friday Street, London (p. 135), and Desperato is John Bastwick (pp. 143-44).

[110] Little is known about Hele, but Strode also wrote a poem celebrating the birth of his daughter in 1637. See *CELM*, *StW 510.

[111] We can surmise this only because the printed edition of 1655 contains the dedicatory epistle. It must have been based on either the manuscript Strode sent to Hele, or on another manuscript copy, to

This Draft cried Up and Down amain
By divers men, up by the same again
At divers times, hath planely found thereby
That it hath censur'd been Tumultuously.[112]

He is, however, ambivalent about his own attitudes towards the play. Although he writes that 'Affection against Reason' dictated its audience's responses, he suggests that ultimately, the slightly more lukewarm reception of its second performance at Christ Church was just: 'Reason at a neerer view gained sway, | The Censure ended just as doth the Play'. Strode figures his presentation of the play to Hele as a form of payment: 'You lent the *Author*; and tis therefore just | The work should yeeld you Tribute for your Trust'. But he does not exactly make an exciting case for the play's qualities: 'After this [the play's] various Fate', and because 'Of pleasing more then Four there was small heed, | From *Court* and *Oxford* home it comes to you'. It is as if Strode is fully aware that the play is far from his best work.

1.7 Canon of Christ Church and Doctor of Divinity, 1638-1642

By 1638 Strode's fortunes notably improved. The canonry he was promised in 1635 finally fell vacant in July. This allowed Strode residence in the cathedral cloisters and the opportunity to marry, which he eventually did in 1642. Strode married one Mary Simpson (*d*.1648), daughter of John Simpson, Prebend of Canterbury.[113] In September 1638, there is evidence of Strode working as chaplain to Accepted Frewen, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, between 1638 and 1639. The

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which a copy of Strode's epistle was added. What appears to be a fair copy of the play can be found in Thomas Thorpe's sale catalogues between 1838 and 1843, but is now untraced. See *CELM*, StW 1476.5.

[112] Strode, 'To my most Honoured Patron, Sir John Hele, Knight', *The Floating Island*, sig. A2^{v}.

[113] Forey, 'Strode, William'.

only recorded duty of Strode in this role was to license the sermons of John Donne for publication, which had been presented by Donne's son (and Strode's former classmate at Westminster and Christ Church). Strode lists twenty-two sermons by Donne, and certifies that there is nothing within them offensive to the Church of England or the Catholic Church.[114]

Two months later, Strode was awarded the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and he subsequently received further promotions within the church. In November 1638 he was made perpetual vicar of Black Bourton, Oxfordshire and in 1639, of Badby, Northamptonshire. He would later resign the post at Badby in 1641, but was made full vicar at Black Bourton in the same year.[115] The only evidence of Strode's poetic activities during this period is in *Death Repeal'd* (1638) a printed volume of funerary elegies, composed by the members of Christ Church in memory of Viscount Paul Bayning, a former member of the college, the son of one its major benefactors during the seventeenth century.[116] Strode's prominence at this time within the Christ Church community is registered in his prime position within the collection. Strode's poem is the first in the collection, signed 'W. STRODE D.D.

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[114] Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 281. Item no. 25 (*CELM*, *StW 1501) is an autograph letter from John Donne the younger stating that he has not attempted to publish the sermons elsewhere and requesting the licence for publication from Frewen. Item no. 26 (incorrectly listed as no. 25 in the *CELM*) contains Strode's autograph licence. For a transcription and discussion of the document, see Robert Krueger, 'The Publication of John Donne's Sermons', *Review of English Studies*, n.s.,15 (1964), 151-160 (pp. 151-53). Krueger goes on to discuss the possibly fraudulent activities of Donne jr. during this transaction; he apparently did not show the sermons to Strode as required.

[115] See 'Strode, William (CCEd Person ID 17192)' http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk [accessed 17 June 2015].

[116] Bayning was the son of Paul Bayning (*c*.1539-1616), a merchant. He inherited his father's estate of £153,000 when he was thirteen, and became connected with Christ Church because of the guardianship of his grandfather, the Earl of Dorset. Dorset's former chaplain, Brian Duppa, was by then Dean of Christ Church, and Bayning attended the college from 1632-1633. At the time, Christ Church was in need of restoration, reflected by William Cartwright's 1634 poem 'On the Imperfections of Christ-Church Buildings' (*CELM*, CaW 38-40). Bayning contributed gifts to the college library and funds towards the rebuilding of the Canterbury and Peckwater quadrangles. See Mavis Batey and Catherine Cole, 'The Great Staircase Tower at Christ Church', *Oxoniensia*, 53 (1988), 211-21 (p. 215). See Strode, *Death repeal'd by a thankefull memoriall sent from Christ-Church in Oxford* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1638). Strode's poems are found on sigs $^{*}2^{r}$-^{v}, A1^{r}-A2^{r}.

Canon of Ch. C', and this position would also suggest that he authored the unsigned verse letter to Bayning's widow Penelope.[117] It is significant however, that Strode does not appear in another Christ Church mourning book of 1638, the volume of elegies on Ben Jonson, *Jonsonus Virbius* (1638), edited by Brian Duppa, which also included contributions by Strode's fellow Christ Church poets Jasper Mayne and William Cartwright. One would expect that Strode would have come into contact with Jonson when the latter visited Christ Church in 1619. [118] This is one of the most puzzling facts about Strode's writing life in the late 1630s: why did he not make appeals to ingratiate himself with a community of mourners for Jonson in print?

1.8 'When all the world totters', 1642-1645

If Strode's career seemed by this time to have a definite upward trajectory, any hope of further progress was soon frustrated. First, with the impeachment and imprisonment of Laud for treason, Strode became implicated in the trial. Laud stood accused of assuming papal titles, and Strode's 'absolute *Hyperbole*' in the language used in some of his letters to Laud as Public Orator saw Strode 'called up before a Committee of this Parliament, examined about them, Acquitted, and Dismissed'.[119] Secondly, with outbreak of Civil War, Strode would have witnessed an Oxford in a time of dramatic change. After the battle of Edgehill, in which Strode's namesake and relative had fought against the King's army, Charles headed for Oxford with his court and forces.[120] The city transformed into a 'working garrison, with undergraduates forming companies and drilling on Christ Church Meadow; the King lodged in Christ Church, with the Queen nearby at Merton; the remaining colleges and city were required to provide accommodation for the court and men.[121]

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[117] For more on Bayning see, Ian Archer's biography of his father, 'Bayning, Paul (*c*.1539-1616'), *ODNB*.

[118] See Brian Duppa, ed., *Ionsonus virbius: or, the memorie of Ben: Iohnson revived by the friends of the muses* (London: E. P. for Henry Seile, 1638). For a discussion of the volume, see James Loxley, 'Critical Reception', in *Ben Jonson in Context*, ed. by Julie Sanders (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 72-84. See also Ian Donaldson, *Ben Jonson*, pp. 429-34.

[119] William Laud, *The history of the troubles and tryal of the most reverend father William Laud* (London: Ri. Chiswell, 1700), p. 286.

When the King arrived in Oxford in October that year, he addressed the citizens of Oxford near Carfax, with a speech, in which he constructs himself as a reluctant 'conqueror' of the city, but one nonetheless glad to find himself in a stronghold of loyalty. There, Strode was supposed to greet the King with an oration, but it was given in his place by the deputy orator and canon of Christ Church, Richard Gardiner (1590/91-1670).[122] It is possible that Strode absented himself because of his relative's notoriety as an enemy of the King. As Falconer Madan put it, Strode 'could hardly address the King when his homonym had just fought against him at Edgehill'.[123] This again, is indicative of the extent to which Strode's authorship was deeply informed by occasionality; in this case, by the diplomacy of remaining silent. However, a printing of the King's speech together with 'a gratulatory Replication expressed by that learned Man Doctor *William Strode*', appeared shortly afterwards.[124] Whether or not Strode actually wrote the speech, it is worth noting how the oration registers the trauma – personal and institutional – of the Civil War. While delighted at Charles's presence ('High words cannot reach the ioy that your presence hath created in our hearts'), the oration laments the threat to

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[120] For an account of Charles I's movement of the court to Oxford, see de Groot, 'Space, Patronage, Procedure: The Court at Oxford, 1642-6', *English Historical Review*, 474 (2002), 1204-27. See also Ian Roy and Dietrich Reinhart, 'Oxford and the Civil Wars', in Tyacke, ed., 667-772.

[121] De Groot, 'Space, Patronage', p. 1207.

[122] Ibid., n. 9. See also *Oxford Council Acts 1626-1665*, ed. by M.G. Hobson, H.E. Salter and J. Carter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 426.

[123] Falconer Madan, *Oxford Books: A Bibliography of Printed Works Relating to the University and City of Oxford or Printed or Published There: Volume II: Oxford Literature, 1450-1640, and 1641-1650* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), pp. 175-76.

[124] Strode, *The kings majesties speech as it was delivered the second of November before the university and city of Oxford, together with a gratulatory replication expressed by that learned man doctor William Strode, orator for the famous university of Oxford* (London: n. pub., 1642).

Oxford's culture of learning posed by the King's opponents: 'Pure zeale doth make them seeke with one blow to destroy both learning and Religion'.[125] As Nicholas McDowell observes, '[t]he outbreak of Civil War disrupted traditional structures of literary and cultural patronage'.[126] We see a keen awareness of this disruption in the 1642 oration, with Oxford constructed as a threatened paradise of poetry and learning. 'Shall the Spring of learning bee dam'd up?' asks the orator, 'while ignorance doth teare and rend the Muses Garlands, as would both contemne and destroy Schollers'?[127]

As Blair Worden explains, Oxford was '[g]eographically, logistically, and emotionally [...] the heart of the royal cause'.[128] It therefore played 'a leading role in the writing of royalist political thought and polemic and poetry, and in the printing of royalist propaganda'. Strode's literary career thus unsurprisingly began to reflect this. In 1644 Strode preached two sermons which were subsequently 'Published by Authority' in the same year.[129] Both sermons demonstrate the effect of the civil war on Strode's role as a preacher in different ways, but ultimately serve to demonstrate yet again, the intimate connection between writing and occasionality in Strode's writing life.[130] *A Sermon Concerning Swearing* was delivered on 12 May 1644 in Christ Church Cathedral, and took Matthew 5.37 as its text: 'But let your Communication be yea yea, and nay nay; for whatsoever is more then these commeth of Evill'.[131] The sermon tackles a subject found elsewhere in Strode's poetry: decorum in language and religious practices. As Margaret Griffin explains, it should be read within the context of Charles I's 'anti-swearing campaign'. The King had created an office and officer in 1635 to oversee the execution of an earlier 1624 statute against swearing, and he issued two proclamations against swearing in 1643 and 1644. Griffin sees Strode's sermon, which was preached before Charles I and the army, as part of 'the King's personal commitment to the eradication of profane swearing', and his attempts to regulate the behaviour of the armies.[132] While I have identified no positive evidence to confirm Madan's note that the sermon was preached specifically *for* the army's instruction,[133] this reading is persuasive, since it is so clearly concerned with articulating a hierarchical structure of control and decorum. Strode reminds his audience of the penalties for unregulated speech: '[a]s the whole *Body* doth often smart for the *Tongue*, so may a generall *Society* for some *Evill Speakers*; especially if their Speech sound *Treason*; but if Treason against *the King of Kings*, how great Vengeance may justly be feared by the whole *State*?'[134] The *Sermon Concerning Swearing* is therefore suggestive of how Strode's professional life had become implicated in the particular political circumstances and requirements demanded by the royal presence in 1640s Oxford.

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[125] Ibid., sig. A3^{v}.

[126] Nicholas McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance in the English Civil Wars: Marvell and the Cause of Wit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 5.

[127] *The Kings Majesties Speech*, sig. A3^{v}.

[128] Blair Worden, *God's Instruments: Political Conduct in the England of Oliver Cromwell* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 92.

[129] Strode, *A sermon concerning swearing* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1644); *A sermon concerning death and the resurrection* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1644).

[130] For more on preaching at Oxford, see Emma Rhatigan, 'Preaching Venues: Architecture and Auditories' in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Hugh Adlington, Peter McCullough, and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 87-120. As Rhatigan explains, '[o]utside London the universities were central to the elite preaching culture of early modern England', and yet 'there has [...] been no sustained research into the institutional history of preaching at the universities' (p. 116).

A Sermon Concerning Death and the Resurrection registers the effects of war on Strode's textual life in a different way. Delivered on 28 April 1644 in the University Church of St Mary the Virgin, Strode's sermon reflects the pressures of living in Civil War Oxford. Taking as its text Colossians 3:3, 'For ye are Dead, and your Life is hid with Christ in God' (also explored in verse by George Herbert in

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[131] Strode, *A sermon concerning swearing*, sig. A2^{r}.
[132] Margaret Griffin, *Regulating Religion and Morality in the King's Armies: 1639-1646* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 28-29.
[133] See Madan, *Oxford Books*, p. 347.
[134] Strode, *A sermon concerning swearing*, sig. D3^{r}.

The Temple), Strode begins the sermon by reminding his audience of the connections between the liturgical calendar (the sermon was delivered on Low Sunday) and their daily lives. 'After the death and Resurrection of our blessed Saviour, it will not be unseasonable, especially in these times of Danger, to meditate upon our own'.[135] The Civil War made the sermon particularly apposite, at a time 'when all the world totters, and so many eminent Worthies are dayly sacrific'd by the Sword'.[136] Strode's sermon is fundamentally concerned with urging his audience to recognize how prone they are to succumb to death 'in these times of Danger':

> What? shall I tell my Hearers they are Dead? who then shall heare me? I know to whom I speake, to the Dead, that come hither to learne the way of Life. Thrice Noble and thrice worshipfull, thrice worthy and thrice welcome, that ye may truly know how dead ye are, I say, ye are thrice Dead; yes, three wayes Dead; Dead in *Law*, Dead by the *Course of Nature*, Dead by the *Covenant of Grace*.[137]

The message of Strode's sermon is not to look for stability in this changeable, dangerous world. Echoing a line from his 'Song of Death and the Resurrection' (*CELM*, StW 965-83), 'Ev'n such is man of Equall stay | Whose very Growth leades to decay',[138] Strode calls upon his audience to focus daily on their own mortality (to practice 'dayly dying'), by dwelling on every sign of death: 'reckon to thy selfe *how Death invades thee*: know that every gray haire is a summons, and that every Ach, and every Swelling is a Venny or Thrust made at thee, take it for a warning'.[139] This being the case, Strode is scornful of those who 'toyle [...] for an Epitaph', who 'build Houses when we must dwell in the Grave' and 'take measure for Clothes when Death takes measure for the Coffin'.[140] 'The onely meanes of security', Strode argues, 'is to expect none upon Earth, but to stand armed with Patience and Resolution to indure the Lot which God hath appointed'.[141]

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[135] Strode, *A sermon concerning death and the resurrection*, sig. A2^{r}.
[136] Ibid., sig. B1^{v}.
[137] Ibid., sigs A2^{v}- A3^{r}.
[138] Strode, '5 Song of death & the Resurrection', CCC MS 325, fols 64^{v}-65^{r}, 64^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 965).
[139] Strode, *A sermon concerning death and the resurrection*, sig. B^{r}.

Although it was not the last time Strode appeared at the pulpit or in print, the sermon is a fitting place to end an account of his writing life. Strode constantly reminds his audience about the imminence of death, and he indeed was dead within a year of delivering the sermon, from unknown but presumably sudden causes, because he left no will.[142] But the sermon is also striking for its persistent concern with issues of materiality, textuality and memory. Strode's suggestion that funerary monuments are vain, and to put no faith in wordly matters, reads as prophetic irony when we consider that he himself was buried in Christ Church Cathedral without a marked grave. Likewise, Strode's literary activities were not memorialized in a printed, monumental edition, but remained scattered in manuscript sources. And in the final, climactic moments of the sermon, Strode reflects on the relationship between mortality and remembrance through a sustained series of comparisons 'with the worlds of music, printing, and textual transmission':[143]

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[140] Ibid, sig. A3^{r}.
[141] Ibid., sig. B1^{v}.
[142] Mary, Strode's wife, was dead within three years. William and Mary had no children. See Forey, 'Strode, William', *ODNB*.
[143] Smyth, '"Art Reflexive"', p. 457.

> when a musicall Ayre hath been plaid is it quite lost, never to be called for againe? or what is become of it? is it hid in the Bowells of the Instrument, in the prick'd or conceivd Copy, or in the hand and Power of the Musition? in all these? so when the breath of man is expired, he is hid in the *Mold* as in the *Matter*, with *Christ* as with our *Idea* and Pattern, in God as in the *Author* and harmonious Composer. Againe, when a Printer dissolves his Impression, and casts it into the first Elements or Letters, is it quite lost, or what is become of it? is it hid in the Boxes which contain those Letters, or in the book out of which it was copied, or in the hand of the Printer that sets the Letters together? in all these? such is the Case of Man: though all his quarters be divided into the quarters of the world, though his parts be distributed like those of the *Levites* wife, or digested into other bodies, or scattered into all Elements, they are still within Gods Boxes; though his Figure be lost to the memory of men, it remaines fresh with Christ, and *in his Book are all our Members written*[.][144]

As Adam Smyth argues these lines function as 'an assertion of authorship', even if their point is to communicate the idea that after death and the material dissolution of the body, 'our life is hid with Christ in God'.[145] As Smyth explains, we find Strode's assertion of authorship in the 'unresolved tension' between 'a theoretical assertion of authorship' and 'a practical acknowledgement of the transience of circulating writing'. Strode remains the author of the text, despite a material text's transformation and dispersal. It is the task of this thesis to investigate the 'scattered', 'distributed' and 'digested' remnants of Strode's circulation, to understand their relationship to each other, and begin the process of their reassembly.

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This chapter has outlined the shape of Strode's biography and literary career, describing his poetic, religious, political and professional contexts. In concluding, it is perhaps worth emphasizing the problems of identifying continuities between these different aspects of Strode's life and writing. These moments of Strode's life saw him write in different forms, publish in different contexts and communicate different attitudes. However, pragmatism, and the ability to respond to the requirements of particular situations and audiences might be read as a thread running through these different phases of Strode's career. Should all of these contexts be of interest to a study of Strode's English manuscript verse? I would argue that, although the Strode who circulated verse in 1620s Oxford was very different from the Strode who preached in 1640s Oxford, an awareness of the different phases of Strode's life helps us to better understand why his literary career appears the way it does, and to recognize the extent to which Strode's career as a scribally-publishing poet was constrained and enabled by different geographical, occasional and institutional contexts.

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[144] Strode, *A sermon concerning death and the resurrection*, sigs C2^{v}-C3^{r}.

[145] Smyth, '"Art Reflexive"', p. 458.

As I explained in the Introduction, the absence of a single author printed edition had profound implications for Strode's critical effacement. Printed collections not only guaranteed the visibility of an author in the textual record, but also significantly influence how we understand their authorial identities. Humphrey Moseley's edition of Cartwright's poems and plays in 1651 illustrates the extent to which the book determines how we understand the relationship between a writer and their works. In his epistle to the reader, Moseley notes that '*we found not these Sheets among his* Books: *so strangely scatter'd were these excellent Peeces that till now they never met all together*'.[146] Moseley in effect, describes a transition made by Cartwright, from miscellany poet to print author, and he gestures towards the difficulty of encountering Cartwright's poetry had the volume never been published: '*The Book in your hand, were the* Author *living, should say nothing* to the

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[146] William Cartwright, *Comedies, tragi-comedies, with other poems*, sig. $\pi 3^r$.

Reader'.[147] In a dichotomy between amateur and print authorship with particular relevance to the present discussion, he states that '*You will do him wrong to call them* [i.e, the poems and plays] *his* Works; *they were his* Recreation'.[148] Occasional miscellany pieces, written by an amateur poet are transformed into Jonsonian 'Works'. Having not made such a transition, the canon of Strode's poetry is characterized by dispersal in a variety of archival locations and bibliographic formats.

The next chapter begins this process by examining Strode's autograph manuscripts. This not only involves studying the extant Corpus and Portland manuscripts, but also a text that could have significantly altered our understanding of Strode's biography: a lost collection of his works, which has the appearance of formal collection of Strode's canon, structured around his authorship. What do these collections reveal about how Strode transcribed, revised, arranged – possibly for print – his verse?

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[147] Ibid.

[148] Ibid.

Chapter 2

Strode's Autograph Manuscripts

An inky fingerprint on folio. 63^r of Strode's Corpus MS (Figure 2.1) was possibly made by the author himself. It is at any rate, made in an ink of a similar tone to the contents of that page, a copy of Strode's 'Song' ('O when will Cupid shew such Art'; *CELM*, StW 874-91).[1] Even if Strode did not make this non-textual mark, this would not detract from the Corpus MS's conspicuous display of Strode's presence as an author. This chapter looks in detail at two surviving autograph manuscripts of Strode's verse, the Corpus MS and Portland MS. Each manuscript represents a different way in which Strode used manuscripts, with the Corpus MS showing Strode at work drafting, transcribing, revising, and storing his verse, and the Portland MS offering one example of how his poetry moved out of larger collections in the form of loose sheets and booklets. My discussion, however, is not confined solely to material texts. Both manuscripts are ultimately related to a lost 'other Copie' (henceforth *SOC*) of Strode's poems. It is possible to understand the structure and content of this manuscript only through notes added to the Corpus MS by William Fulman, who owned it during the late-seventeenth century, and had temporary access to *SOC*. Previously this manuscript has been discussed solely through the lens of Strode's failed ambitions to print his poetry, that is seen as part of a failed narrative of a posterity that never happened. While I do not discount the possibility that this lost manuscript was put together with print publication in mind, I offer the first sustained discussion of *SOC* as a collection in itself, rather than as a cue for something else. What can this witness of Strode's authorship – a very different kind of collection to the Corpus MS and Portland MS – tell us about how the scattered pieces of Strode's canon were brought together?

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[1] CCC MS 325, fol. 63^r (*CELM*, *StW 874).

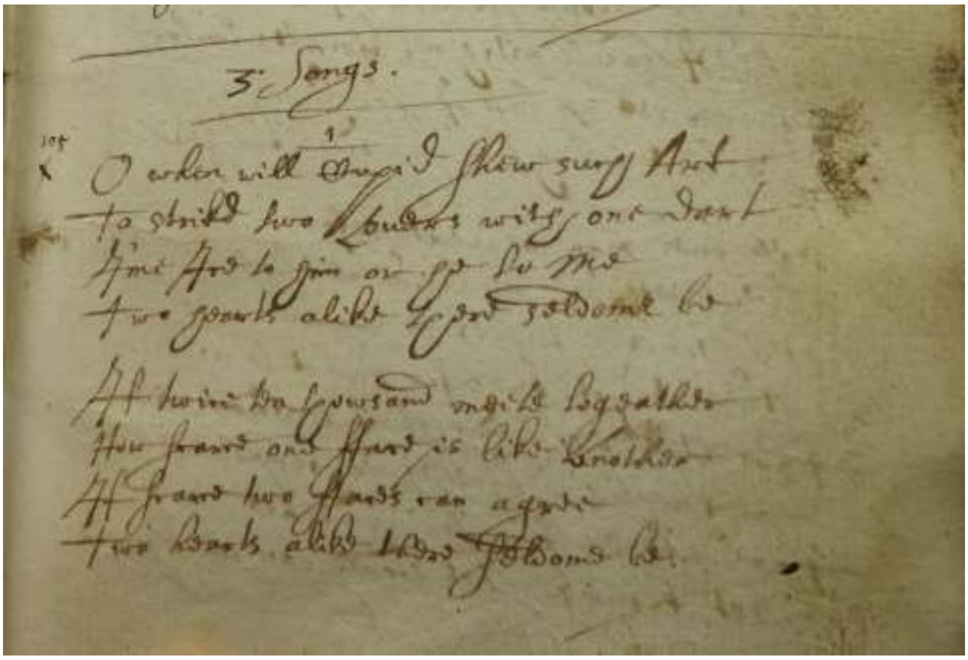

Figure 2.1 Detail, CCC MS 325, fol. 63^{r}

2.1 'LOH' and the value of autograph evidence

Strode is not, of course, the only poet whose work survives in autograph manuscripts. In the Bodleian alone, it is possible to call up two manuscripts in the hand of individuals from the very scribal community to which Strode belonged: Nicholas Oldisworth's fair copy of poems, gifted to his wife shortly before his death, as well as the working notebook of the Christ Church poet Thomas Weaver (1616-1661).[2] Moving beyond the Christ Church literary community, we find counterparts to Strode's autographs in the textual records of other poets. Milton's 'Trinity MS for example, can inform our understanding of Milton's working habits in a level of detail comparable to that offered by Strode's Corpus MS.[3] Meanwhile, *SOC*, as I will show, appears to have been a manuscript comparable to the formal compilations of Donne's poetry.[4] It is also worth remembering that traces of authorial agency are also visible in the hands of amanuenses, secretaries, professional scribes and family members. Thomas Carew's revising hand can be seen in the professionally copied 'Gower MS, comparable to Henry King's occasional revisions to copies of his verse in the hand of Thomas Manne, and James Shirley's revisions to the 'Rawlinson MS of his verse.[5]

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[2] Oldisworth's manuscript is Bod. MS Don.c.24 (Cf. 'Introduction, n.55). Weaver's manuscript is Bod. MS Rawl. poet.211. For more on Weaver, see de Groot, 'Weaver, Thomas (1616-1662)', *ODNB*.

What then, makes Strode's textual record so unique? In short, Strode's manuscripts should command attention from scholars of manuscript verse, because of the range of evidence to which they attest. Poets who circulated primarily in manuscript tend to have left behind relatively small amounts of manuscript evidence. Other popular miscellany poets, including Donne, Carew and Herrick, left behind only one autograph manuscript each, all of which are presentation copies of single poems.[6] Jonson left behind many more presentation copies of his poems, but these are indicative of how Jonson wanted to target particular texts at particular patrons, rather than offering a comprehensive insight into his practices of composition and revision. Strode's textual record, therefore, offers an unusually rich case study of how one particular poet used his manuscripts, witnessing his hand in a range of different textual situations, rather than representing only the poet drafting, revising *or* transcribing.

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[3] See Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.34. For further discussion see W.B. Hunter, 'A bibliographical excursus into Milton's Trinity manuscript', *Milton Quarterly*, 19 (1985), 61-71. Beal calls the manuscript 'the single most important poetical manuscript of the seventeenth century still to survive'. See Beal, *CELM*, 'Introduction: John Milton'. http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/MiltonJohn.html [accessed 3 October 2015]

[4] See, for example, the NYPL, Berg Collection ('Westmoreland MS'; *CELM*, DnJ Δ 19); London, St Paul's Cathedral MS 49. B.43 (St Paul's MS; *CELM*, DnJ Δ 6); Cambridge, MA, Harvard MS Eng 966.5 (O'Flahertie MS; *CELM*, DnJ Δ 17).

[5] The Gower MS was formerly in the private library of Robert S. Pirie, New York, and sold by Sotheby's on 2-4 December 2015 (Lot 142). Its current whereabouts is unknown. See Beal, 'An Authorial Collection of Poems by Thomas Carew: The Gower Manuscript', *English Manuscript Studies*, *1100-1700*, 8 (2000), 160-85. For King's interventions to Manne's transcriptions, see Crum, 'Notes on the Physical Characteristics of some Manuscripts of the Poems of Donne and Henry King', *The Library*, 16 (1961), 121-32, (pp. 121-27). For Shirley's Rawlinson MS, see Bod. MS Rawl. poet.88. Philip West discusses the manuscript in his article, 'Editing James Shirley's Poems', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 52 (2012), 101-16.

[6] For Donne, see Bod. MS Eng. poet.d.197 (*CELM*, *DnJ 1858), a fair copy of a verse letter addressed 'To the Honorable lady the lady Carew'. For Carew's autograph, see SP 16/155, fol. 79^{r-v} (*CELM*, *CwT 1023), a copy of his verse letter 'To Ben Iohnson vppon occasion of his Ode to Himself' among the papers of Sir Dudley Carleton, Viscount Dorchester. Herrick's autograph copy of an elegy on John Browne, fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge survives in BL Harley MS 367, fol. 154^{r} (*CELM*, *HeR 305). It was possibly used in the funeral itself, and pinned to Browne's hearse.

The value of Strode as a case study can be grasped by looking in more detail at how scholarship has responded to authors' manuscripts and their absence. Absence is indeed a key term, since studies of manuscript verse commonly originate from this particular moment, sometimes abbreviated in a stemmatic diagram to LOH: the lost original holograph. H.R. Woudhuysen notes that had more autograph manuscripts survived for Sir Philip Sidney's poetry, the task of editors would be considerably more straightforward:

> If the autograph manuscripts of Sidney's works and their descendants had survived in any quantity, his habits an author, the textual histories of those works, and the story of their circulation in manuscript could be told fairly fully. As it is, a hundred or so holograph letters, a few documents with his signature, some inscriptions in printed books, the two tracts on Leicester and Ireland, and one nine-line poem are all that remain in his handwriting. In the absence of Sidney's working papers, the only way to reconstruct how he used his chosen medium of a manuscript culture is by a study of the extant autographs, scribal copies, and early prints.[7]

Here, the absence of evidence both raises methodological problems but by doing so, therefore generates a methodology: collation and bibliographic analysis in order to arrive at some kind of hypothesis of what Sidney's LOH looked like. Harold Love described a similar situation for John Wilmot, Second Earl of Rochester:

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[7] Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney*, p. 213.

> shortly before his penitent death in 1680 [Rochester] authorized the burning of his manuscripts, only a few stray leaves surviving. The text of Rochester, then, like that of so many scribally publishing authors, has to be reconstructed from contemporary separates and manuscript miscellanies.[8]

The product of this editorial labour can be found in Love's analysis of the extant non-autograph witnesses to Rochester's verse.[9] This methodology, which involves the collation and ranking of variants, working back to a lost archetype based on the shared characteristics of the extant textual witnesses, is one shared by many editorial projects which are faced by a similar kind of evidence, including the *Variorum Edition of the Poems of John Donne*, Tom Cain and Ruth Connolly's recent edition of Herrick's manuscript verse, and also Scott Nixon's unpublished research on the manuscripts of Thomas Carew's poetry.[10]

However, speculative reconstruction is by no means the only possible response to the absent authorial text. Arthur Marotti, for example, argues that the absence of autograph evidence for manuscript poets might instead be used as an opportunity to address what does survive: namely, the transcriptions of their poems by early modern verse collectors. Marotti notes, for example, that

> it has become more and more apparent that the authorially sanctioned collections [of Donne's poems] are not going to be found. As far as the poetry is concerned, with the exception of an authorial holograph of one verse epistle, we have no documentary remains of Donne's Donne.[11]

Instead, Marotti proposes that we focus on the 'massive amount of documentary evidence of the manuscript transmission of Donne's poems through the first two thirds of the seventeenth century'.[12] This is the same line of reasoning which leads Michael Ruddick to abandon the notion of reconstructing Ralegh's authorial agency through collation, and to focus instead on transcribing the historical documents which ascribe poems to Ralegh.[13] Although this approach was once challenging and provocative when first advocated in the mid-1990s, it also makes a spurious leap from an acknowledgement that evidence of authors' manuscripts is fragmentary or non-existent to an argument about the diminished agency of authors in seventeenth-century scribal culture, an issue to which I return later in this thesis. This chapter also constitutes an intervention in scholarly debates about how to respond, edit and read manuscript verse culture.

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[8] Love, *Scribal Publication*, p. 320. The extant autographs are in Portland MS Pw V 31.

[9] See John Wilmot, Second Earl of Rochester, *The Works of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, ed. by Love (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

[10] For a discussion of these editorial problems with reference to Donne, see Ted-Larry Pebworth, 'Manuscript Transmission and the Selection of Copy-Text in Renaissance Coterie Poetry', *Text*, 7 (1994), 243-61.

[11] Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, p. 149.

As Mark Bland points out, 'in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is unusual to be able to watch an author at work, from draft to fair copy'.[14] However many autographs survive for Strode's poems, such a complete narrative is still not possible; there remains a number of gaps and missing stages. Furthermore, while my argument does attend to materially extant evidence, it is necessary to occasionally rely on speculation. In other words, the survival of autograph evidence is not necessarily the solution to all textual problems as Love implies. The evidence itself raises more questions than it answers, ranging from issues of provenance to issues of interpretation. In the following discussion I work through three examples of Strode's autograph manuscripts, beginning with his working notebook (the Corpus MS), which witnesses Strode at work, transcribing and revising. I then proceed to examine the Portland MS, which offers an example of one possible route by which Strode's poems circulated. Finally, I look at the (speculative) form and function of *SOC*. These case studies do not amount to one falsely totalizing argument about Strode's use of manuscripts, and instead show his work in three different states and textual environments, and lay the foundations for my discussion of the mechanics of scribal circulation in subsequent chapters. My intention is to establish a framework within which the extant evidence can be understood: what particular value does each manuscript have for our understanding of Strode's poetry and its circulation?

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[12] Ibid.

[13] See Sir Walter Ralegh, *The Poems of Sir Walter Ralegh: A Historical Edition*, ed. by Michael Rudick (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies in conjunction with Renaissance English Text Society, 1999)

[14] Mark Bland, *A Guide to Early Printed Books and Manuscripts* (London: Wiley Blackwell, 2011), p. 155.

2.2 The Corpus MS: transcribing and revising

The Corpus MS is the most extensive autograph collection of Strode's poetry, containing in total 107 of Strode's English poems, sixty-six Latin poems, and two Greek poems, as well as poetry by Richard Corbett, Henry King, and Henry Reynolds, and a copy of a lecture by the University of Oxford's professor of Greek. The significance of the Corpus MS lies in providing evidence of how Strode composed (in two cases), transcribed and revised his verse. In addition, through the traces of how William Fulman used the manuscript in the late seventeenth-century, we can form a surprisingly detailed impression of a now lost, larger autograph manuscript to which the Corpus MS is related, which is the focus of the final section of this chapter.

The survival of the Corpus MS can be explained by a chain of events and individuals linking Strode's possessions after his death, with the late seventeenth-century antiquary, William Fulman. The story begins with Anthony Wood's biographical sketch in *Alumni Oxonienses*, where he notes that Strode left a number of manuscripts behind after his death, '*Orations, Speeches, Epistles, Sermons*

&c...fairly written in several volumes'.[15] Wood states that the manuscripts became the property of Richard Gardiner, canon of Christ Church and then 'came after, or before his death' into the hands of Richard Davis, an Oxford bookseller.[16] It is worth noting that no such manuscripts have ever been identified, although it is possible that the volume of *Epistles* was consulted by Thomas Smith in the late-seventeenth century, from which he produced a booklet titled 'Letters of D^r^ Strode written in the Name and by *th*e Order of *th*e University of Oxford'.[17] It is worth noting, too, that Wood does not mention poetry manuscripts like the Corpus MS or *SOC*. However, there remains good reason to believe that his account of manuscripts passing from Gardiner to Davis did take place, and that the Corpus MS was included in this process. In Richard Gardiner's will, written in 1670 and proved in November 1671, Gardiner bequeathed 'my Hebrew bookes and my Controuersy Tracts with D^r^ Strodes sermon notes not bound in books' to the Parson of Credenhill.[18] 'Sermon notes not bound in books' does not sound like the 'fairly written' volumes described by Wood, but Gardiner's will at least confirms that, by the time of his death, he did possess some of Strode's manuscripts. Furthermore, Gardiner's will confirms his association with Richard Davis, who was one of the will's executors, and evidently a close friend of Gardiner, who bequeaths items to Davis, as well as to his wife and daughter. Gardiner in fact alludes to selling his books and manuscripts during the civil war (by 1670 only some 'small reliques' survive), and it is possible that these items were sold to Davis.[19] This route provides the best explanation at present as to how Fulman, who bought and loaned books, as well as corresponded with Davies, came to own the Corpus MS and gain access to

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[15] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, p. 152.
[16] Ibid. For more on Davis see Forey, 'Davis, Richard' (1617/18-1693)', *ODNB*.
[17] Bod. MS Smith 26, pp. 17-32 (*CELM*, StW 1484).
[18] Oxford University Archives Wills G-Ha. Cited in Forey, p. lxxxv, n.4.
[19] Oxford University Archives Wills G-Ha.

SOC, probably at some time between 1665-1675, whilst revising his antiquarian work *Notitia Academiae Oxonienses*.[20]

Although consulted by Dobell and Simpson for their edition, the Corpus MS was not identified as Strode's autograph notebook until the 1950s, whilst the manuscript was temporarily housed in the Bodleian for conservation. Margaret Crum compared its handwriting to known examples of Strode's hand in the University archives, thereby verifying its status as Strode's autograph.[21] A quarto in eights, the Corpus MS still retains its contemporary calf binding, with gilt-fillet decorations and centrepieces on the upper and lower boards. Its binding is not identifiable from the information gathered about Oxford bookbinders by David Pearson, Strickland Gibson or Neil Ker, but Forey suggests that if Strode did indeed acquire the notebook in Oxford, it may have been the work of William Wildgoose.[22] However, Forey's reasons for arguing that Wildgoose was the binder remain unclear, other than the fact that Wildgoose was active at this time.

The Corpus MS contains the same paper stock throughout (grapes, and the edges of a pot are visible in the gutter, but not in sufficient detail for comparison), apart from the four additional folio leaves pasted in by Fulman between folios 138 and 139. This detail, as well as the fact that Strode's writing never disappears into the gutter, indicates that the manuscript began life as a pre-bound notebook, which once contained 164 leaves. In its present state, it retains 158 of these with the stubs of six extracted leaves still visible (folios 92; 113-14; 119; 147; 163). The extracted leaves mean that some poems are present in only a fragmentary form. The end of 'Westwell Elme' (*CELM*, *StW 1234), and the beginning of 'To Mr Rives heal'd by a strange cure by Barnard Wright Chirurgion in Oxon' (*CELM*, *StW 1139) would have been found on the extracted folio 92; and the beginning of 'To the Lady Knighton' (*CELM*, *StW 1169) would have been found on folios 113-114, as well as most probably, other texts. But for these examples however, the remaining extracted leaves do not interrupt Strode's poems, meaning that they were extracted prior to his transcriptions. Whether or not all of the leaves were extracted during Strode's lifetime is not clear, but all were neatly cut, rather than torn out, suggesting that they were deliberately removed rather than that they deteriorated.

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[20] Strode is not mentioned in the first edition of the work, published in 1665, but is included in the 1675 revised edition. See *Notitia academiae Oxoniensis* (Oxford: Richard Davis, 1675), sig. M3^{v}.
[21] Crum, 'William Fulman and an Autograph Manuscript of the Poet Strode'.
[22] Forey, p. lvii, n.2. See David Pearson, *Oxford Bookbinding 1500-1640* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 2000).

The earliest datable material in the Corpus MS is found amongst Strode's Latin poetry: an epitaph on the death of William Goodwin, Dean of Christ Church, who died in 1620.[23] The dates of the Latin poems in fact show that Strode was particularly active in this medium during the 1620s. As well as the epitaph on Goodwin, we find a verse composed shortly afterwards, celebrating Corbett as Goodwin's successor in 1620, and a number of other occasional poems dating to the early 1620s.[24] However, it is clear that Strode did not transcribe the Latin verse in order of its composition. An epitaph on one Anthony Carew (dated to 1621) precedes the celebration of Corbett's accession to the Deanery of Christ Church, and this poem occurs prior to the epitaph on the death of Corbett's predecessor.[25] The Latin poems therefore, were not transcribed in the chronological order of their composition, and may have actually been copied at a much later date.

As far as the English poems are concerned, the Corpus MS does not contain any of Strode's earliest datable poems: the elegies on James Van Otten (*d.*1622; *CELM*, StW 507-509) and John Dawson, Butler of Christ Church (*d.*1622; *CELM*, CoR 472-498). But that is not to say that the English poems in the Corpus MS do not predate 1622, only that it is more difficult to verify their chronology. The earliest datable poem in the Corpus MS in fact, is the fragmentary copy of 'To Mr Rives heal'd by a strange cure by Bernard Wright Chirurgion in Oxon' (*c*.1626), which dates to after 1622 (since it mentions van Otten's death) and could have been penned no later than 1626 (since it refers to Wright as if he were alive).[26] At the other end of the manuscript's chronology, the latest datable poem concerns the birth of Sir John Hele's daughter in 1637.[27]

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[23] CCC MS 325, fol. 8^{r-v} (*CELM*, *StW 1433)

[24] CCC MS 325, fols 4v-5v (*CELM*, *StW 1425), 1^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 1445), 23^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 1446).

[25] CCC MS 325, fols 1^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 1445); 4^{v}-5^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 1425); 8v-9r (*CELM*, *StW 1433).

The chronology of the Corpus MS and its use over this period can be best grasped by examining its handwriting, structure, and transcriptional phases. Strode organized the notebook into distinct sections. It begins with a run of Latin poems, followed by Corbett's verse (accompanied by Strode's translations). There is then more Latin poetry, followed by a copy of an oration by the University of Oxford's professor of Greek.[28] Corbett's poetry then returns, before Strode begins to transcribe his English poems until the end of the manuscript, interrupted only occasionally by some Latin epitaphs and their English translations, as well as copies of poems by Henry King and Henry Reynolds. It is clear that Strode did not stick rigidly to this structure; his English poems begin midway through the manuscript, and, once Strode begins to run out of space, he returns to the earlier blanks. This means that the English poems found earliest in the Corpus MS were probably amongst the last transcribed.

Across each of these sections, Strode's hand ranges from a mixed script with secretary elements to an italic script in varying degrees of neatness.[29] The mixed hand with its most extreme secretary forms begins on folio 52^{r}, with Strode's translation of Ulysses' speech from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (*CELM*, *StW 1206 Figures 2.2-2.3). Noteworthy features of this hand are a minuscule *a* with an elongated initial stroke ('all'), secretary *c*/*C* ('speech'; 'Countrymen') and *h* ('than'). From folio 85^{r}, with Strode's elegy 'On the death of Doctor Langton President of Maudlin Colledg' (*CELM*, *StW 549), the secretary elements gradually drop (Figure 2.4). Secretary *D* ('Doctor') is still present, but from this point Strode begins to use italic forms for *c* ('cut'), *r* ('respects') and *h* ('the'). By folio 99^{r}, the hand has taken on the italic style entirely, with distinctive *g* ('Nightingale'), *p* ('past'), *y* ('your'), and *f* ('fading') graphs (Figure 2.5). Forey argued that these changes in hand have a 'chronological significance'.[30] She argues that the secretary hand represents Strode's earliest style of handwriting, and gradually became italic during the course of a decade. The 'transitional hand' seen for a block of epitaphs dating to around 1626-1628 can be seen in Strode's signature for his subscription register, dating to 1628, whereas the poems transcribed in italic date from the early 1630s onwards.

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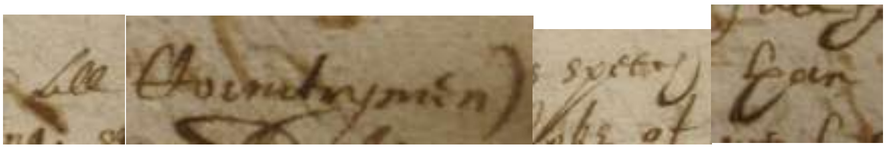
[26] CCC MS 325, fol. $62^{r\text{-}v}$ (*CELM* *StW 1139).

[27] 'On Mistress Jane Hele borne on the 24 Aprill betwixt St. George's Day and St. Markes. 1637. A Calculation', CCC MS 325, fol. 126^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 510).

[28] CCC MS 325, fols 70^{r}-72^{v}.

[29] For an alphabet of Strode's hand, see Appendix 1.

Figure 2.2 Details, CCC MS 325, fol. 52^{r}



'all' 'Countrymen' 'speech' 'than'

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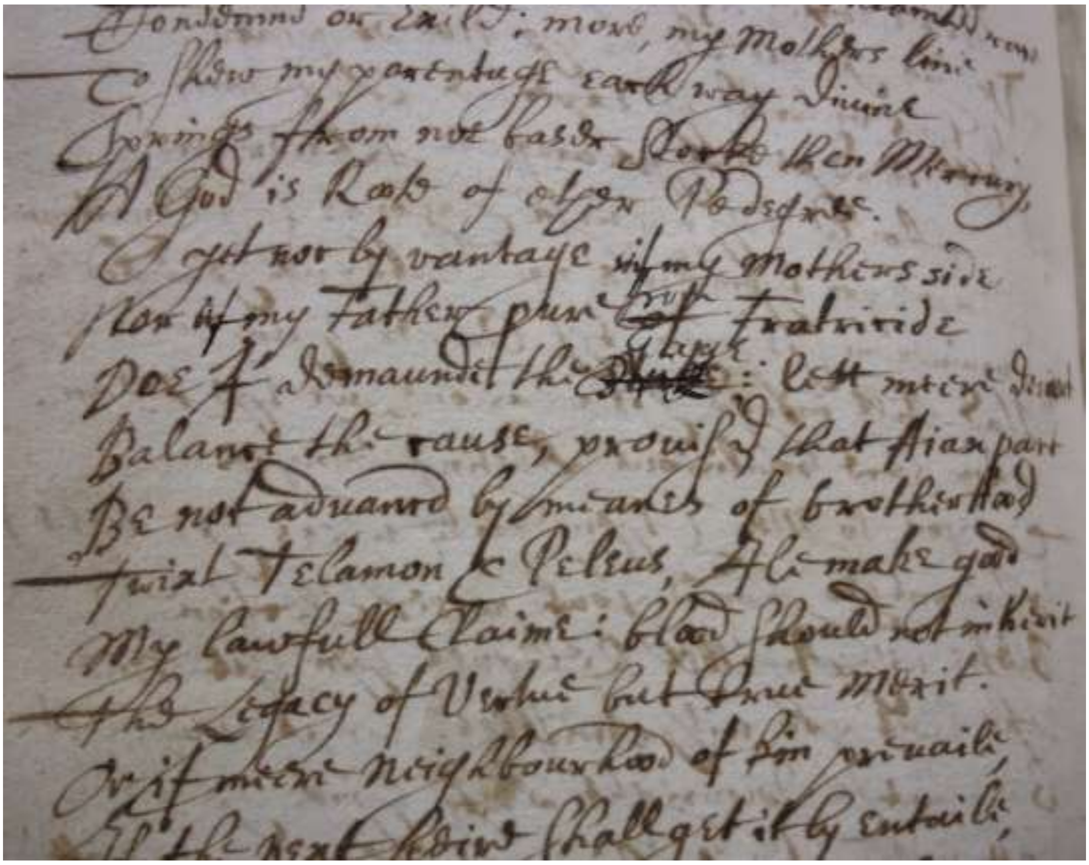
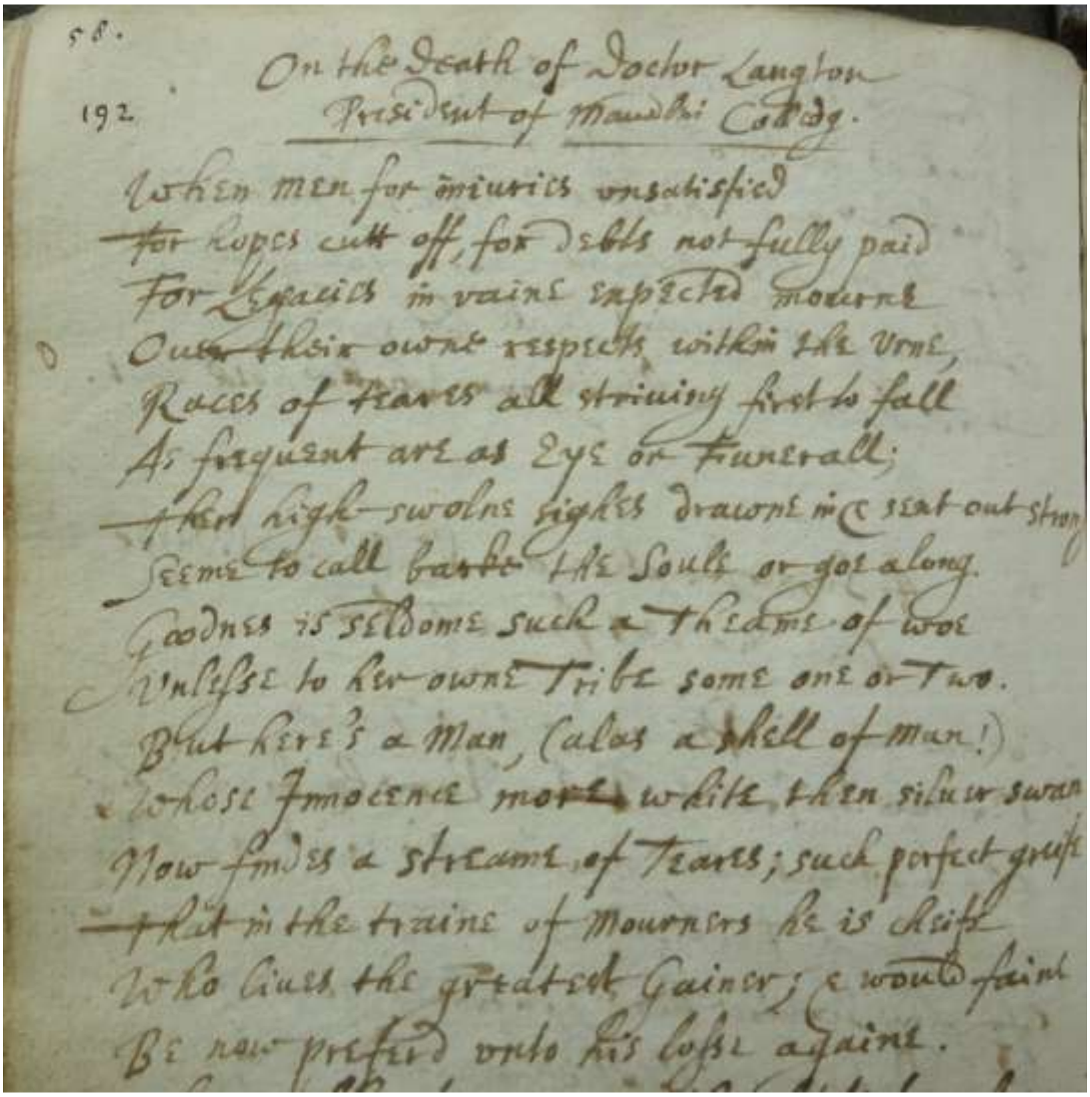
[30] Forey, p. lx.



Condemnd or exil'd: more, my Mothers line
To shew my parentage each way divine
Springs from not baser Stocke then Mercury,
A God is [illegible] of other Progenie.
Yet not by vantage of my Mothers side
Nor of my Father pure ~~[illegible]~~ from fratricide
Doe I demaund the ~~[illegible]~~ Clayme: lett meere desert
Balance the cause, provided that Aiax part
Be not advanced by meanes of brotherhood
Twixt Telamon & Peleus, Ile make good
My lawfull Claime: blood should not inherit
The Legacy of Vertue but true Merit.
Or if meere neighbourhood of kin prevaile,
Is the next heire shall get it by entaile;

Figure 2.3 Detail, CCC MS 325, fol. 52v

Figure 2.4 Details, CCC MS 325, fol. 86^{v}

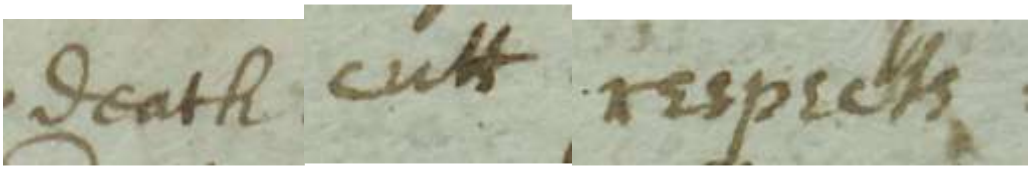


58.

192

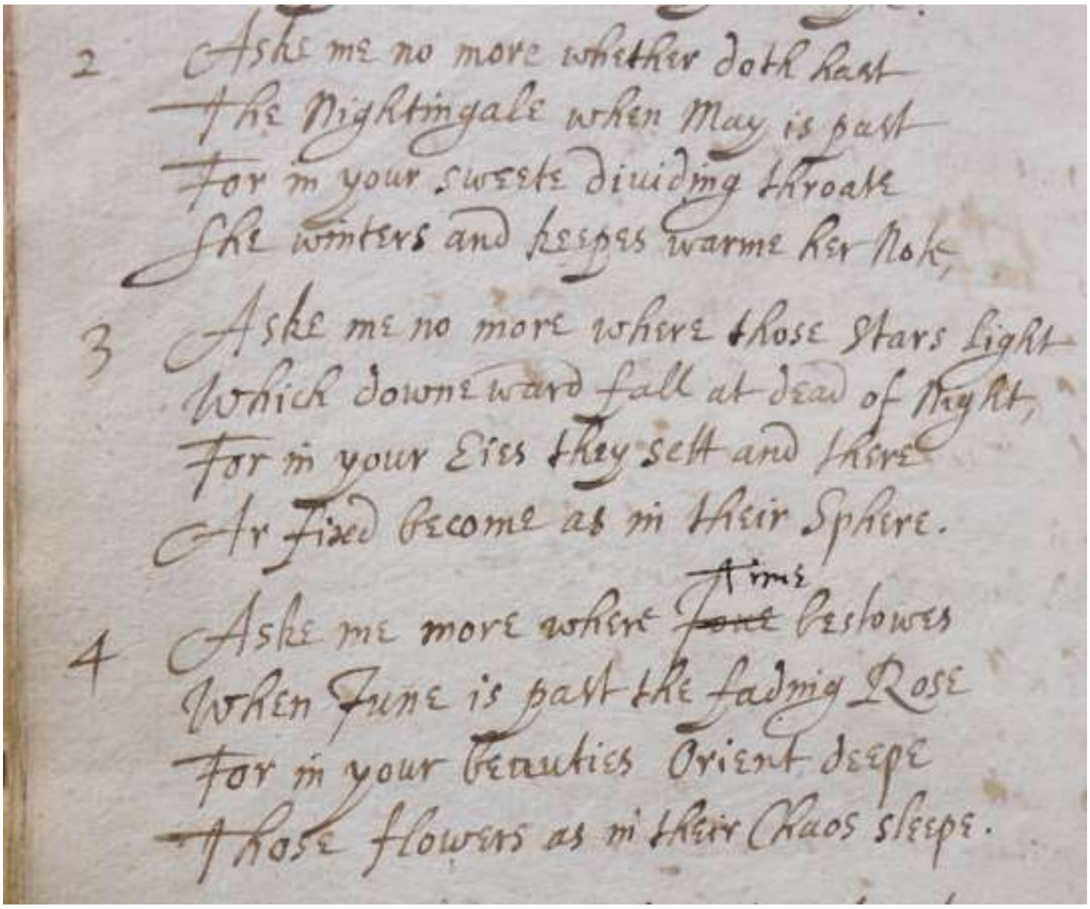
On the Death of Doctor Langton
President of Maudlin Colledg.

When men for iniuries unsatisfied
For hopes cutt off, for debts not fully paid
For Legacies in vaine expected mourne
Over their owne respects within the Urne,
Races of teares all striving first to fall
As frequent are as Eys or Funerall;
Their high-swolne sighes drawne in & sent out strong
Seeme to call backe the Soule or goe along.
Goodnes is seldome such a Theame of woe
Unlesse to her owne Tribe some one or two.
But here's a Man, (alas a shell of man!)
Whose Innocence more white then silver swan
Now findes a streame of Teares; such perfect greife
That in the traine of Mourners he is cheife.
Who lives the greatest Gainer; & would faine
Be now prefer'd unto his losse againe.



‘Death’ ‘cutt’ ‘respects’

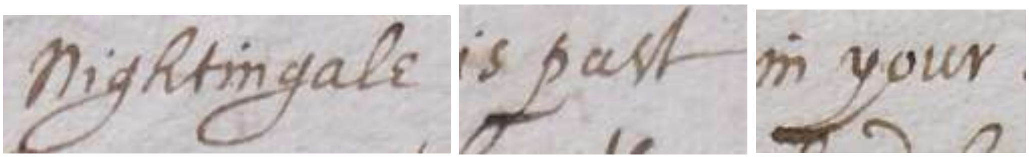
Figure 2.5 Details, CCC MS 325, fol. 100^{v}



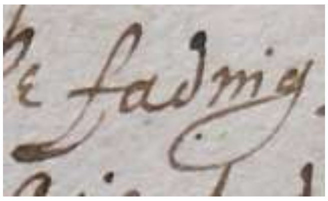
2 Aske me no more whether doth hast
The Nightingale when May is past
For in your sweete diuiding throate
She winters and keepes warme her Note,

3 Aske me no more where those Stars light
Which downe ward fall at dead of Night,
For in your Eies they sett and there
Ar fixed become as in their Sphere.

4 Aske me more where ~~Ioue~~ Time bestowes
When June is past the fading Rose
For in your beauties Orient deepe
Those flowers as in their Chaos sleepe.



‘Nightingale’ ‘past’ ‘your’



‘fading’

However neat and precise this suggestion may seem, the way that the secretary elements do gradually drop over the course of the Corpus MS does lend credence to Forey's argument. It still requires, however, some qualification. Forey does not mention the fact that all of the Latin poems are copied in the hand she dates to the 1630s, meaning that if her argument is indeed the case, this content was not transcribed until then. This is indeed possible, but I do not understand why, if Strode had the empty pages available, he would not have begun his English transcriptions at the beginning of the volume rather than mid-way through it. An alternative possibility is that Strode once opted for an italic hand when writing Latin and for presentation manuscripts, and the mixed, almost secretary hand for English; gradually, the secretary elements were dropped, and the italic hand took over in both languages.

Thinking about the manuscript in terms of its changing scripts helps us to use the Corpus MS as a means to organize Strode's poetry chronologically. The English poems transcribed from folio 52^r until 102^v, predominantly in the mixed and transitional scripts, but ending with the beginnings of the italic script most probably date to pre-1633. This is because Daniel Leare, whose verse miscellany I discuss in the next chapter, seems to have stopped acquiring his Strode poems around 1633, when he left Christ Church. The last four poems he copies are the 'A Song' ('Aske me no more whether doth stray'), 'Answere or Mock-song', 'A Moderating Answere to Both' and 'On a Faire Crooked Gentlewoman, Proude and Dissembling'.[31] Poems up until this region of the Corpus MS tended to circulate widely, and it is not uncommon to find upwards of ten extant witnesses for poems belonging to this section in seventeenth-century manuscripts. By contrast, the poems after this point in the Corpus MS, dating from the mid-1630s in all but three cases survive in no other witnesses, suggesting that Strode restrained the circulation of his verse during this period, or was not in a position for it to have circulated more freely. As Forey has suggested, it is useful to classify these two distinct clusters of texts within Strode's corpus as Group I and Group II.[32]

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[31] BL Add. MS 30982, fols 120^r-18^r rev. (*CELM*, CwT 727; StW 22, 239, 362).

Strode not only transcribed poems in the Corpus MS, but also revised and emended them. Forey observed that over three-quarters of the English poems show evidence of revision, ranging from small-scale alterations to extensive rewriting.[33] She also identified a means of loosely classifying Strode's revisions according to the tone of ink used by Strode in at least three, but probably more phases. Firstly, an ink which has faded to brown was used for all of the poems in Group I, and many of the poems in Group II; a russet ink copied some of the poems in Group II and occasionally revised poems in Group I; a much more intense, black ink revised poems in both sections. The revisions in black are the most common, across the whole manuscript, which suggests that Strode made a thorough revision of all the English poems in the Corpus MS after he had transcribed the Group II texts.[34]

The revisions can be classified into three groups: firstly, errors of transcription, which Strode corrected soon after transcribing a poem (if not immediately). In such cases, Strode often uses a caret to signal his insertion.[35] This occurs, for example in the fragmentary copy of a verse letter addressed to one 'Mr Rives', in which Strode copied the line 'Or if you will you may *th*e same conuert', before crossing through 'conuert' in the same colour ink and, by means of a caret and an insertion above the line offered 'translate'.[36] This particular reading will emerge as significant in my later discussion of the Holgate MS (Morgan MA 1057; *CELM*, StW Δ 22), to which I turn in Chapter 4.[37] For the present, it is sufficient to say that Strode appears to have made the revision instantaneously, as if the revised reading of 'translate' had already been made to the text from which he was copying, but that Strode mistakenly copied his initial thoughts. At other times, such corrections suggest that Strode copied content into the Corpus MS at least in part from memory, such as when he began to title 'The Commendation of Gray Eies', 'The Commendation of ~~Mu~~[sique]'.[38] In other instances the mistaken duplication – and subsequent deletion of lines – is indicative of 'eyeskip' when reading from the source text.[39] Such moments should properly be considered corrections rather than revisions; that is, they tell us more about Strode's production of the Corpus MS, rather than about the evolution of his poems' textual history.

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[32] Forey, pp. lx-lxii.
[33] Ibid., p. lxv.
[34] Ibid., p. lxvi, n. 2.
[35] Ibid., p. lxix.

While the above kind of variation is suggestive of Strode's transcriptional practice, it is also possible to see him making similarly small-scale, but deliberate changes by writing over his initial text. Such revisions are common throughout the Corpus MS, ranging from the tweaking of one or two words, to revisions on a more dense, extensive level. For example, 'A song on the Baths' (*CELM*, *StW 984), shows that Strode revised text in every stanza. But however dense, the revisions do not necessarily amount to a poem drastically altered in sense. Stanza two is a case in point:

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[36] CCC MS 325, fol. 62^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 1139).
[37] Cf. Chapter 4.3, 'Reassessing the provenance of the Rosenbach MS II and the Holgate MS'.
[38] CCC MS fols 94^{v}-95^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 35)
[39] See for example, CCC MS 325, fols 68^{r}-69^{r}, 'Song' ('Hath Christmas furrd your Chimneys'; *CELM*, *StW 741). Strode repeats the line 'for all his horne & feather' before crossing it out on fol. 69^{r}.

Heate neuer was soe sweetely mett
With moist as in this shower
Old men are borne anew by swett
\ its restoring/
Of ~~this begetting~~ power:
When crippld ioynts we suppld see
And second liues new come
\The Cross/ ~~deceaues~~ \here shewes/
~~Who can deny~~ this Font to be
The Bodies Christendome.[40]

The revisions should not necessarily be thought of so much as attempts to finalize the poem, as changes for change's sake. Harold Love has described such revisions as 'serial publication', in which the scribal author 'freed from the print-publishing author's obligation to produce a finalized text suitable for large scale replication [...] is able both to polish texts indefinitely and to personalize them to suit the tastes of particular recipients'.[41] Love has even suggested that we might use the model of 'that of a musician playing variations on a favourite theme' as a means to explain the small-scale tinkering and tweaking found in the working papers of manuscript authors.[42] 'In some instances', Love writes, this kind of revision seems 'to grow from a lifestyle in which the activity of altering a text was more important than its outcome'.[43]

More substantial revisions in which the poem is wrought into a new form and elicits a different effect can be found in only two cases: 'To a Gentlewoman with Black Eyes, for a Frinde' (*CELM*, *StW 1084), and 'An Opposite to Melancholy' (*CELM*, *StW 641). In 'An Opposite to Melancholy' (originally the jovial counter-voice to a popular song written possibly by Thomas Middleton), Strode's revising hand transforms the poem into a more measured, even careful rejection of melancholy. The poem that once advocated unbridled joy becomes more moderate, most noticeably in line seventeen, which once read ‘Now take Care but only to be iolly’.[44] Strode’s revision instead instructs the reader to ‘take \no/ Care but ~~only~~ to be \wisely/ iolly’.[45] Likewise, ‘A Face which gladnes doth annoint’ becomes ‘A Face which ~~gladnes~~ \Conscience/ doth annoint’, and Strode calls for a ‘lusty’ rather than ‘causeless’ laugh. Finally, in some lines drafted at the bottom of the poem (signalled by Fulman to be read as the poem’s revised, opening lines), Strode contextualizes the rejection of melancholy as a response to the following:

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[40] CCC MS 325, fol. 91$^{\mathrm{v}}$ (*CELM*, *StW 984).
[41] Love, *Scribal Publication*, p. 53.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.

> \for strife well/
> For Business ~~well~~ don, ~~debates all~~ ended
> For ~~with~~ debts dischargd, & life amended;
> ~~Then active Thoughts~~ [.][46]

With this addition, the poem no longer functions as simply an answer to Middleton’s song, but a more considered and measured treatment of the rejection of melancholy.

Moving from lengthening to cutting poems, the autograph copy of ‘To a Gentlewoman with Black Eyes, for a Frinde’ (*CELM*, *StW 1084) shows evidence of heavy revision. Written in the tradition of Donne’s love poetry, in which a witty male speaker praises and persuades his mistress, this poem features a member of Christ Church arguing in favour of his match with his mistress, who belongs to a lower social rank. The Corpus MS shows that Strode deleted the entirety of the poem from the lines beginning ‘Obiect not that I will despise | The Parentage from which you rise’.[47] In this particular section of the poem, we learn of the speaker’s own identification with the Christ Church setting within which the poem originally circulated – ‘I myselfe my breath doe owe | To Wolseys roofe’ – and so the effect of Strode’s revisions is to transform a poem with specific allusions recognizable by an Oxford audience, into a poem with more expansive referential capacities.

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[44] CCC MS 325, fol. 94^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 641).

[45] CCC MS 325, fol. 94^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 641).

Fulman gestures with the annotation ‘Returne ut supr’ that these lines were placed above what was originally the first line of the poem’s original form. Above the line in the Corpus MS, Fulman has indeed written ‘For busi. – For Debts –v. infr’, an abbreviation of the new lines with the instruction to refer to them at the foot of the page. In the form encountered by Fulman, but lost to us, the poem therefore consisted of twenty, rather than eighteen lines (cf. Figure 2.6, below)

The cumulative effect of these revisions – an impulse to moderate and ‘safen’ readings and to make poems less contextually specific – may be taken as evidence that Strode was intending to print his poems, as both Crum and Forey have suggested.[48] According to this reading the lost volume *SOC* represents the volume of poems that Strode would have liked to have published, and his revisions suggest an older, more cautious – and ordained – poet at work, rewriting the more exuberant efforts of his youth, thereby making them more appealing to non-Christ Church readers.[49] In the revisions to ‘Song’ (‘As I out of a Casement sent’) for example, Strode alters of ‘Some god call backe againe that sight’ to ‘Some ~~god~~ \Power/call backe againe that sight’, and ‘twere profane’ to ‘twere but vaine’.[50] Forey views this as evidence of ‘attempts to remove terms with theological implications which might, by a public wider than the poet’s own circle of friends, be considered misused in a manner unsuited to a divine’.[51] I would however, urge caution when attempting to reconstruct Strode’s revisions, and attribute to them particular motivations. Firstly, as I will show in the next section, the fact that *SOC* existed is by no means an indication that Strode intended to print. Rather, we might instead read this as a symptom of our own desire to impose a familiar narrative on Strode’s poetic career, in which scribal publication is followed by an appearance in a printed collection.

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[47] CCC MS 325, fols 71^{v}-72^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 1084).
[48] Crum, ‘William Fulman and an Autograph Manuscript’, p. 326; Forey, p.lxxi.
[49] Forey, pp. lxx-lxxi.
[50] CCC MS 325, fols 63^{v}-64^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 726).
[51] Forey, pp. lxx-lxxi.

We should also be cautious about the very act of reading and interpreting the Corpus MS as if it contained within it, Strode's intentions in an uncomplicated, unmediated form. Although the Corpus MS shows that in some cases, Strode expresses a clear preference for one reading over another by deleting the discarded reading, at other times, it is not clear which reading he prefers and two or more alternatives are left. One such example is in line thirteen of 'An Opposite to Melancholy' (Figure 2.6), in a line where Strode fittingly describes 'Free wandring thoughts not tied to muse | Which glance on all things nothing chuse'.[52] He then returned to this line and revised it heavily:

unfetterd ~~Conceitfull~~
quick ~~Free wandring~~ thoughts not tied to muse
various freely
Which ~~glance~~ on all things ~~nothing~~ chuse,
thinke

Like the indecisive mental processes Strode writes about, the reading of the poem becomes itself unstable, 'various', 'Free wandring' and 'unfetterd'. That is, if we were to edit a copy-text of the poem based on Strode's final revisions, should we treat 'unfetterd', 'quick', or 'various' as the final adjective? This itself is a leading question: should manuscript revisions of this kind be thought of in such a teleological way, or instead be viewed as part of the ongoing process of revision available to a poet who was under no pressure to submit a preferred reading to a printer? A similar situation occurs at several other moments in the Corpus MS, signalling that Strode himself used the medium as a means to defer judgment because the medium allowed it. In this way, the survival of autograph manuscripts becomes perhaps less a means of pinning down the lines of textual transmission to stable points of origin, than a means of opening up and raising further questions about the nature of that text. As I argue later, in my materials towards an editorial methodology for Strode's poems, it is best to view the Corpus MS as not only a site in which Strode attempted to work his poems into some kind of final form, but also a site in which those poems were in a perpetual state of process. Gavin Alexander's thoughts on editing the even more textually unstable verse of Sir Fulke Greville are relevant here: '[w]hat we see in such cases is that the reader may, and perhaps should, find herself in the position not of interpreting the final text in light of the evidence of its evolution, but rather of interpreting a text which is that process of evolution itself'.[53] This would not necessarily be a disavowal of editorial judgment, but an attitude that itself reflects the inscrutability of the early modern document, freed from the teleological narrative of the manuscript poet revising for print.

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[52] CCC MS 325, fol. 94^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 641).

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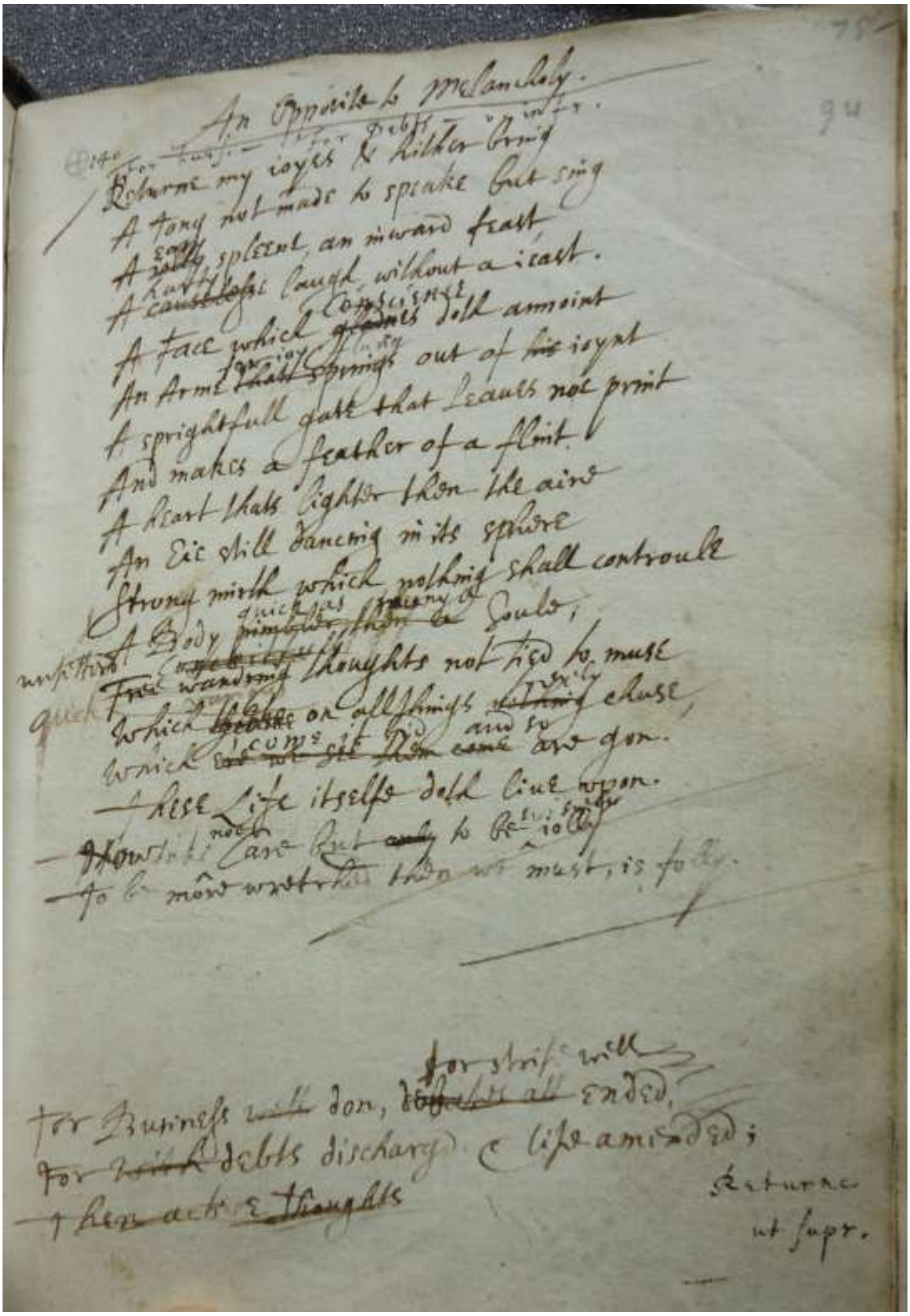
[53] Gavin Alexander, 'Final Intentions or Process? Editing Greville's *Caelica'*, *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 52 (2012), 13-33 (p. 30).

Figure 2.6 Detail, CCC MS 325, fol. 94^{r}



75
94

An Opposite to Melancholy.

140 [illegible] for debts [illegible]
Returne my ioyes & hither bring
A tong not made to speake but sing
A ~~[illegible]~~ easy spleene, an inward feast,
A ~~causelesse~~ hartye laugh, without a ieast.
A face which ~~[illegible]~~ conscience doth anoint
An Arme ~~thatt~~ for ioy ~~springs~~ flings out of ~~his~~ ioynt
A sprightfull gate that leaues not print
And makes a feather of a flint.
A heart thats lighter then the aire
An Eie still dancing in its sphere
Strong mirth which nothing shall controule
A Body ~~nimbler then the~~ quick as [illegible] Soule;
unfetter'd ~~Free wandring~~ thoughts not tied to muse
quick Which ~~[illegible]~~ on all things ~~[illegible]~~ freely chuse,
Which ~~[illegible]~~ come it [illegible] ~~came~~ and so are gon.
These Life itselfe doth liue upon.
~~Thou~~ How [illegible] care ~~but~~ not ~~only~~ to be ~~iolly~~
To be more wretched then we must, is folly.

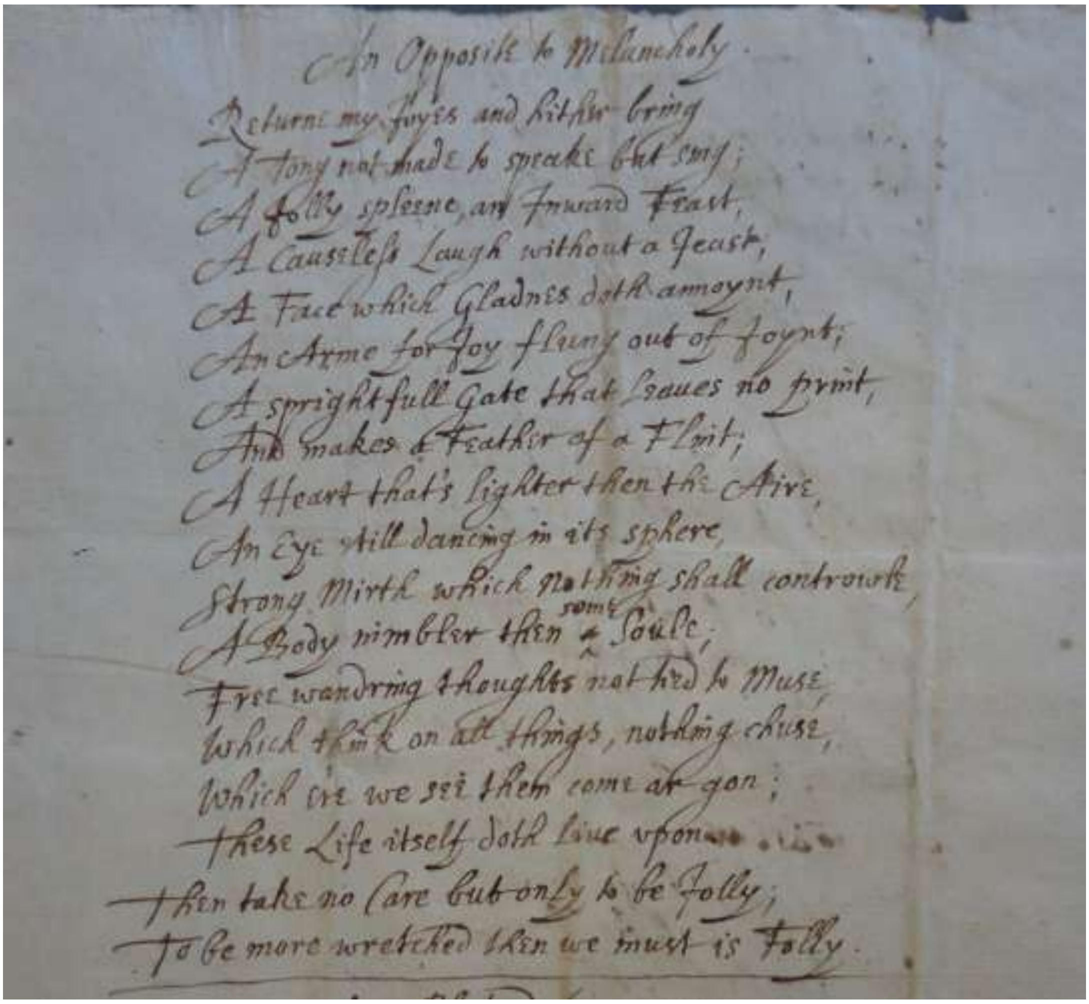
For Business ~~will~~ don, ~~[illegible] all~~ for strife will ended,
For ~~[illegible]~~ debts discharg'd & life amended;
~~Then acts & thoughts~~

Returne
ut supr.

The Corpus MS offers therefore, the potential to break Strode's poems down into several stages of composition and revision, and this has a clear value as far as the textual criticism and editing of his poems is concerned. Determining the order in which variants occur, and distinguishing between authorial revision and scribal emendation is one of the most problematic aspects of studying textual transmission in the absence of a verifiable authorial reading. However, I have also shown that the Corpus MS does not immediately yield insight into Strode's authorial intention as readily identifiable, convenient filiations in every case. Instead, its plurality of readings works against attempts to read Strode's poems in a teleological way. Both of these kinds of evidence will feature heavily in my subsequent discussions of understanding how Strode's poems circulated to his various collectors, and of the role these variants play in the editing of Strode's verse.

2.3. The Portland MS: circulating

The Corpus MS is a working notebook, and while it was made available to some verse collectors – three of whom are discussed in the following chapter – it cannot be said to represent the only way in which Strode's poems circulated. In this regard, we need to attend instead to the Portland MS (Figure 2.7), a smaller collection of Strode's verse that has, to date, only been discussed in the *IELM* and *CELM*. This manuscript provides a good indication of how Strode's poems travelled, rather than how they were stored, and as such provides an illustration of the material format in which some readers of Strode at Christ Church would have encountered his poetry.



An Opposite to Melancholy.

Returne my Joyes and hither bring
A Tong not made to speake but sing;
A Jolly spleene, an Inward Feast,
A Causeless Laugh without a Jeast,
A Face which Gladnes doth anoynt,
An Arme for Joy flung out of Joynt;
A sprightfull Gate that leaues no print,
And makes a Feather of a Flint;
A Heart that's lighter then the Aire,
An Eye still dancing in its sphere,
Strong Mirth which nothing shall controwle,
A Body nimbler then ~~a~~ some Soule,
Free wandring thoughts not tyed to Muse,
Which think on all things, nothing chuse,
Which ere we see them come are gon;
These Life itself doth live vpon.
Then take no Care but only to be Jolly;
To be more wretched then we must is Folly.

Figure 2.7, Detail, Portland MS Pw V 397, fol. 1^{v}

The Portland MS's authenticity as an autograph is without doubt: every aspect of its handwriting conforms to verifiable examples of Strode's hand in all respects, showcasing Strode's neatest, italic penmanship, which according to the account of Strode's hand given above, would date the manuscript to the late 1620s onwards. The Portland MS is a collection of eight poems, written out on two conjugate folio leaves, gathered together in order to form a booklet. Each poem is transcribed in Strode's neat, italic hand, with each completed transcription followed by a horizontal pen-stroke. Without doubt, this is not part of a larger manuscript containing further verse by Strode, but a self-contained, smaller collection as a booklet. It shows, that is, no evidence that it was bound together with other sheets, and no poems begin, end, or are missing from the group that Strode originally copied. The resulting booklet shows signs of folding, by two horizontal folds in order to make a long, thin packet. No further evidence of its transmission, receipt or storage is visible. The poems are arranged in the following order:

Fols	**Poem**
1^{r}	'A Musical Contemplation' (headed 'The Commendation of a good voyce'; *CELM*, *StW 241).
1^{r}	'A Wassal' (*CELM*, *StW 1211)
1^{v}	'An Opposite to Melancholy' (*CELM*, *StW 624)
1^{v}	'On a blisterd Lippe' (*CELM*, *StW 269)
2^{r}	'Song' ('Keepe on your maske, yea hide your Eye; *CELM*, *StW 836)
2^{r}	'Song A Parallel betwixt bowling and preferment' (*CELM*, *StW 925)
2^{v}	'In commendation of Musique' (headed 'The Commendation of Musick'; *CELM*, *StW 158)
2^{v}	'Song' ('O sing a new song to the Lord'; headed 'An Anthem'; *CELM*, *StW 869)

Figure 2.8 The contents of Portland MS Pw V 397

There is frustratingly little evidence concerning the provenance of the Portland MS, other than the fact that it is part of the Portland Literary Papers (deposited between the University of Nottingham and the British Library). This tells us that the manuscript was probably once part of the library of the Dukes of Portland at Welbeck Abbey, Nottinghamshire, but it is still unclear how, why, and when the manuscript came into this collection. One possible explanation is that the manuscript was presented to William Cavendish, First Duke of Newcastle or a member of his family. This would suggest that Strode was amongst the many poets and playwrights of the seventeenth century who sought patronage from the Cavendish family. But in the absence of any direct evidence of such a transaction, this relationship must be considered speculative.[54]

The Portland MS has significance from a textual-critical and material-textual perspective. Its textual-critical importance lies in providing an autograph witness to the poem 'In commendation of Musique' (*CELM*, StW 158-91), one of Strode's most widely circulated lyrics. It should therefore play a central role in the editing of that text. The seven other texts in Portland MS also provide further autograph witnesses to Corpus MS, giving us greater insight into Strode's methods of revision. In the *CELM*, Beal suggests that the texts of the Portland MS 'may be regarded as intermediate in the evolution of the respective poems: that is to say they are close (but with peculiar changes) to those in [the Corpus MS] before the insertion in that manuscript of substantial later revisions'.[55] In almost all cases the texts of the Portland MS correspond directly with the early versions of their counterpart witnesses of the Corpus manuscript, indicating that Strode tended to reproduce substantively the same text across multiple autograph witnesses. In other words, the autographs derive (perhaps unsurprisingly) from the same source, or sources.

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[54] See *IELM*, II, p. 352.

[55] Beal, 'William Strode', *CELM* http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/StrodeWilliam.html [acceessed 4 Jan 2016].

Secondly, the Portland MS is suggestive of the ways in which Strode stored and circulated his texts. The manuscript's material form – a booklet – attests to how texts travelled in early modern England. It shows that is, how Strode's poems may have circulated in smaller units. This format, as Daniel Starza Smith has recently explained, allowed for 'quick reproduction and easy circulation'.[56] The notion that Strode circulated poems in smaller groups as single sheets and booklets also provides an explanation as to why we find patterns of loose association – similarities and differences – between certain witnesses; Strode would not necessarily reproduce the same order of poems twice.

Strode would have likely utilized this method of textual reproduction and circulation throughout his career. Indeed, when he refers to the materiality of his own poems, he only ever does so by calling attention to them as single sheets and leaves rather than part of a whole collection. In one verse letter, for example, he refers to the poem as payment for patronage in the form of 'One leafe of Paper'.[57] The mechanics of this kind of circulation will emerge as significant in my later discussions of the Leare, Osborn II and Elizabeth Lane MSS in Chapter 3. Next however, I will examine the relationship between loose sheets, the Corpus manuscript and Strode's fashioning of a poetic corpus in his lost 'other Copie'.

2.4. Strode's 'other Copie' (*SOC*): collecting and arranging

We have known of the existence of another, more formal collection of Strode's verse since Crum's identification of the Corpus MS. Crum noticed that when

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[56] Smith, 'Before (and after) the Miscellany: Reconstructing Donne's *Satires* in the Conway Papers', in Eckhardt and Smith (eds.), pp. 17-39 (p. 17).

[57] Folger MS V.a.170, p. 95 (*CELM*, StW 1177).

William Fulman owned the manuscript, he left his distinctive, neat italic hand on many of the Corpus MS's pages. Some of these notes record Fulman's knowledge of the poems, their contexts and publication history. He notes for instance, that 'Natalitium Caroli' (*CELM*, *StW 1460), Strode's translation of Corbett's poem celebrating the birth of prince Charles (*CELM*, CoR 511-12), was printed in 1630 ('Impress. 1630'), and adds that Sir John Portman, the Wadham student memorialized in a funerary elegy by Strode, 'Dyed Dec. 10. 1624'.[58] Other notes, however, make it clear that Fulman was sometimes referring to a specific manuscript. In a series of interleaved pages added to the Corpus MS, Fulman added the note:

> Dr Strodes Poems
>
> 1. Sylvae. Woodmusings.
>   Or Varieties.
> 2. Translations.
> 3. Odae. Songs and Sonnets.
> 4. Lachrymae. Elegies and Epitaphs.[59]

This appears to be the outline for a manuscript collection of Strode's poems, and possibly its titlepage.[60] Fulman refers to it again in the next note, when he refers to 'Strodes Lachrymae. p. < > 220'.[61] And, at the foot of Strode's copy of 'A Song' ('Aske me no more whether doth stray'; *CELM*, CwT 722-64), Fulman notes that he has seen the poem 'in Strodes other Copie'.[62] These three references to 'Strodes Poems', 'Strodes Lachrymae' and 'Strodes other Copie' make it clear that Fulman was referring consistently to an alternative source of Strode's texts. Based on the information he supplies about this manuscript – its structure around Strode's authorship – it resembles no extant witness of Strode's poems today, which are otherwise collected on single sheets or in verse miscellanies.

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[58] CCC MS 325, fols, 24^{r}, 80^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 1460; *StW 597).
[59] CCC MS 325, fol. 105^{v}.
[60] For the contents of this manuscript, see Appendix 4.
[61] CCC MS 325, fol. 106^{r}.
[62] CCC MS 325, fol. 100^{v} (*CELM*, CwT 750).

We can, however, form an impression of the nature of *SOC* by paying careful attention to Fulman's notes. As Crum observed, Fulman not only paginated the Corpus MS, but also added a series of numbers next to the headings of Strode's poems. These numbers do not run in ascending order. 'A New yeares gift' (*CELM*, *StW 267), for example, is accompanied by the number '68', but the poem immediately following, 'On the Star which appeard at Prince Charles his Birth' is given the number '48'.[63] Crum noticed that when these numbers from across the Corpus MS are rearranged in ascending order, they fall into the four distinct categories outlined by Fulman in his note concerning 'Dr Strodes Poems'. To use the example of the 'Translations', Strode's 'Ulysses his speech translated out of the 13th booke of Ouids Metamorph:' is given the number '77'; the next translation in the Corpus MS, 'A Translation of the Nightingale out of Strada', is given the number '92', and the final poem from this category, 'The Description of Ætna out of Claudian' is labelled '95'.[64] Thus, although these poems are widely dispersed throughout the Corpus MS, they were positioned consecutively to each other in *SOC*. The same pattern holds for a series of poems listed by Fulman, but which are not present in the Corpus MS. Figure 2.9 lists these poems and identifies them where possible with the corresponding texts in the *CELM*. Fulman's list includes eight poems which have not yet been identified, a subject to which I return in the next chapter. It also includes poems which do not survive in Strode's autograph, but which are consistently ascribed to him, such as 'A Sigh' (*CELM*, StW 707-22), 'A

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[63] CCC MS 325, fol. 51^{r-v} (*CELM*, *StW 607).

[64] CCC MS 325, fols 52^{r}-58^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 1206), 74^{v}-75^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 1189), 97^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 58).

Girdle' (*CELM*, StW 143-56) and 'To a Valentine' (*CELM*, StW 1113-28). This means that *SOC* contained by far the most comprehensive collection of Strode's poems known to have ever existed: in total, 114 poems to the Corpus MS's 101.

Page	**Fulman's abbreviated heading in Corpus MS**	**Identification of poem in *CELM***
12	To a Valent.	To a Valentine (*CELM*, StW 1113-28)
13	Three Dolphins.	On three Dolphins s[p]ewing down Water into a white Marble Bason' (*CELM*, StW 608-22)
13	Widow Mar.	Unrecorded by *CELM*
16	Midle Temp.	Unrecorded by *CELM*
38	Hazel Eyes.	The commendation of gray Eies (*CELM*, StW 35-57)
42	Girdle.	A Girdle (*CELM,* StW 143-56)
65	Valedict.	Unrecorded by *CELM* (lost)
69	Born in June.	Unrecorded by *CELM* (lost)
120	Lovesigh.	A Sigh (*CELM*, StW 707-22)
123	Musick.	In commendation of Musique (*CELM*, StW 158-91)
126	Friends absence.	On a freind's absence (*CELM*, StW 364-77)
142	Chloris, Amynt.	Unrecorded by *CELM* (lost)
143	Harts and Eyes.	Unrecorded by *CELM* (lost)
148	Clifton Hunt.	Unrecorded by *CELM* (lost)
150	Hawk.	Unrecorded by *CELM* (lost)
158	Mistresse.	'A Song' ('Aske me no more whether doth stray'; *CELM*, CwT 722-64)

Figure 2.9 William Fulman's list of poems by Strode found in the 'other Copie' (*SOC*) but omitted from the Corpus MS, with identifications of those poems from the *CELM*

In addition to making notes of where poems occurred in *SOC*, Fulman also transcribed some content directly from that manuscript into the Corpus MS. Many of the poems are, for example, accompanied by extended headings or alternative headings, such as ‘On a greate hollow Tree’, to which Fulman adds, ‘Westwell Elme’, and ‘The \diuines/ Commendation of a good voyce’, to which Fulman adds ‘A Musical Contemplation’.[65] Fulman also records variant readings, none of which are found in any other manuscripts. Line two of ‘Upon Will: Bridle[...]’, for example reads in Strode’s hand, ‘It shall worke upon Will: Bridle’, and by this line in the margin, Fulman writes ‘on William’, a reading that neither of the two other witnesses copy.[66] Likewise, Fulman records a variant reading to the start of ‘On a watch made by a blacksmith’: ‘Vulcan and love of’ for ‘A Vulcan and a’.[67] None of the six non-autograph witnesses contains Fulman’s reading.[68] None of the extant non-autograph witnesses suggests that any other readers saw Strode’s revisions.

If variants recorded by Fulman indicate that he was transcribing from *SOC*, a manuscript containing Strode’s poems in unique states, then this interpretation becomes more certain once we consider the final kind of text added to the manuscript by Fulman: transcriptions of entire poems, together with their page numbers in *SOC*. Fulman transcribes into the Corpus manuscript four poems in their entirety: ‘An Inscription and Epitaphs on the Monument of Sir William Strode’,[69] ‘An Inscription on the Monument of Mis Ursula Sadleir’, ‘An Epitaph on Mr. Dayrell Reader of Grayes Inne, and Sometime Recorder of Abingdon’, and ‘On three Dolphins s[p]ewing down Water into a White Marble Bason'.[70] The three epitaphs survive in no other manuscripts at all (although the funerary epitaphs for Sir William Strode survive to this day in marble), meaning that Fulman's transcriptions constitute the only basis for an edition of these poems. This also makes it likely that the manuscript from which Fulman transcribed was *SOC* itself, the only collection known to have contained these poems. Fulman's copy of 'On three Dolphins' meanwhile, differs from all other extant witnesses by offering a longer heading (it is usually titled simply 'On a Fountain'), and in line five, where Fulman's transcription reads 'Water thus to give' instead of 'glorious to give'.[71] Fulman appears to be working from a document to which no known verse collectors are known to have had access.

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[65] CCC MS 325, fols 60^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 1234), 96^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 240).

[66] CCC MS 325, fol. 72^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 1207). For the other two witnesses, see BL Add. MS 30982, fols 132^{r}-31^{r} rev. (*CELM*, StW 1209); AUL MS 29, pp. 194-97 (*CELM*, StW 1208).

[67] CCC MS 325, fol. 95^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 471).

[68] AUL MS 29, p. 203 (*CELM*, StW 472); Bod. MS Eng. poet.e.97, p. 30 (*CELM*, StW 473); BL Add. MS 19268, fol. 42^{r} (*CELM*, StW 474); BL Add. MS 30982, fols 122^{r}-21^{v} rev. (*CELM*, StW 475); Folger MS V.a.97, p. 104 (*CELM*, StW 476); Yale Osborn MS b 205, fol. 59^{r} (*CELM*, StW 477).

[69] In the *CELM*, this poem is listed as ‘Epitaphes on the Monument of Sir William Stone’ (*CELM*, *StW 122). But the intended subject was clearly Sir William Strode.

This fragmentary evidence certainly invites a number of questions: how sure can we be that *SOC* was indeed an autograph manuscript? If this is the case, what was the function of the collection, as a means of simply storing poems, or also to arrange them into some order for reading? In answer to the first question, it is important to recognize the limitations of our knowledge. To be sure, we cannot know for certain whether or not Strode's handwriting was found in the manuscript, at least in lieu of its discovery. However, what we can know is that whoever arranged it did so at least in part directly from the Corpus MS. This is because within each section of *SOC* there are significant degrees of connection between it, and the Corpus MS On folio 81^{r}, for example, Strode began to transcribe a number of funerary elegies, beginning with 'On the death of Mistress Mary Prideaux'

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[70] CCC MS 325, fols 39^{r}-40^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 122), 41^{r} (*CELM*, StW 192), 42^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 103), 45^{r} (*CELM*, StW 608). Fulman also copies 'Ejusdem in Camd. 1624', printed in University of Oxford, *Camdeni insignia* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1624), sigs D3^{v}-4^{v} into the CCC MS 325, fols 13^{r}-14^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 1417). It should be noted that although the *CELM* uses an asterisk (*) to indicate that these copies are autograph (for all but *CELM*, StW 608), they are not autograph copies.

[71] CCC MS 325, fol. 45^{r} (*CELM*, StW 608).

(*CELM*, *StW 55) and followed by ‘On the death of the young Baronet Portman[...]’ (*CELM*, *StW 597) ‘On the death of Sir Thomas Pelham’ (*CELM*, *StW 573), ‘On Twins divided by death’ (*CELM*, *StW 623), ‘On the death of the Lady Caesar’ (*CELM*, *StW 592) and ‘On the death of Sir Thomas Leigh’ (*CELM*, *StW 565).[72] After this final elegy, Strode then copied some poems of other genres: ‘Thankes for a welcome’ (*CELM*, *StW 1053) and ‘A Superscription on Sir Philip Sidneys Arcadia sent for a Token’ (*CELM*, *StW 1042).[73] *SOC* copies the elegies in the same order, grouping them with the *Lachrymae*, whilst distributing the other poems to the *Sylvae*. The next funerary elegies in *SOC* are those that occur immediately afterwards in the Corpus MS, beginning with ‘On the Death of Doctor Langton, President of Maudlin Colledg’ (*CELM*, *StW 549).[74] This correspondence with the Corpus MS, visible throughout *SOC*, shows that *SOC* was produced side-by-side with the author’s own manuscripts. While it is possible that a non-authorial textual agent – and even one working after the author’s death – could perform a similar task, the extensive nature of *SOC*, and its correspondence with Strode’s autograph notebook make it highly likely that Strode did indeed produce this manuscript.

Looking more closely at the relationship between the manuscript’s different sections, we can also understand something of its material form and structure. When Crum and Forey first examined the structure of *SOC*, they noticed that Fulman’s numbering system would have left many blank pages in the manuscript. Some of these blanks occur between poems. For example, ‘To a Valentine’ (*CELM*, StW 1113-28), could not have taken up very much space at all (being only ten lines), and yet there is a six-page gap before the next poem, ‘On a Gentlewoman who escapd the marks of the Pox' (*CELM*, StW 410-31.5). While Forey is right to suppose that 'the space remaining was presumably occupied by other poems', it is also worth considering the fact that much larger gaps occur between each section, and these gaps suggest an additional explanation.[75] The *Sylvae* end on page sixty-nine, and the *Translations* begin on page seventy-seven; the *Translations* end on page ninety-five and are followed by the *Odae*, ten pages later on page 105 and finish on page 162; the *Lachrymae* do not begin until page 183. This amounts to forty-six blank pages between the different sections. It is likely that that these were indeed blank pages, suggesting that Strode either formed *SOC* from a pre-bound book and structured it by 'casting off blanks' (as he did the Corpus MS), or that he copied out the material and had it bound with blank pages. The blanks would presumably allow for any further poems to be added as and when Strode composed them, an opportunity with particular relevance to the *Lachrymae*, which I discuss below.

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[72] CCC MS 325, fols 81^{r}-84^{v}.
[73] CCC MS 325, fols 84^{v}-85^{r}.
[74] CCC MS 325, fols 85^{v}-86^{r}.

The function of *SOC* is a more troubling question. It is clear that this manuscript was a kind of 'master copy' of Strode's works, combining texts from the working notebook, as well as poems not found in the Corpus MS, which probably took the form of single sheets or booklets. This would explain how some of the poems from *SOC* found their way into the verse miscellanies of the three collectors I discuss in the next chapter, in orders that suggest a loose, but not exact connection with *SOC*. But was the manuscript destined for print? As I explained in the introduction to this thesis, Crum argued that *SOC* was 'a fair copy of Strode's poems arranged as he would have liked to see them published'.[76] She noted that the lost manuscript, together with the Corpus MS, 'might provide material for a more nearly complete edition of Strode's poems, one nearer to his intentions both in readings and in arrangement, than was formerly possible'.[77] This ambition was ultimately realized by Forey, Crum's student, whose 1966 B.Litt thesis is an edition based on an extrapolation of Strode's final intentions from the Corpus MS, arranged into the groupings of *SOC*. This designation of *SOC* as a fair copy is repeated in the *CELM*, where Beal describes it as 'An apparently formal volume of William Strode's poems, comprising upwards of 111 poems, prepared by the poet near the end of his life, possibly for intended publication'.[78] It can be seen that Crum, Forey, and subsequently Beal, made quite a leap from the fragmentary knowledge we have of *SOC* to an argument about the place of this lost manuscript in Strode's literary career: it comes to represent finalized intentions, and the ambition to print. This interpretation is persuasive, insofar as *SOC* does well appear to be an artfully arranged volume, and an artfully arranged volume does suggest that the manuscript would deserve the label of 'fair copy'. As a qualification though, I would urge caution when assuming that the existence of such a manuscript can be said to represent an ambition to print. As the many single-author collections of Donne's verse in manuscript readily attest, a carefully arranged and copied manuscript devoted to a single author's work does not equate with ambitions to appear in a printed collection.

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[75] Forey, p. lxxiii.

[76] Crum, 'William Fulman and an Autograph Manuscript', p. 326.

I would however, suggest that by looking at the order and arrangement of *SOC* we can at least say that it was a collection designed specifically for reading. While it may seem strange to 'read' a missing manuscript, we should not ignore what fragmentary evidence we do have – a skeleton structure, titles of poems and their order – merely because the manuscript lacks a material existence. *SOC* represents a unique opportunity to think about Strode's poetry outside of the context of a verse miscellany, surrounded by the works of other poets, and presented under the banner of Strode's own authorship. The following section surveys what is known of this lost manuscript, and how its strategies of order and arrangement shape the presentation of Strode's poetry and poetic career.

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[77] Ibid., p. 328.

[78] Beal, *CELM*, CwT 764 http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/authors/carewthomas.html#oxford-university-archives_id353982

2.5. Reading the 'other Copie'

Strode titled the first section of *SOC* 'Sylvae, Woodmusings or Varieties', and grouped within it forty-three poems of a diverse range of genres (panegyric, epistle, epigram, encomium, epithalamium, topographical description, birthday odes) on an equally diverse range of subjects and occasions (love, friendship, enmity, religion, drinking, incest). By titling this section so, Strode drew upon an established genre of poetic collection dating back to the Roman poet Statius' *Silvae*: five books of occasional poems in several genres. *Silva*, which translates from the Latin as 'wood' or 'forest' but also 'raw material', comes to stand as a metaphor for the collection itself.[79] Jonson's *The Forrest* (1616), *Underwoods* (1640-1) and *Timber, or Discoveries* (1640-1) capture both senses: variety and provisionality. Strode's use of this genre of collection was part of a vogue for organizing verse in seventeenth-century England, which otherwise includes Phineas Fletcher's *Sylva poetica* (1633), Abraham Cowley's *Sylva, or Divers Copies of Verses, made upon sundry occasions* (1636), and two collections by Dudley North, titled *A Forest of Varieties* (1645) and *A Forest Promiscuous of Several Seasons Productions* (1659). The model of authorship and poetic accomplishment implied by such collections is one of virtuosity through generic, formal – and even linguistic – diversity.

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[79] Alastair Fowler, 'The Silva Tradition in Jonson's *The Forrest*', in *Poetic Traditions of the English Renaissance*, ed by Maynard Mack and George deForest Lord (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 163-81 (pp. 163-64).

Miscellaneity can, of course, be conveyed by simply throwing some poems together haphazardly. The *Sylvae* may well have been produced in part by simply transcribing from the Corpus MS and other authorial manuscripts (loose sheets and booklets). But there is some evidence of deliberate, and even artful rearrangement in this section of the *SOC*. If we look, for example, at the opening three English poems of the Corpus MS, we find ‘On Faireford windores’ (*CELM*, *StW 483), ‘On Westwell Downes’ (*CELM*, *StW 632) and ‘Westwell Elme’ (*CELM*, *StW 1234).[80] But rather than retranscribe the poems into *SOC* in that order, Strode has the *Sylvae* begin with ‘Westwell Elme, followed by ‘On Westwell Downes’ and ‘On Faireford windores’. It is almost certain that such rearrangement was intended to self-reflexively call attention to the metaphorical genre label of the *silva*, by having the first poem in Strode’s forest of varieties and ‘woodmusings’ about a tree. Its first lines in fact, read:

> Prethe stand still a while, and uiew this Tree,
> Renownd & honord for Antiquity,
> By all *th*e neighbour twiggs, for such are all
> The trees adioyning bee they ne’re so tall,
> Compar’d to this.[81]

The poem describes an ancient tree in Westwell, Oxfordshire, probably encountered by Strode on the same occasion that he wrote ‘On Westwell Downes’ (*CELM*, StW 632-40). But in this context, the textual *deixis* calls attention also to the poem as the opening in a sequence of *Sylvae*. There may also be significance to the lines, ‘The trees adioyning bee they ne’re so tall, | Compar’d to this’; ‘On a Greate Hollow Tree’ is one of the longest poems in the *Sylvae*, meaning that comparatively short poems such as ‘To a Valentine’ (*CELM*, StW 1113-28) and ‘On a Butcher marrying a Tanner’s daughter’ (*CELM*, StW 300-38.5) may indeed be termed ‘neighbour twiggs’.

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[80] CCC MS 325, fols 58^{v}-61^{v}.

[81] ‘On a greate hollow Tree. W:S’, AUL MS 29, pp. 118-22 (p. 118; *CELM*, StW 1235). I cite from AUL MS 29 rather than the Corpus MS, because Strode’s autograph text is fragmentary.

The arrangement of these ‘neighbour twiggs’ follows a loose chronological order, beginning with those poems that were amongst the first English poems transcribed in the Corpus MS (‘Westwell Elme’, ‘On Westwell Downes’, ‘On Faireford windores’), and ending with some of the latest material in the Corpus MS, such as ‘On Mrs Jane Hele borne on the 24 of Aprill 1637’ (*CELM*, *StW 510). However, there has clearly been some rearrangement. Three religious poems, ‘On the Bible’ (*CELM*, StW 537-48), ‘A Register for a Bible’ (*CELM*, StW 691-705) and ‘Another’ (*CELM*, StW 2-16), for example, were composed in the mid-1620s, but have been transcribed in the *Sylvae* after material dating post-1636, the (unprinted) commendatory epistle ‘To Mr Butler on his Booke of Musicke’ (*CELM*, *StW 1138), which takes as its subject Charles Butler’s 1636 *The principles of Musicke*. Why these poems were rearranged is unclear. It is probably not to suggest that Strode’s poetic career matured to religious subjects (of which, see more below), because the poems are surrounded by texts on relatively frivolous subjects, such as ‘A Song of Capps’ (*CELM*, StW 944-64) (a comic ballad about different kinds of hat).

At other times, however, rearrangement of texts from the Corpus manuscript appears to have more purpose. The love poems ‘To a Gentlewoman with Black Eyes, for a Frinde’ (*CELM*, StW 1084-1112) and ‘The commendation of gray Eies’ (*CELM*, StW 35-57) were transcribed apart from each other in the Corpus MS.[82] But in the *Sylvae*, Strode has paired these poems consecutively, presumably on the grounds of the similar themes; the surprising beauty and strikingly coloured eyes of mistresses. Other poems grouped with like poems include ‘On a watch made by a blacksmith’ and ‘On a Gentlewomans Watch that wanted a Key’ (*CELM*, *StW 432-35), ‘A Register for a Bible’ (*CELM*, StW 691-705), ‘Another’ (*CELM*, StW 2-16), ‘Westwell Elme’ (*CELM*, StW 1234-44) ‘On Westwell Downes’ (*CELM*, StW 632-40). In contrast, a pairing may imply opposition, so as to highlight the differences between poems. For example, ‘On a Dissembler’ (*CELM*, StW 340-59), a cynical poem about the inability of humans to communicate without ‘deceitfull tongues’, is followed by the convivial verse letter to a friend in Cambridge (‘An Answere to a frinde’; *CELM*, StW 26-27).

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[82] See CCC MS 325, fols 71^{v}-72^{r}, 95^{v}-96^{r}.

In the *Odae*, there is the suggestion of more organization of Strode’s poems. The subtitle to this section, *Songs and Sonnets* calls to mind, like the *Sylvae*, another tradition of poetic collection based on miscellaneity reaching back to Tottel’s *Songs and Sonnets* (1557). However, while Strode’s *Odae* are not necessarily arranged in a sequence, there is a loose, thematic progression at work. This section begins with secular love lyrics, such as ‘Song’ (‘O when will Cupid show such art’; *CELM*, StW 874-91), but ends with a run of religious lyrics: ‘Song of Death and the Resurrection’ (*CELM*, StW 965-83), ‘Justification’ (*CELM*, StW 193-208.5), ‘Song’ (‘O sing a new song to the Lord’; *CELM*, StW 868-73), ‘A Musicall Contemplation’ (*CELM*, StW 240-45) and ‘An Anthymne of the Prodigall’ (*CELM*, *StW 34). The first three poems in this group were composed prior to 1625 (based on their position in the Corpus MS), while ‘A Musicall Contemplation’ dates to between 1625 and 1633, and ‘An Anthymne of the Prodigall’ to the mid/late 1630s. Strode has therefore, grouped religious verse composed in his youth with later texts, perhaps in order to give the impression that his poetic activities inclined towards more religious subjects into his later years. This arrangement may be read as an attempt by Strode to impose a narrative on his poetic career, taking the shape of a progression from the writing of love poetry to the composition of religious verse. Such a reading is suggested by ‘A Musicall Contemplation’, a poem in which the speaker aspires ‘to be a Saint on Earth’ through the writing of sacred anthems, by ‘conn[ing] those sacred layes which after death | May turne to Halleluias’.[83] In this poem, Strode sees the function of the poet’s voice as ‘the Soules Interpreter’, divinely inspired to write ‘heavnly Anthems’.[84] And, when we examine the context in which this poem would have been read in the *Odae*, Strode appears to fulfill this ambition. ‘A Musicall Contemplation’ is paired with the anthem and psalm-paraphrase ‘Song’ (‘O sing a new Song to the Lord’: *CELM*, StW 868-73), and followed by ‘An Anthymne of the Prodigall’ (*CELM*, *StW 34), a rendering of the parable of the prodigal son as a dramatic dialogue. The last lines in fact, of this poem (and therefore probably the *Odae* as a whole) read ‘Repentance brings more Ioy, but more content | Doth rest and dwell upon the Innocent’.[85]

With this arrangement, does Strode imply a conscious distancing of his present self, from former, youthful activities? Such a renunciatory structure would have precedents in other seventeenth-century collections, such as John Marriott’s 1635 edition of Donne’s verse. There, as Erin McCarthy writes, Marriott ‘established a new paradigm for reading poets’ lives by retrospectively modelling their earlier verse as youthful recreations’, and representing ‘lyric poetry as a youthful diversion on the way to public and clerical service’.[86] That is not to say, however, that Strode was consciously modelling his own poetic life on Donne’s.

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[83] Portland MS Pw V 397, fol. 1^r (*CELM*, *StW 241).
[84] Portland MS Pw V 397, fol. 1^r (*CELM*, *StW 241).
[85] CCC MS 325, fols 113^r-114^r, 114^r (*CELM*, *StW 34).
[86] Erin McCarthy, ‘*Poems, by J.D* (1635) and the Creation of John Donne’s Literary Biography’, *John Donne Journal*, 32 (2013), 57-87 (pp. 83-84). See also Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, p. 255-57.

The denigration of love poetry, and indeed the renunciation of poetry entirely is a common enough *topos* in early modern verse. One of George Herbert's 'New Year Sonnets', for example, attacks the writing of love poetry, which he presumably saw as a widespread practice whilst an undergraduate in Cambridge, asking

> Doth Poetry
> Wear *Venus* Livery? only serve her turn?
> Why are not *Sonnets* made of thee?[87]

Herrick, who was ultimately less earnest than Herbert in his supposed disavowal of love poetry promises in his 'Farewell to Poetry' (*CELM*, HeR 358-62) to serve 'my di*v*iner muse'.[88] Later, in the printed publication of *Hesperides* (1648) alongside the religious verse *His Noble Numbers*, Herrick the evicted priest implies a similar progression. Such a disavowal was not necessarily exclusive to the medium of print. Nicholas Oldisworth, a member of the Christ Church poetic community, presented an autograph manuscript of his poems as a gift to his wife shortly before his death in 1645. He titled his collection 'A Recollection of Certain Scattered Poems. Written long since by an Undergraduate, being one of the students of Christchurch in Oxford and now in the yeare 1644 transcribed by the author and dedicated to his wife'.[89] To increase the sense of a historical gap between Oldisworth the undergraduate poet, and Oldisworth the clergyman he includes the biblical quotation, 'When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things' (1 Cor. 13:11).[90] Not so much a disavowal as a contextualization of poetry within the career trajectory from undergraduate to priest, Oldisworth's presentational strategy is similar to Strode's own in the *Odae*, and *SOC* as a whole: a way of situating 'scattered' poems from the previous decade in a narrative, even if there is a discrepancy between chronology and arrangement. Such an arrangement most importantly suggests lateness: the idea that Strode put the collection together towards the end of his career, with an eye towards shaping his poetic career according to a narrative of youthful love poet to the more sombre writer of religious texts.

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[87] See 'New Year Sonnet (I)', in *The English Poems of George Herbert*, ed. by Helen Wilcox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 4 (ll. 3-5).

[88] 'MS 18 Robert Herrick's Farewell to Poetry', in Herrick, II, pp. 92-96 (l. 99).

[89] Bod. MS Don.c.24, fol. 6^r.

[90] Bod.MS Don.c.24, fol. 6^r.

Finally, the *Lachrymae* demonstrates how much of Strode's corpus is devoted to the funerary elegy and epitaph. Thereby, it also highlights the extent to which Strode's authorship throughout his poetic career was characterized by social events and occasions. In this particular section, Strode brings together the majority of his elegies and epitaphs and arranges them in chronological order, ranging from the 1620s until the 1640s. Interpretatively, this section is perhaps the most unyielding to literary analysis: Strode writes within a highly uniform poetic convention, built upon familiar, gnomic statements about mortality, in a response to individuals and situations for whom much if not all contextual detail has been lost.

But in terms of its status as a poetic collection, it is important to point out the *Lachrymae*, again, showcase Strode working within traditions of ordering and structuring influenced by the miscellany. Mary Hobbs, for example, points out that this genre was 'often grouped together in a whole section at the end of the book'.[91] As Joshua Eckhardt has observed, epitaphs 'constituted the perfect genre to add [to a book or manuscript]: people necessarily kept finding occasions to write them; they were short enough to fit in the margins; and they were already in the back of the book, where it could be easiest to add text and even paper'.[92] Strode's *Lachrymae* also employ this arrangement: of all the poetic genres Strode wrote, it would have been the most likely that occasions to write elegies and epitaphs would always be forthcoming. By leaving this section last in *SOC*, it would be possible to add further items to the *Lachrymae* without impinging on other sections of the manuscript. This feature of *SOC* is, I think, one of the strongest indicators that Strode himself produced it, since its form, structure and method of compilation appear to work in conjunction with his own rhythms of composition and socially embedded creative practices.

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[91] Hobbs, *Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, p. 36.

Whether or not any verse collectors had access to anything resembling *SOC* is difficult to answer with any certainty. As I explain in the next chapter, three of Strode's most prolific, and most closely affiliated verse collectors did copy two poems that appear to be poems from *SOC* previously considered lost. Yet this need not necessitate them being granted access to the manuscript, but rather, smaller aspects of it, for example, in the form of individual sheets and booklets. Even though it is the case that Strode's readers, as a rule, encountered his poems as miscellaneous groups rather than in carefully ordered generic sequences, the groupings of *SOC* represent the various related, but distinct aspects of his poetic output: Strode the writer of occasional verse, whose generic and topical diversity stands as a marker of poetic accomplishment, Strode the secular and religious lyric poet, Strode the linguist, and Strode the elegist. It represents a dual motivation to both order and arrange disparate, miscellaneous pieces, but also to retain miscellaneity for aesthetic effect. Piers Brown's discussion of the term 'rhapsody' – admittedly, not a term that Strode himself uses – offers one way of understanding this relationship. 'Rhapsody's emphasis on joins between rags or fragments of writing [...] fits particularly well with a body of work that bears many repeated motifs but also a striking heterogeneity of topics and approaches'.[93] It is 'conceptually useful when discussing compilation because it offers us an early modern term that bridges the gap between the haphazard miscellany and the orderly anthology, suggesting a text deliberately composed from, and to some extent shaped by, the ragged pieces available to the compiler'.[94] In other words, the rhapsodic *SOC* transforms 'miscellaneous Strode' into a single-author collection that is itself miscellaneous.

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[92] Eckhardt, 'Camden's *Remaines* and a Pair of Epideictic Poetry Anthologies' in Eckhardt and Smith (eds.), pp. 169-83 (p. 174).

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The purpose of this chapter has been to establish a framework within which the extant, and no longer extant evidence of Strode's autograph manuscripts should be understood, the value and research-potential of this material. Its findings fall into two, related categories. Firstly, from the perspective of textual criticism, these witnesses constitute a narrative of composition and revision. Secondly, from the perspective of literary criticism, it offers three contexts within which we can approach Strode's authorship: the viewpoints of the perpetually revised text, the piecemeal circulation of small groups of poems, and the larger assemblage of these piecemeal texts into an authorially sanctioned collection. These viewpoints offer additional ways of understanding Strode's poetry to that of Strode in the verse miscellany. The evidence also helps us to establish a methodology for editing Strode's texts, but as I have explained, it results in a complication rather than simplification of Strode's textuality: many contingencies and ambiguities, instead of clearly established lines of authorial intention.

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[93] Piers Brown, 'Donne, Rhapsody, and Textual Order', in Eckhardt and Smith (eds.), pp. 39-57 (p. 55).
[94] Ibid.

Chapter 3

Strode as Scribal Publisher: Four Christ Church Miscellanies

This chapter contributes to our knowledge of how poetry circulated within the scribal community of Christ Church during the 1620s and 1630s. It does so through the case study of Strode, and showing how he published his own poetry in manuscript by sharing it with verse collectors who were members of the college. The chapter identifies which extant manuscript miscellanies demonstrate exceptionally strong textual ties to Strode’s own manuscripts, and draws attention to four key examples: BL MS Add. 30982 (Leare MS, StW Δ 10), Yale Osborn MS b 205 (Osborn MS II, StW Δ 30), AUL MS 29 (Elizabeth Lane MS, StW Δ 4) and Folger MS V.a.170 (Dobell MS I, StW Δ 16). Each manuscript contains high concentrations of Strode’s poetry and can be used to construct a detailed profile of who Strode’s most prolific Christ Church verse collectors were, and the nature of the sources of Strode’s poetry to which they had access.

My findings have importance first and foremost, for understanding how scribal publication functioned from Strode’s perspective, and for defining the textual relationships between miscellanies containing his work. Building on Mary Hobbs’s initial discovery of a close textual relationship between Strode’s Corpus MS and the Leare MS, this chapter argues that Leare’s privileged access to his relative’s manuscript was not exceptional. I show that the Osborn MS II contains similarly close textual connections with the Corpus MS; a discovery that enables us to situate its compiler as an individual with strong ties to the poet, most probably a friend, pupil or colleague from the Christ Church scribal community. I also identify the Elizabeth Lane MS and Dobell MS I as key witnesses to Strode’s verse. While neither of these manuscripts demonstrates as clear textual relationships with the Corpus MS as the Leare MS and Osborn MS II, they were nonetheless compiled by individuals with access to authoritative sources of Strode's poems, and who invested significant degrees of scribal labour in accumulating large collections of his work.

In this chapter, I identify textual connections between the Corpus MS, the Leare MS and the Osborn MS II, but I also use manuscript evidence to speculate about the nature of alternative sources of Strode's work available to these four collectors. Sometimes, as in the case of Daniel Leare, it is possible to identify moments at which compilers may have acquired poems from other members of the Christ Church community, namely, the poet George Morley. In other situations, verse collectors left indications that they transcribed from sheets and booklets of Strode's poems that were textually related to *SOC*, the lost manuscript collection discussed in the previous chapter. As far as the Leare MS, Osborn MS II and Elizabeth Lane MS are concerned, we can be certain of such a connection, because all three manuscripts copy poems which were once thought lost with *SOC*, but which are now described, discussed and edited in this chapter for the first time.

Beyond these specific insights into Strode's work, this chapter asks broader methodological questions about textual production, transmission and reception in the context of the manuscript verse miscellany. I argue that manuscript circulation needs to be thought of as an activity that differed from individual to individual and context to context. When we compare how Strode's poems circulated at Christ Church with the case studies of Henry King, Richard Corbett, and George Morley, we can see that even within the same scribal community, poetry was circulated in very different ways. These differences depended on the materials used, and the social organization of the specific scribal network in question. This chapter therefore supports Daniel Starza Smith's recent argument that '[m]anuscript culture, like the literature it produced, changed over time, and our understanding of it must be informed by the specific historical context of any individual transaction'.[1] This may sound like a platitude, but as I will demonstrate in the first section of this chapter, there is still some methodological uncertainty about how the circulation and transmission of manuscript verse can be framed and understood, and a misunderstanding of the significance of individual-author case studies within this area of research.

By focusing on scribal publication through the case study of a single author, this chapter reconsiders the visibility of authors in the culture of manuscript verse circulation and collection. Arthur Marotti, whose work in this area has proved enduring and influential, has claimed that manuscript circulation 'was far less author-centered than print culture, and not at all interested in correcting, proofing, or fixing texts in authorially sanctioned forms'.[2] Although this statement may accurately describe the experience of many verse collectors who had little or no close social connections to poets, the findings of this chapter offer a corrective: the accumulation of detail from the case studies I discuss, shows that these verse collectors were not only interested in Strode as an author, but also in acquiring large amounts of textually authoritative copies of his work. The image of a verse collector largely uninterested in transcriptional accuracy and the origins of texts, is complicated by this chapter, which describes four important miscellanies which, in Daniel Leare's words, 'witness William Strode'.

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[1] Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers*, p. 304.

[2] Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, p. 135.

3.1 Manuscript circulation in early seventeenth-century Christ Church

Before examining Strode in further detail, it is important to contextualize him within existing research on manuscript verse circulation in seventeenth-century Oxford. Oxford, and in particular Christ Church, has already received critical attention from manuscript scholars and textual editors. Mary Hobbs's work focused on Christ Church poetry in general, but especially on the manuscripts associated with Henry King, a student at the college between 1611 and 1616, and later a canon of its cathedral from 1624.[3] Hobbs showed how as a canon, King was able to exploit penmen from within Christ Church's academic and ecclesiastical ranks in order to scribally publish his own work, as well as a collection of poems by other writers, which changed over time.[4] The distinctive italic hand of Thomas Manne, King's chaplain, in addition to the hands of Manne's imitators, are found in at least ten manuscript collections associated with King, known as the 'Stoughton group', named after the privately-owned 'Stoughton MS'.[5] The Stoughton group miscellanies share content, but also particular textual readings. Hobbs identified that, as far as King's poems are concerned, the readings change over time, as King revised his works and 'employed several scribes to make copies of his poems from what was evidently a master copy, which he carefully revised from time to time'.[6] By contrast, many of the texts by other poets whose works circulated within the Stoughton group – including Strode's – remain 'virtually identical' in multiple witnesses of the member-manuscripts of the Stoughton group.[7] The uniformity of readings helps us to clarify the particular routes taken by texts in early modern England. Consider, for example, the witnesses of 'To a Frinde' (*CELM*, StW 1065-83) in the 'Stoughton group' of manuscripts BL Harley MS 6917, Folger MS V.b.43, St John's, Cambridge MS S.32 and the Stoughton MS.[8] Collation of these witnesses in fact reveals that the Stoughton MS and Harley MS 6917 agree almost exactly in every respect. By contrast, the witnesses in the MS V.b.43 and St John's MS S.32 differ from these witnesses – and each other – in both substantives and accidentals. The results of this collation point towards the likelihood that the form in which King encountered, and transmitted the poem through his scribes was in the form found in the Stoughton MS and Harley MS 6917, and that the other two witnesses did not travel through the same channels. In fact, further collation of witnesses to this poem reveals that these two witnesses ultimately derive from the revised archetype found in the Corpus MS.[9]

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[3] For King's life see Henry King, *The Poems of Henry King*, ed. by Margaret Crum (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 1-27.

[4] Hobbs, *Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, p. 81.

[5] The Stoughton group comprises The Stoughton MS (Rosemary Williams, London); Bod. MS Mus.b.1, BL Add. MS 25707, Add. MS 58215, Harley MS 6917, Harley MS 6918 and Sloane MS 1446; Folger MS V.a.125 (Part II) and MS V.b.43, at St John's College, Cambridge, MS S.23.

[6] Hobbs, *Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, pp. 41-42, 81.

[7] Ibid, p. 81.

The circulation of King's poems was made possible by a network of scribes who worked within Christ Church's academic and ecclesiastical structures, but this organized and methodical mechanism of circulation was not typical of the Christ Church scribal community. Another case study from the same textual environment briefly described by Hobbs is George Morley, a member of Christ Church from 1615 until his eviction by parliamentary forces in 1648.[10] Morley was a poet in his own right (although his small body of extant verses has not received any critical or editorial attention) and he kept a verse miscellany, now known as Westminster

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[8] BL Harley MS 6917, fols 72^{v}-73^{r} (*CELM*, StW 1080); Folger MS V.b.43, fols 27^{v}-28^{r} (*CELM*, StW 1081); St John's College, Cambridge, MS S.32, fol. 21^{r-v} (*CELM*, StW 1082); Rosemary Williams, London, Stoughton MS, p. 39 (*CELM*, StW 1083).

[9] CCC MS 325, fol. 75^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 1065).

[10] John Spurr, 'Morley, George (1598?-1684)', *ODNB*. Morley resumed his canonry of Christ Church from 1660.

Abbey MS 41 (Morley MS; *CELM,* StW Δ 27).[11] The Morley MS, inscribed by its compiler 'Verses of Doctor Corbett & others' is an important record of Christ Church poetry, and was identified by Hobbs as containing 'the earliest elements in Oxford manuscripts' of the 1620s within 'the first forty-five poems'.[12] If this is the case, Morley's manuscript is also the earliest datable verse miscellany to contain a substantial number of Strode's poems.

Morley's activity in the Christ Church scribal community differed markedly from King's. He did not exploit an organized network of scribes to circulate his own poems, and poems by others, but instead simply shared his verse miscellany with other verse collectors. We know this, because of textual connections between the Morley MS and the Christ Church miscellany now known as BL Sloane MS 1792 (Killigrew MS; *CELM*, StW Δ 14), with which the Morley MS shares fifty-eight poems.[13] Hobbs showed that the poems shared by both manuscripts (between fols 18r and 63r of the Killigrew MS and folios 21^r and 70^v of the Morley MS) 'read almost exactly together, bar careless slips. Though they are not always in entirely the same order, some sections follow on as though from a single sheet or folding'.[14] Hobbs suggested that Morley lent his miscellany to the compiler of the Killigrew MS, who was possibly his pupil. It is also worth noting that the Leare MS shares some distinctive readings with both manuscripts (which I discuss below), raising the possibility that Leare too, may have obtained poems from Morley. Morley's miscellany commonly contains poems that circulated at Christ Church in the early stages of their transmission, including not only Strode's work, but also Shakespeare's 'Sonnet 2' (*CELM*, ShW 8-19), and the verse of Thomas Carew.[15]

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[11] For a technical description, see Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors*, pp. 279-80.

[12] Hobbs, *Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, p. 88.

[13] This manuscript was compiled by one 'I.A' of Christ Church, identified by Hobbs as John Aubrey, cousin of his better-known namesake, who attended the college between 1625 and 1628. The manuscript also contains the names Robert Killigrew (a Henry Killigrew attended the college between 1632-1638) and one George Harrison, possibly a relative of the William Harrison who married Morley's niece Dorothy. See Hobbs, *Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, p. 118.

[14] Hobbs, *Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, p. 118-19.

King's ability to exploit Christ Church's academic and ecclesiastical structures was enabled by his senior status. As a canon, he used his chaplain's abilities as a penman to circulate of Christ Church poetry, thereby helping to construct and consolidate a Christ Church literary culture. By contrast, the case study of Morley suggests a paradigm of verse circulation based on more informal terms; the occasional lending of manuscripts to friends and students. It may be the case that future research identifies further case studies that work within these two paradigms. Richard Corbett, for example, seems to have used Strode and at least one other secretary to circulate his own poetry in a similar way to King, and Hobbs suggested that Strode might have acted as Corbett's disseminator.[16] In actual fact, the situation appears to be more complicated. Christopher Burlinson explains that Strode's example shows:

> that chaplains were not necessarily always conduits for, or active distributors of, the poems written by their bishops of canons – or, at least, that the process of transmission also involved holding poems back, keeping hold of them and denying them circulation, as well as releasing them to be copied.[17]

As I explained in Chapter 1.5 ('Chaplaincy to Richard Corbett'), Strode may have played some part in disseminating Corbett's verse, even if the evidence for this remains speculative. The answer will become clearer with the publication of Burlinson's edition of Corbett's poems, at which point it will be possible to ascertain the role played by Strode's copies of Corbett's poems in the wider transmission of those texts.

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[15] See Gary Taylor, 'Some Manuscripts of Shakespeare's Sonnets', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 68 (1985-6), 210-246 (p. 217). Scott Nixon explains that Morley and his manuscript played a foundational role in the textual traditions of Carew's poems within Oxford's scribal communities. See 'A Reading of Thomas Carew in Manuscript', p. 80.

[16] Hobbs, *Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, p. 2.

[17] Burlinson, 'Chaplaincy and Verse', p. 146.

King, Morley, and Corbett may have worked within the same scribal community but their practices as scribally publishing authors and disseminators differ considerably, indicating that manuscript circulation cannot just be approached in the same ways for every author, even when we are dealing with texts that circulated within the same scribal community. Instead, we need to look at each author on a case-by-case basis. This argument runs contrary to Arthur Marotti's most recent work on verse transmission, which takes as its subject the circulation of texts at Christ Church. Using Harold Love's concept of the 'rolling archetype' – a collection of related texts which travelled together in the form of loose sheets and booklets, gathering and losing material over time – Marotti examines how groups of miscellanies like the Morley manuscript, the Killigrew manuscript and the Leare MS can be thought of as 'compilations of compilations', which developed as clusters of poems over time.[18] Marotti proposes that instead of thinking about how individual authors circulated their poems, we 'look at the verse produced and collected within the academic community and its passage beyond not as individual poems but as clusters or "rolling archetypes", making the larger groupings of poetry that object of analysis'. But this methodology would tell us little about the important differences between how different poems travelled in manuscript. Each text within a rolling archetype will have its own unique (and probably complicated) transmission history, and even within a rolling archetype, the manuscript lives of one poem cannot be assumed to hold for another. I present the results of my analysis with Mark Bland's caveat that 'what is true of one poem in a collection may not be true of another, and what is true of one author in a group of manuscripts is certainly not true of another'.[19] The need for specific, author-based approaches to textual transmission will not necessarily lead to a vast number of isolated case studies, which do not join together. On the contrary, the accumulation of case studies involving different authors should develop our understanding of the textual relationships between manuscripts. Case studies may be mutually informative, or, by contrasting with each other, complicate our understanding of a particular group of manuscripts. Unrolling the archetype, and by reducing these large clusters of poems to their constituent parts, will result in a clearer understanding of how, where, and in what direction those archetypes rolled.

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[18] Marotti, '"Rolling Archetypes": Christ Church, Oxford Poetry Collections and the Proliferation of Manuscript Verse Anthologies', *English Literary Renaissance*, 44 (2014), 486-523 (p. 506).

3.2 The Leare MS: transcribing from Strode's autographs

On 23 January 1631-2, Christ Church's disbursement books record a payment of '£10' from 'mr Strode' for 'the Caution of mr Daniell Leare'.[20] The fact that Strode paid Leare's caution money – a kind of deposit – suggests that he may have been Leare's, but the poet and Christ Church student were already connected in another way. Leare was Strode's distant relative through the marriage of his father John to Strode's cousin Dorothy Vaughan, with whom the poet shared a common grandfather: Sir William Strode of Newnham.[21] By 13 May 1633 Leare had left Christ Church without taking a degree, in order to study law at the Middle Temple.[22] We know nothing of his time at Christ Church other than the traces of his poetry collection, which are preserved in a small, octavo verse miscellany now deposited in the British Library.[23]

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[19] Mark Bland, 'Stemmatics and Society', p. 19.

[20] Christ Church, Oxford, MS xiii.b.1, p. 22 (*CELM*, StW 1500).

[21] Hobbs, *Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, p. 121.

[22] Christ Church, Oxford MS, xiii.b.1., p. 22 (*CELM*, StW 1500). Leare appears in the Middle Temple admissions register on 4 May 1633, where he joined with George Buller and John Doddridge. See *Middle Temple Records*, ed. by Charles Henry Hopwood, Charles Trice Martin and John Hutchinson 4 vols (London: Butterworth, 1904), I, p. 127.

Leare copied 101 poems by Strode in total, a number that includes two poems discovered during research for this thesis and nine duplicates. This is the largest number of Strode poems to survive in a non-authorial manuscript, and bears witness to Leare's privileged access to his cousin's verse, a privilege that enabled him to transcribe almost the entirety of Strode's English corpus prior to 1633.[24] Leare does not seem to have encountered Strode's poems from one particular source, or at one particular time. Instead, his poems are distributed throughout the manuscript and upon close inspection, reveal their textual origins in a range of both autograph and non-autograph sources. This diversity is instructive, highlighting the importance of thinking about the multiplicity of ways in which collectors compiled their miscellanies from a variety of sources, even those collectors with particularly privileged access to the works of certain poets.

On the flyleaves of his miscellany, Leare asserted his ownership over the poetic collection with the inscription 'Daniel Leare his booke', followed in the same hand by 'witness William Strode'.[25] We can interpret this as 'William Strode witnesses Daniel Leare's ownership of this book', but since Strode himself does not sign the inscription, we can also read it as an attempt on Leare's behalf to advertise a privileged affiliation to the poet. So when the Christ Church student John Scott (who signs his name on folio 164^{v}) read Leare's manuscript, he would have been obliged to recognize Leare's close connection to Strode.[26] Leare's manuscript therefore suggests the way in which Strode's poetry was highly regarded within Christ Church circles. As Jason Scott-Warren has observed, such inscriptions attest to 'a world in which books were adjuncts to everyday sociability. They were passed around, and as they circulated, aspects of communal life – the negotiation of relationships, the debating of reputations – rubbed off on them'.[27]

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[23] For a technical description of the Leare MS, see Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors*, pp. 235-37.

[24] The only poems composed prior to this period that Leare does not copy are 'On a blisterd Lippe' (*CELM*, StW 268-99) and 'Ulysses his speech translated out of the 13th book of Ovids Metamorph:' (*CELM*, StW *1206).

[25] BL Add. MS 30982, fol. 1^{v}.

Supposing that a Christ Church collector liked Scott received Leare's miscellany in roughly the same state of completion as we read it today, he would have encountered two miscellanies in one. From recto to verso, Leare transcribed one collection of verse (Sequence A) and then, by turning the manuscript 180 degrees transcribed another from verso to recto (Sequence B). This method of content-organization, termed by Jonathan Gibson 'reverse casting-off', was a common strategy used by miscellany compilers to assign different sections of their pre-bound, blank notebooks to specific kinds of textual material.[28] On the page before Sequence B begins, Leare added a Latin ownership inscription – 'Daniel Leare eius Liber'.[29] In actual fact, both sequences are alike, and are typical products of Christ Church's poetic culture. Strode is by far the most highly represented poet with over 100 poems, and is accompanied by other Christ Church poets, including Richard Corbett, Henry King, George Morley, John Earle, Jasper Mayne, William Cartwright, and Thomas Goffe. Leare's collection also includes high numbers of poems by Thomas Carew (15 poems) and John Donne (12 poems), as well as verse by John Hoskyns, Robert Herrick, Thomas Randolph, Ben Jonson, Francis Beaumont, and Sir John Harington.[30]

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[26] Scott matriculated at Christ Church on 24 February 1631-1632 and had left by 1637. See 'Scadden-Sheyne', in *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1724*, ed. by Foster *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714/pp1322-1350 [accessed 14 June 2014].

[27] Jason Scott-Warren, 'Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73 (2010), 363-81 (p. 374).

[28] Jonathan Gibson, 'Casting off Blanks: Hidden Structures in Early Modern Paper Books', in *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture: Texts and Social Practices, 1580-1730*, ed. by James Daybell and Peter Hinds (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 208-28 (p. 209).

[29] BL Add. MS 30982, fol. 164^r.

This chapter is not the place for an exhaustive account of every scribal network with which Leare interacted, and instead looks specifically at the sources of Strode's poetry available to Leare, and what these sources reveal about how Strode's poems circulated. Knowing that Leare was related to Strode, and lived within the same institution as him, it would be reasonable to hypothesize that so far as Strode's poems are concerned, his manuscript consistently demonstrates a high level of textual authority. In actual fact, while Leare did encounter many of his Strode poems from autograph manuscripts, close attention to his manuscript reveals some alternative sources. One such source may have been George Morley, or a source related to the archetype from which George Morley's poetry collection derived. Leare not only began his miscellany with a poem ascribed to Morley ('On a fayre child who died soe sone as it was borne'; *CELM*, DaJ 180), but followed with a copy of Strode's 'In commendation of Musique' (*CELM*, StW 161), which exhibits particular similarities with Morley's personal copy of this poem (*CELM*, StW 175).[31] Morley's copy differs from the autograph witness in the Portland MS in two crucial respects. Firstly, Morley provides a distinctive Latin heading 'Laus Musices', and this heading is shared by the Killigrew MS as well as the Leare's

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[30] For a selected index of Leare's miscellany, see Beal, *CELM* http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/repositories/british-library-additional-30000.html#british-library-additional-30000_id353029 [accessed 3 March 2016].

[31] See BL Add. MS 30982, fol. $2^{r\text{-}v}$. The poem titled 'On a fayre child who died soe sone as it was borne' is attributed to Sir John Davies in the *CELM* (DaJ 161-221.5). However, there is good reason to believe that this attribution warrants reconsideration. Leare's ascription is not recorded in the *CELM*, but the poem experienced high circulation in Christ Church's scribal community, and may well have been Morley's work, or at least thought by some to be Morley's work. For other Oxford-affiliated witnesses to this poem, see AUL MS 29, p. 136 (*CELM*, DaJ 161), CCC MS 328, fol. 49^{v} (*CELM*, DaJ 166), Bod. MS Eng. poet.e.14, fol. 99^{r} rev. (*CELM*, DaJ 168), MS Eng. poet.f.27, pp. 114-15 (*CELM*, DaJ 169), BL Add. MS 58215, fol. 15^{r} (*CELM*, DaJ 182), Sloane MS 1792, fol. 6^{r} (*CELM*, DaJ 189), Folger MSS V.a.103, Part I, fol. 1^{r} (*CELM*, DaJ 194), MS V.a.170, p. 38 (*CELM*, DaJ 197). See also Morley's own copy of the poem, Westminster Abbey MS 41, fol. 50^{v} (*CELM*, DaJ 215).

MS.[32] In addition to this shared heading – witnessed in no other manuscript copies of the poem – the Morley MS, Killigrew MS, and Leare MS also share a variant reading of the poem's opening couplets. In the Portland MS, the poem begins 'When whispring Straines do softly steale | With creeping Passion through the heart', whereas Morley, Killigrew and Leare copy 'When whispering streynes w*it*h creeping wind | Distill soft passion through the heart'.[33] This variant couplet helps to distinguish the witnesses into two groups and the version copied by Morley, Leare and Killigrew appears in other Christ Church manuscripts, including the Dobell MS I (Folger MS V.a.170) and Folger MS V.a.262.[34] Although it would be difficult to argue for a definite link between the Morley, Leare and Killigrew manuscripts in practice, the fact that the three miscellanies' copies of 'On a freind's absence' and 'On John Dawson, Butler at Christ Church. 1622' also substantively agree with each other lends support to the view that Leare was in part drawing poetry from the same archetype of verse to which Morley MS is related.[35] In other cases, Leare's texts do not always appear to have derived from particularly authoritative sources, despite his close proximity to Strode. For example, in Sequence A, Leare transcribes a copy of 'An Opposite to Melancholy' that lacks its final couplet: 'Then take no Care but only to be iolly; | To be more wretched then we must is folly'.[36] Similarly, Leare's copy of 'A superscription on Sir Philip

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[32] BL Sloane MS 1792, fol. 91^{r-v} (*CELM*, StW 164).

[33] Portland MS PwV 397, fol. 2^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 158); Westminster Abbey MS 41, fol. 55^{r} (*CELM*, StW 175); BL Add. MS 30982, fol. 2^{r} (*CELM*, StW 161).

[34] Folger MS V.a.170, pp. 34-35 (*CELM*, StW 168); V.a.262, pp. 67-68 (*CELM*, StW 170). For more on the Oxford association of V.a.262, see Laura Estill, '"Pretty booke when I am gone": Folger MS V.a.262 and Its Compiler', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 76 (2013), 413-32.

[35] See BL Add. MS 30982, fols 3^{r} (*CELM*, StW 367), 3^{v} (*CELM*, CoR 475); Westminster Abbey MS 41, fols 53^{v} (*CELM*, StW 373), 54^{v} (*CELM*, CoR 481); BL Sloane MS 1792, fol. 46^{r} (*CELM*, StW 369).

[36] CCC MS 325, fol. 94^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 641).

Sidneys Arcadia sent for a token' in this section of his manuscript omits line six ('If duty and Affection painted be').[37]

In most cases, however, Leare's copies of Strode's poems derived from sources close to the authorial archetype, a recognition we can readily grasp by collating his copies of Strode's poems against those versions found in the Corpus and Portland manuscripts. For example, Leare's copy of Strode's 'An Answere made to Maudlins Rimes and their Factions, concerning the Proctors', follows the pre-revised state of the autograph copy of that poem found in the Corpus MS (even the headings are identical in both copies). For a poem of ninety-eight lines, this suggests little, if any distance in transmission between both witnesses.[38] We encounter the same patterns of textual affiliation throughout Leare's Strode collection, and in such cases, it would be reasonable to assume that Leare was able to source copies of Strode's verses directly from the poet.

If this is the case, Leare must have had access to manuscripts besides the Corpus MS, because he copies poems that no longer survive in Strode's hand, such as 'To a Valentine' and 'A Sigh'.[39] Occasionally, his manuscript suggests the nature of some of those sources. For example, he titles 'Song' ('O sing a new song to the Lord') as '2 Songe', and 'Song' ('Keepe on your maske, yea hide your eye') '3 Songe', suggesting that he encountered Strode's poems in smaller, generic groups.[40] When we turn to Sequence B (transcribed verso to recto), the nature of Leare's sources becomes more legible. The specific section of the Leare MS in question begins on folio 132^{v} and continues until folio 118^{r} rev., and relates to folios 71^{v}-103^{r} of the Corpus MS. Hobbs identified that the poems within this section of the Leare

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[37] BL Add. MS 30982, fol. 18^{v} (*CELM*, StW 1043).

[38] BL Add. MS 30928, fols 15^{v}-17^{r} (*CELM*, 18); CCC MS 325, fols 75^{r}-77^{r} (*CELM* *StW 17).

[39] BL Add. MS 30982, fols 5^{r} (*CELM*, StW 1114), 31^{v} (*CELM*, StW 1115), 162^{r}.-61^{v} rev. (*CELM*, StW 708).

[40] BL Add. MS 30982, fols 5^{r} (*CELM*, StW 870) 6^{r-v} (*CELM*, StW 840).

MS agree with the Corpus MS 'not just in text, but in titles, mistakes, and alterations', and argued that this information 'strongly suggests [...] Leare was using [the Corpus MS] itself'.[41] Collation of both manuscripts at these sections reveals that Leare copied from the Corpus MS at an intermediary stage in the revision histories of Strode's verse. Leare's copy of 'Love's Ætna' for example, shows that he transcribed this poem from the Corpus MS prior to Strode's small-scale revisions. Leare's copy retains the heading 'Another', which is still faintly visible in Strode's hand in the left margin of the Corpus MS, before he changed it to 'Song'.[42] Leare's copy also shows that he had not accessed this poem before Strode revised line two to 'If Coles ~~out of~~ \there from/ the topp doe flie', as well as retaining lines which Strode deleted from the Corpus MS in the same black ink.[43] Leare had, however, gained access to the Corpus MS prior to one of Strode's revisions. In the Corpus MS, Strode had originally titled one epitaph, 'An Epitaph on Mrs Eliz. Nedham', and later added the name 'Mary' above the line.[44] Leare reproduces both the original heading, and the revised title, suggesting that he saw the poem at these two separate moments and made efforts to copy an up-to-date version. He did not however, reproduce the more extensive revisions Strode made to the poem at a later stage.[45] These textual variants help us to date this particular phase of Strode's revisions to pre-1633, and furnish 1633 as the earliest possible date for the revisions that Leare did not copy.

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[41] Hobbs, *Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, pp. 120-21.

[42] BL Add. MS 30982, fols 130^{v}-31^{r} rev. (*CELM*, StW 229); CCC MS 325, fol. 74^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 226). The heading 'Love's Ætna' is actually copied in Fulman's hand, suggesting that he encountered this alternative title in *SOC*.

[43] BL Add. MS 30982, fol; 130^{r} (*CELM*, StW 229); CCC MS 325, fol. 74^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 226).

[44] CCC MS 325, fol. 96^{v} (*CELM* *StW 108).

[45] BL Add. MS 30982, fol. 121^{r} rev. (*CELM*, StW 109). See, for example, line four, where Leare retains 'and', and line seven, where he does not delete 'thine', or add 'now since'.

When Leare copied from the Corpus MS at this time, he copied Strode's poems as a long scribal stint, uninterrupted by the work of other poets. He did so, however, not by simply transcribing everything he saw before him in that manuscript, but by carefully comparing the Strode poems he had already transcribed with those contained in Strode's notebook. Figure 3.1 shows the order of poems in the Corpus MS between folios 71^{v} and 103^{r} alongside the order of these texts as (and if) they are found in the Leare MS between folios 132^{v} and 119^{r}. Comparison of these two sequences reveals that Leare practised an editorial strategy based around the questions of whether or not he had already transcribed the poem, and if so, whether or not his copy was of good textual authority.

Figure 3.1 How Daniel Leare transcribed Strode's poems: moments of connection between the Corpus MS and the Leare MS[46]

Poem	**Location in Corpus MS**	**Location in Leare MS[47]**
To a Gentlewoman with Black Eyes, for a frinde	71^{v}-72^{r}	132^{v}-^{r}
Vpon Will: Bridle	72^{v}-73^{v}	131^{v}-31^{r}
For a gentleman who kissing his freind out of his departure out of England left a sign of blood upon her	73^{v}-74^{r}	130^{v}
Loves Ætna	74^{r}	130^{r}
A Translation of the Nightingale out of Strada	74^{v}-75^{r}	129^{v-r}
To a frinde	76^{r}	129^{v} rev.
An Answere made to Maudlins Rimes	76^{r}-78^{r}	**15^{v}-17^{r}**
On a blisterd Lippe	78^{r}-^{v}	Does not copy
On a Dissembler	78^{v}-79^{r}	128^{v-r}
On the Bible	79^{r}-^{v}	127^{v-r}
A Register for a Bible	80^{r}	128^{r}
Another	80^{r}	**56^{v}**
Poses for Braceletts	80^{r}	Does not copy
An Earestring	80^{v}	**12^{v}**

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[46] Foliations marked in bold indicate poems that Leare copied elsewhere in his manuscript, rather than as part of a consecutive sequence.

[47] Note that Leare copies poems into this section of his manuscript from verso to recto.

A Necklace	80^{v}	**12^{v}**
To the Lady Knighton	80^{r}	**10^{v}-11^{r}**
On the death of Mrs Mary Prideaux	80^{r}-81^{v}	Does not copy
On the death of the young Baronet Portman	81^{v}-82^{v}	127^{r}-26^{v}
On the death of Sir Thomas Pelham	82^{v}-83^{r}	126$^{v\text{-}r}$
On Twins divided by death	83^{r}-^{v}	**72^{v}-73^{r}**
On the death of the Lady Caesar	83^{v}-84^{v}	Does not copy
On the death of Sir Thomas Leigh	84^{v}-85^{v}	126^{r}-25^{r}
Thankes for a welcome	85^{v}-86^{r}	**31^{v}**
A Superscription on Sir Philip Sidneys Arcadia	86^{r}	125^{r}
On the death of doctor Langton President of Maudlin Colledg	86^{v}-87^{r}	125^{r}-24^{v}
A Song of Capps	87^{v}-89^{r}	**148^{r}-46^{v}**
On a Gentlewoman who escapd the marks of Pox	89^{r}	Does not copy
On Sir Thomas Sauil dying of the smal Pox	89^{v}	**73^{r}**
A Letter impos'd	89^{v}-90^{r}	**24^{v}-25^{r}**
An Epitaph ('Keepe well this sacred Pawne thou bed of stone')	90^{v}	124^{r}
A Song at the Musicke Lecture in the Act	90^{v}-91^{r}	Does not copy
An Epitaph on Mr Bridgman	91^{r}	**35^{r}**
A Souldier to Penelope	91^{r}	**41^{r}**
A Song on the Baths	91^{v}-92^{r}	**146$^{v\text{-}r}$**
A Deuonshire Song	92$^{r\text{-}v}$	**144^{v}-43^{v}**
An Epitaph on Mr Fishborne the great London benefactor & his executor	93^{r}-94^{r}	124^{r}-23^{v}
On a Glasse falling on the stones without breaking	94$^{r\text{-}v}$	123^{v}-22^{v}
An Opposite to Melancholy	95^{r}	24^{v}, 161^{v}
The commendation of gray Eies	95^{v}-96^{r}	122^{v}-^{r}
On a watch made by a blacksmith	96^{r}	122^{r}-21^{v}
An Epitaph ('Beneath this brazen plate those ashes lie')	96^{v}	121^{v}
A Musical Contemplation	96^{v}	121^{v}
An answere to a frinde	97^{r}	Does not copy
The Description of Ætna out of Claudian	97^{r}	121^{r}
An Epitaph on Mrs Mary Eliz. Nedham	97^{v}	121^{r}
An Epitaph ('Man newly borne is at full age to die')	97^{v}-98^{r}	121^{r}
'Exiguo contracta iacent lot nigera busto'	98^{r}	Does not copy
On a Gentlewomans watch that wanted a key	98^{v}-99^{r}	121^{r}
An Epitaph on Sir Henry Lees 3 children	99^{r}	**142^{r}**
An Epitaph on Sir John Walter Lord cheife Baron	99^{r}-100^{r}	**141^{r}-40^{v}**
A Wassal	100^{r}-^{v}	**141^{r}**

An Epitaph on Mr Blacknoll and his Wife	100^{v}	Does not copy
A Moderating Answere to Both	101^{r}	118^{r}
A Song (‘Aske me noe more whether doe stray’)	101^{v}	119^{r}
Answere or Mock-Song	102^{r}	118^{v}
On a Faire Crooked Gentlewoman, Proude and Dissembling	102^{v}-03^{r}	120^{v}-119^{r}

In general, it seems that the source from which Leare had already acquired his Strode poems was of a satisfactory quality (according to his own criteria) because he only duplicates four poems: ‘An Opposite to Melancholy’, ‘A Superscription on Sir Philip Sidneys Arcadia sent for a token’, ‘Song (‘O sing a new song to the Lord’; *CELM*, StW 870) and ‘To a frinde’ (‘Like to the hand which hath bin usd to play’).[48] When Leare duplicated ‘An Opposite Melancholy’, he did so because he had initially transcribed from a witness of that poem that was distinctive from the two extant authorial texts in a number of ways. By contrast, Leare’s duplicate copy of the poem reproduces the poem precisely as it appears in Strode’s hand. The pattern holds for the other duplicates. His initial copy of ‘A superscription on Sir Philip Sidneys Arcadia sent for a token’ was lacking line six (‘If duty and Affection painted be’), and was also titled differently to the autograph copy: ‘3 Song S*ir* P. Sydney’.[49] His supplementary copy rectified these variations between his initial copy and the copy in the Corpus MS, by reproducing the form of the poem in Strode’s autograph. The final two duplicates involve a more minute degree of correction. Both of Leare’s copies of the psalm-paraphrase ‘Song’ (‘O Sing a new song to the Lord’) agree substantively with both extant autograph witnesses in the Corpus MS and the Portland MS. Leare’s duplicate however, arranges the poem in quatrains – as Strode's manuscripts do – rather than as unbroken blocks of verse.[50] Finally, when Leare duplicated 'To a frinde' ('Like to the hand which hath bin usd to play'), he focused on very particular moments of mis-transcription: 'now' for 'non', and 'what' for 'which'.[51] If however, Leare had already transcribed a copy of a poem deemed textually adequate, he did not reproduce it.

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[48] BL Add. MS 30982, fols 24^{v} (*CELM*, StW 645), 161^{v} rev. (*CELM*, StW 646); 18^{v} (*CELM*, StW 1043), 125^{r} rev. (*CELM*, StW 1044); 5^{r} (*CELM*, StW 870), $133^{r\text{-}v}$ rev. (*CELM*, StW 871); 10^{r} (*CELM*, StW 1069), 128^{v} rev. (*CELM*, StW 1070).

[49] BL Add. MS 30982, fol. 18^{v} (*CELM*, StW 1043).

The foliations marked in bold in Figure 3.1 show moments at which Leare chose to skip over sections of the Corpus MS until he arrived at poems he had not yet transcribed. After the first six poems in this group for example, he arrived at a poem he had already transcribed: 'An Answere made to Maudlins Rimes'.[52] He then skips over this poem in the Corpus MS until arriving at 'On a Dissembler'.[53] It is possible that for such poems, Leare had already accessed the Corpus MS, or authorial manuscripts derived from it. When he omitted from this sequence 'A Souldier to Penelope' and 'A Song on the Baths' – two poems adjacent in the Corpus MS – Leare did so, because he had already transcribed the two poems in a close proximity to each other earlier in his miscellany.[54] This lends support to Hobbs's suggestion that Leare accessed Strode's autograph manuscripts in a number of separate instances.[55] As Marcy L. North explains, 'Leare's tendency to enter duplicates [...] seems to be related specifically to his access to Strode source texts'.[56] These findings are important, because they suggests that verse collectors were much more interested in acquiring accurate, authorially sourced texts than such scholars as Arthur Marotti have previously suggested. Leare’s duplications are not a demonstration of a verse collector embracing ‘textual instability’, but the very opposite: in the making of his manuscript, Leare was eager to acquire authoritative texts. These moments of error in the Leare MS draw attention to the means by which the miscellany was produced.

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[50] BL Add. MS 30982, fols 5^{r} (*CELM*, StW 870), 133^{v} (*CELM*, StW 871).

[51] BL Add. MS 30982, fols 10^{r} (*CELM*, StW 1069), 128^{v} (*CELM*, StW 1070).

[52] BL Add. MS 30982, fols 15^{v}-17^{r} (*CELM*, StW 18).

[53] BL Add. MS 30982, fols 128$^{v\text{-}r}$ rev. (*CELM*, StW 344).

[54] CCC MS 325, fols 90^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 1037), 91^{v}-92^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 984); BL Add. MS 30982, fols 41^{r} (*CELM*, StW 40) 147^{r}-46^{v} rev. (*CELM*, StW 988).

[55] Hobbs, *Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, pp. 120-21.

[56] North, 'Twice the Effort: Tracing the Practices of Stuart Verse Collectors through their Redundant Entries', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 77 (2014), 257-85 (p. 279.

3.3 The Leare MS: does it contain Strode’s hand?

In the final pages of the Leare MS, the question of Strode’s authorial presence in this manuscript takes on a further importance. Between folios 119^{v} and 118^{r} rev., the manuscript contains copies of Strode’s ‘A Song’ (‘Aske me no more whether doth stray’; *CELM*, CwT 727), its ‘Answere or Mock-song’ (*CELM*, StW 22), and ‘A Moderating Answere to Both’ (*CELM*, StW 239). Margaret Forey has argued that this trio of poems is copied not in Leare’s, but Strode’s hand. Because these are the final poems by Strode in the miscellany, Forey suggests that they date to just before Leare’s departure from Christ Church in May 1633, and offers the suggestion that ‘Strode wrote out his latest work as a parting gesture’ to his cousin.[57] If this indeed were the case, the Leare MS would take on a heightened significance as a document that closely ‘witnesses’ Strode’s authorial presence. But Forey’s claim needs to be regarded with scepticism. Although this section of the Leare MS does bear a passing resemblance to Strode’s italic hand, the case is not strong enough to be sure that it can qualify as a further example of Strode’s autograph.

Forey herself concedes that ‘such a judgement must be largely subjective’, but she does not provide any detailed evidence to support her claim other than the following anecdote:

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[57] Forey, ‘Manuscript Evidence’, p. 191.

> [I]t may be worth recording that when I first encountered [the Leare MS] at a time when I had been using [the Corpus MS] daily for months, I thought I recognized Strode's handwriting on these three pages and made a note to that effect; forty years later – by which time my previous impression had been forgotten – my reaction was the same, and only afterwards did I find my original note.[58]

Such a claim would require more evidential support, at the very least a comparison of the hand's micro-features ('the allograph, or character shape') and macro-features ('pen pressure, writing movement, slant and proportion').[59] A palaeographical analysis of such detail would distract from this chapter's primary focus, but it is worthwhile focusing on some specific examples that help to clarify the status of this evidence.

Firstly, we would need to ascertain precisely whether or not the hand in this section of the Leare MS actually is distinct from the hands to be found in the rest of the manuscript. Elsewhere in the manuscript, Leare writes in a mixed italic script that varies between a larger, more open and untidy form and a smaller, more precise one (Figure 3.2). Both are undoubtedly the same hand, because they retain a number of common features, including an ampersand that resembles the word 'is', and a distinctive minuscule *g*. It is possible that the hand that transcribes 'Aske me no more' and its answer-poems is a third variant with more extreme italic features, possibly an attempt by Leare to imitate the exceptionally neat penmanship of his cousin (Figure 3.3). To attend to some specific letterforms and scribal characteristics, there are a number of places in which the script found in the Leare MS is unlike Strode's hand. Majuscule *I/J* differs from Strode's, which is formed like a continental *7*. For majuscule *N* Strode opts for an oversized minuscule *n*. By contrast, the hand in the Leare MS forms the same graph with a heavier crossbar.

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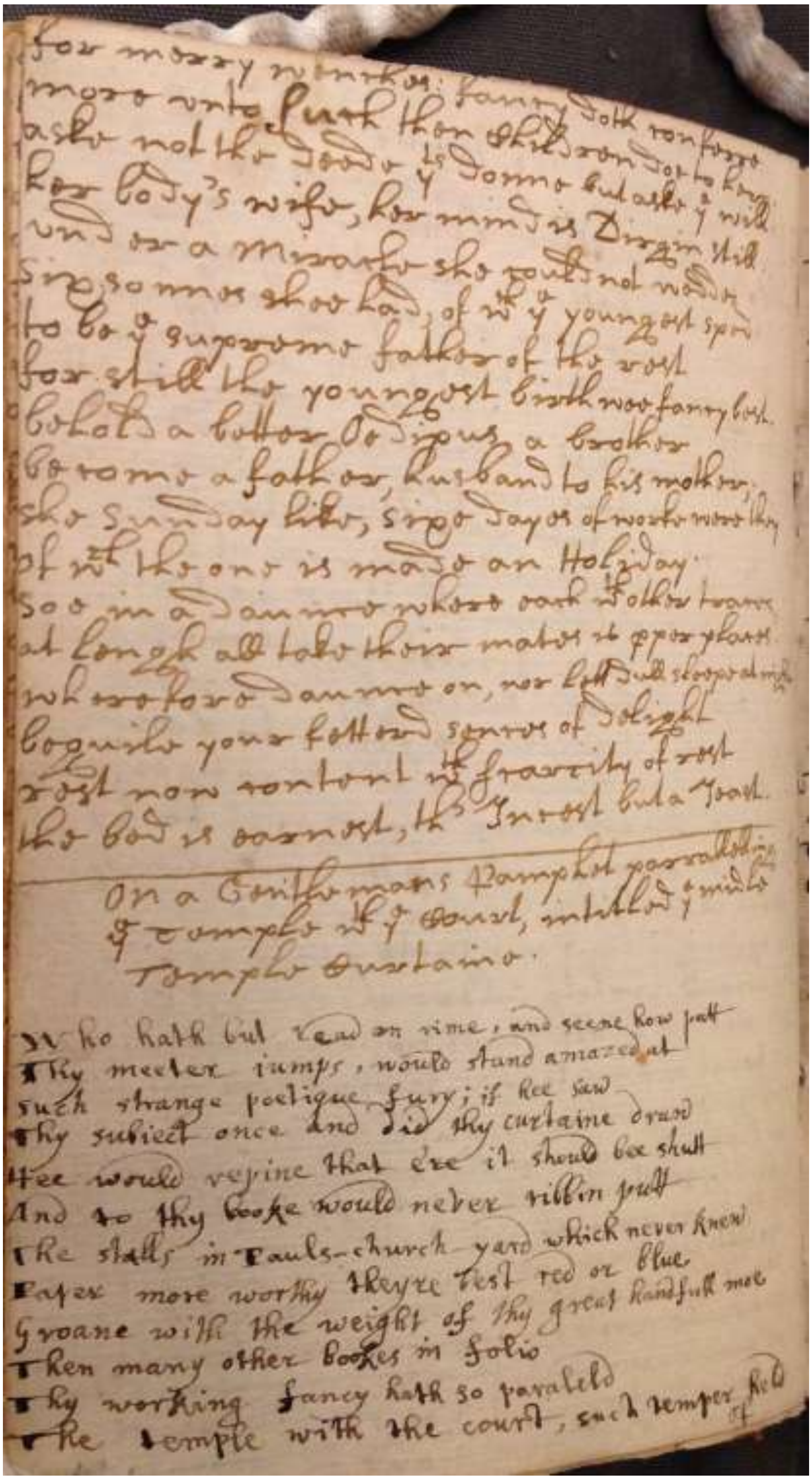
[58] Ibid., p. 189.

[59] Sargur N. Srihari et al., 'Individuality of Handwriting', *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 47 (2002), 1-17 (pp. 6-9). Cited in Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers*, p. 234.

Another difference between the two hands is found in majuscule *A*. When writing out fair copies, such as his transcription of 'A Song' ('Aske me no more whether doth stray'; *CELM*, CwT 750) in the Corpus MS (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.5), Strode habitually gave the initial pen-stroke an initial flourish: there is almost a full, 360 degree loop before the vertical ascending stroke in some cases. In less formal contexts, Strode's *A* has no decorative loop. The letter is formed simply with an initial upward pen stroke at the base of the line. By contrast, the *A* in the Leare MS is stubby, and formed with a subtle initial kick at the beginning of the first pen-stroke. This feature is found in the hand throughout the Leare miscellany as a whole (which also sometimes employs an *A* omitting the medial stroke). Strode also omits the kicks found at the foot of majuscule *F* in Leare. Compare also, the presence of a serif at the foot of minuscule *r* in the Leare MS (a feature missing in Strode's hand), a more simply formed *y* and *g* throughout the Leare MS, and Forey's identification becomes less assured. The macro-features of the hand are also unconvincing. In every verifiable example of Strode's hand, his writing consistently leans to the right, and has a delicate, flowing quality. But the putative example of Strode's hand in the Leare MS has the appearance of the other hands in this miscellany: untrained and clumsy. In short, it is unlikely that Strode's hand is found in the Leare MS.

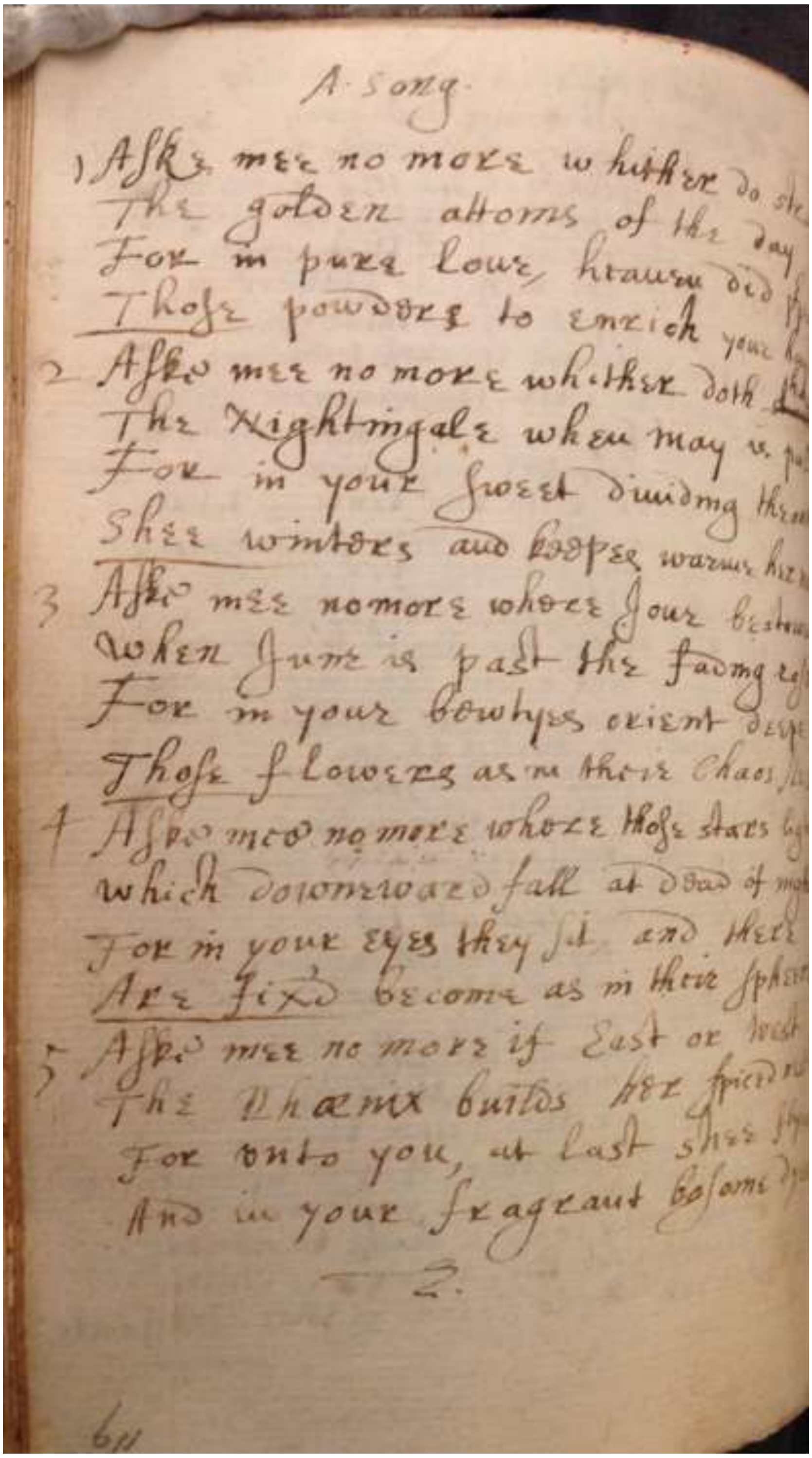


for merry winkes; fancy doth confesse
more unto flesh then children doe to kings
aske not the deede ys donne but aske ye will
her body's wife, her mind is Virgin still
under a Miracle she could not wonder
since sonnes shee had, of wch ye youngest sprung
to be ye supreme father of the rest
for still the youngest birth was fancy best
begets a better bedspouse a brother
become a father, husband to his mother
the Sunday like, since dayes of worke were they
of wch the one is made an Holyday
soe in a daunce where each wth other traverse
at length all take their mates & proper place
wherefore daunce on, nor lett dull sleepe at night
beguile your setled sorrow of delight
rest now content wth gravity of rest
the bed is earnest, this [illegible] but a Jeast

On a Gentlemans Pamphlet parralelling ye middle
Temple wth ye Court, intitled ye
Temple Curtaine.

Who hath but read on rime, and seene how fast
Thy meeter iumps, would stand amazed at
Such strange poetique fury; if hee saw
Thy subiect once and did thy curtaine draw
Hee would repine that ere it should bee shutt
And so thy booke would never ribbin putt
The stalls in Pauls-church yard which never knew
Paper more worthy theyre best red or blue
Groane with the weight of thy great handfull more
Then many other bookes in folio
Thy working fancy hath so paraleld
The temple with the court, such temper held of

Figure 3.2 Detail, BL Add. MS 30982, fol. 134r, showing both variant scripts used by Leare



A Song

1) Aske mee no more whither do ste
The golden attoms of the day
For in pure loue, heauen did
Those powders to enrich your
2 Aske mee no more whither doth
The Nightingale when may is pa
For in your sweet diuiding thro
Shee winters and keepes warme her
3 Aske mee nomore where Joue bestow
When June is past the fading ro
For in your bewtyes orient deep
Those flowers as in their Chaos
4 Aske mee no more where those stars lig
Which downeward fall at dead of nigh
For in your eyes they sit and there
Are fixed become as in their sphere
5 Aske mee no more if East or west
The Phœnix builds her spic
For unto you, at last shee fly
And in your fragrant bosome dy

2.

611

Figure 3.3 Detail, BL Add. MS 30982, fol. 119r rev.

Like other sections of the Leare MS, these copies of Strode's poems indicate that Leare was copying from authoritative sources. Leare is the only copyist of these three poems to reproduce Strode's revisions. In the 'Answere or Mock-song', for example, the Corpus MS reads at line eight 'It lies, and death comes with its Note', prior to deleting 'comes with', and adding 'is in' as an interlinear revision.[60] The Leare MS is identical, a textual relationship reproduced in line sixteen: 'Is to be light as ~~feathers~~ \Thistles/ are'.[61] These revisions to the Corpus MS were made in a light brown ink, but in another sitting, Strode made additional revisions in black. He changed 'A falser shadow' in line twelve to 'The falser shadow'.[62] To 'Aske me no more', he changed 'were Ioue bestowes' to 'where ~~Ioue~~ \Time/ bestowes'.[63] Leare did not, however, duplicate these specific revisions, meaning that the copies were acquired in between two stages of revision in the evolution of these poems. The presence of these authorial revisions in the Leare MS makes it unlikely that Strode himself transcribed the poems directly into Leare's miscellany (not to mention the already cited problem of handwriting evidence). If Strode did make these transcriptions directly, there seems little sense why he would reproduce his initial thoughts and revisions. An alternative is that Leare transcribed from a manuscript containing these authorial revisions, to which he had access on different occasions.

The Leare MS is clearly an invaluable resource for researchers of Strode's poetry. Its textual connections can be explained by demonstrable social and institutional links between the poet and compiler, and this manuscript can therefore offer an unusually detailed account of how a verse collector sourced and compiled their miscellany. It shows that Strode circulated his poetry to Leare by both loaning out his personal notebook – itself an act of trust, which suggests a close connection between Leare and the poet – but also by transmitting smaller groups of poems in a piecemeal fashion. Leare's miscellany takes on particular importance because of its proximity to Strode for those poems that do not survive in Strode's hand. For example, Leare is the only collector to ascribe 'A song' ('Thoughts doe not vexe me while I sleepe'; *CELM*, StW 892-903) to Strode, a poem which otherwise would make a difficult case for attribution.[64]

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[60] CCC MS 325, fol. 102^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 21).
[61] BL Add. MS 30982, fol. 118^{v} rev. (*CELM*, StW 22).
[62] CCC MS 325, fol. 102^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 21).
[63] CCC MS 325, fol. 100^{v} (*CELM*, *CwT 750).

It is important to ask whether the Leare MS is typical of how Strode's poems circulated at Christ Church, or an exceptional case study. During research for this thesis, I have not encountered a miscellany that contains as exhaustive a collection of Strode's poetry, but I have encountered another verse miscellany which shows clear textual connections to Strode's autograph manuscripts. The verse miscellany in question, Yale Osborn MS b 205 (Osborn MS II) was consulted by neither Forey nor Hobbs, meaning that its insights into Christ Church's literary culture have remained unexplored. The identification of evidence like the Osborn MS II contributes to our understanding of how Strode's poems circulated to his earliest readers, and it is to this manuscript that the next section of this chapter attends.

3.4 The Osborn MS II

The Osborn MS II has never before been recognized as a miscellany with particularly strong ties to Strode. Forey did not consult it for collation as part of her edition, and nor was it included by Hobbs in her survey of Oxford-affiliated verse miscellanies. Prior critical attention on this miscellany has been predominantly by

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[64] BL Add. MS 30982, fol. 146^r rev. (*CELM*, StW 893). The poem is also found in other Christ Church and Oxford manuscripts, but without ascription. See Bod. MS Eng. poet.f.27, pp. 53-54 (*CELM*, StW 892); Folger MS V.a.170, pp. 33-34 (*CELM*, StW 894); Yale Osborn MS b 205, fol. 81^r (*CELM*, StW 896).

Shakespeare scholars interested in the transmission of Shakespeare's 'Sonnet 2' (*CELM*, ShW 8-19).[65] More recently, the Osborn MS II has been briefly discussed by Ruth Connolly and Tom Cain for their edition of Robert Herrick's poetry, in which the manuscript is described as simply an 'Oxford miscellany'.[66] Very little attention has been paid to this manuscript's provenance and ownership, about which this chapter has also turned up frustratingly little in terms of concrete evidence. However, as this section will argue, the Osborn MS II should be considered a crucial document for our understanding of manuscript circulation at Christ Church, and Strode's place within that culture.

Beal's *CELM* dates the manuscript to '*c*. 1630s', while Gary Taylor has suggested 1625-1635, and Ruth Connolly and Tom Cain 'between the late 1630s and the mid-1640s'.[67] I have not identified any particular items that suggest any ways in which these already vague dates can be further specified. A sextodecimo verse miscellany, bound in calf with its clasps still partially intact, its small size would have made it ideal as a portable notebook. The *CELM* states that the manuscript contains 'several hands', but my analysis instead points to one hand employing a variety of styles, ranging from an untidy mixed script, to a more open italic and occasionally, court, and secretary scripts (Figure 3.4). All of these variants share common features, such as a distinctive ampersand graph, which resembles a minuscule *e*, and frequent uses of the terminal *es* contraction. The scribe uses the same stenographic notation system throughout. In his transcription of Strode's poem 'An Earestring', for example, the second line reads 'yo*u*r eare it [self] outpasseth them' (Figure 3.5), and third 'I warn [and] pull you by *th*e eare'.[68] The scribe employs symbols found in Thomas Shelton's 1630 manual *Short-writing the exact methode* (Figure 3.6).[69]

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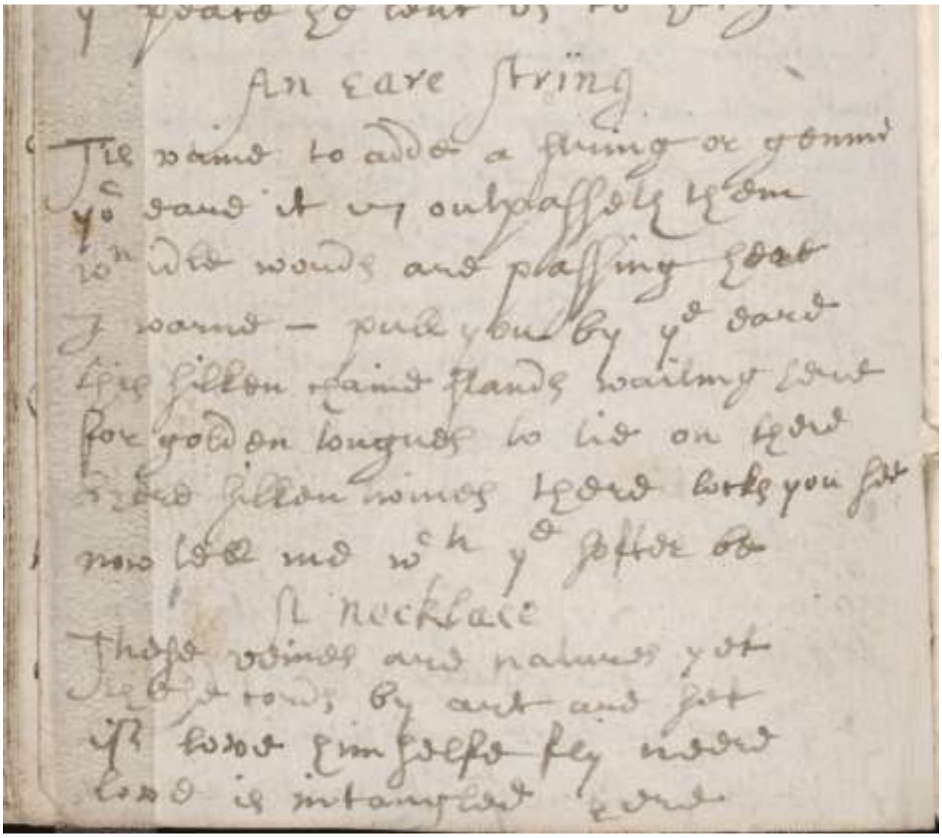
[65] For scholarship on the Osborn MS II and Shakespeare, see Gary Taylor, 'Some Manuscripts of Shakespeare's Sonnets', p. 211; Arthur Marotti and Laura Estill, 'Manuscript Circulation', in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare*, ed. by Arthur F. Kinney (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 53-71 (p. 59).

[66] Herrick, II, p. 247.

[67] Beal, *CELM*; Taylor, 'Some Manuscripts of Shakespeare's Sonnets', p. 211; Herrick, II, p. 247.



An eare string

A necklace

Figure 3.5 Detail, Yale Osborn MS b 205, fol. 31ᵛ

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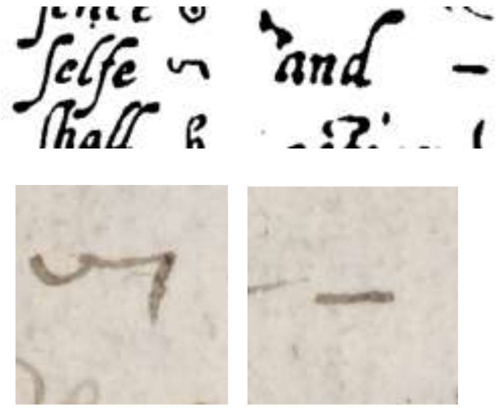
[68] Yale Osborn MS b 205, fol. 31ᵛ (*CELM*, StW 82).

[69] Thomas Shelton, *Short-writing the most exact methode* (London: printed by J.D[awson] for S. C[artwright], 1630), p. [5].

Figure 3.6 Shorthand symbols from Thomas Shelton, *Short-writing* (pp. 1, 5) and Yale Osborn MS b 205, fol. 31^{v}


ſelfe
and
ſhall

Unlike the Leare MS, where evidence of the manuscript's ownership is abundant in its many flyleaf inscriptions, putting a name to the hand of this miscellany is less straightforward. There are no legible marks of ownership apart from the name 'Matthew' amongst some pen trials found on folio 1^{r}, while the abbreviation 'MP' also appears as a subscription to some of the poems found only in this miscellany, such as a verse letter addressed 'To Mr JM w*i*th verses' (Figure 3.7).[70] Rare or unique poems are sometimes an indicator of a manuscript's ownership, because they may have been written by its compiler or one of their associates. However, in the absence of further evidence, it is not clear precisely who 'MP' was.

Instead, only the manuscript's content can provide indications of its social associations. In this respect, it would be fair to say that Strode dominates the miscellany, with forty-eight poems. Besides verse by Strode, the miscellany includes nine poems by Donne, eight by Carew, two by Morley, King and Randolph, three by Jonson, four by Herrick and one by Mayne. Although this does not necessarily point towards the conclusion that the manuscript has associations with Oxford, there are good reasons to infer that the Osborn MS II is indeed an Oxford miscellany. Firstly, the manuscript exhibits connections a particularly strong tie to Strode's autograph Corpus MS. Secondly, as Gary Taylor has demonstrated in his study of Shakespeare's 'Sonnet 2' (*CELM*, ShW 8-19), the Osborn MS II is derived from the archetype copied by the Morley MS, along with the Leare MS, the Killigrew MS, and the Dobell MS I (Folger V.a.170).[71] This textual relationship with manuscripts of demonstrable Oxford provenance holds true for other poets; Herrick's editors found that the Osborn MS II relates to the same manuscripts listed by Taylor.[72] The manuscript's Oxford connections are further supported by the presence of verse originating from Oxford that was not particularly widely circulated, such as Jeremiel Terrent's epithalamium 'On D^{r} Corbets marrige day'.[73]

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[70] Yale Osborn MS b 205, fol. 4^{v}.

The Osborn MS II also appears to have connections with the Inns of Court. This interpretation is not based on the presence of poets whose work circulated at the Inns – such as Herrick, Randolph and Jonson – but on one particular text not found in any other manuscripts: a sequence of anagrams by Francis Lenton (*fl.* 1629-1653). Titled 'The virgin knott of hono*u*r or. Vesta's Anagramatist', Lenton's anagrams describe the virtues of women at the court of Queen Henrietta Maria, and also includes a dedicatory epistle 'To the Right honourable and truly noble the Earle of Dorsett.'[74] To date, the Osborn MS II remains the only identified witness to these anagrams, and its formal arrangement suggests that the compiler had access to a complete, possibly presentation copy of the sequence. This suggests that the compiler of the miscellany also had access to scribal networks to which Lenton belonged. As Jerome de Groot has noted, Lenton is a good example of the 'ill-defined figures frequenting the grey areas between Holborn, London Catholic coteries and the Queen's court.'[75] This additional connection may suggest that like Daniel Leare, the Osborn II manuscript's compiler moved on to the Inns after attending Oxford. If so, this would also explain why the manuscript shares a number of significant readings and content with the Inns of Court manuscript Harvard MS Eng 686.[76]

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[71] Taylor, 'Some Manuscripts of Shakespeare's Sonnets', p. 219.

[72] Herrick, II, pp. 258, 268-69; see, for example, the transmission history of Herrick's 'To his False Mistress', where the Osborn MS II belongs to a group of witnesses including the Leare MS, and the Morley MS (p. 258).

[73] Yale Osborn MS b 205, fol. 56^{v}.

[74] Yale Osborn MS b 205, fols 6^{r}-9^{v}.

Like the Leare MS, the Osborn MS II demonstrates one particularly strong connection with a section of the Corpus MS. Between folios 58^{v} and 60^{v} is a group of poems which reproduce the text, headings, order, and layout of the corresponding section of the Corpus MS (Figure 3.7). . Comparison of these manuscripts reveals that even though the copyist was working directly from the autograph notebook, there are still some variants, such as 'Behind' for 'Beneath' in 'An Epitaph' ('Beneath this brazen plate those ashes lie').[77] Some variants undoubtedly witness one copyist's idiosyncrasies in transcription, but others are more revealing about the juncture in the transmission history of Strode's verse at which this copyist gained access to the autograph manuscript. The Osborn MS II's copy of 'An Epitaph on Mrs Mary Eliz. Nedham' does not duplicate the revision that the Corpus MS shows Strode made to the poem's title, in which 'Eliz' was added above 'Mary' in a darker ink.[78] The Leare MS does duplicate this revised reading indicating that Leare copied from the Corpus MS at a later date than the copyist of the Osborn MS II. This being the case, we can infer that the Osborn MS II's Strode poems pre-date May 1633.

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[75] De Groot, 'Coteries, Complications and the Question of Female Agency', in *The 1630s: Interdisciplinary Essays on Culture and Politics in the Caroline Era*, ed. by Ian Atherton and Julie Sanders (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 189-209 (p. 190). See also de Groot, 'Lenton, Francis (*fl*. 1629-1653)', *ODNB*.

[76] See Nixon, 'A Reading of Thomas Carew in Manuscript', I, p. 107.

[77] Yale Osborn MS b 205, fol. 59^{v} (*CELM*, StW 88).

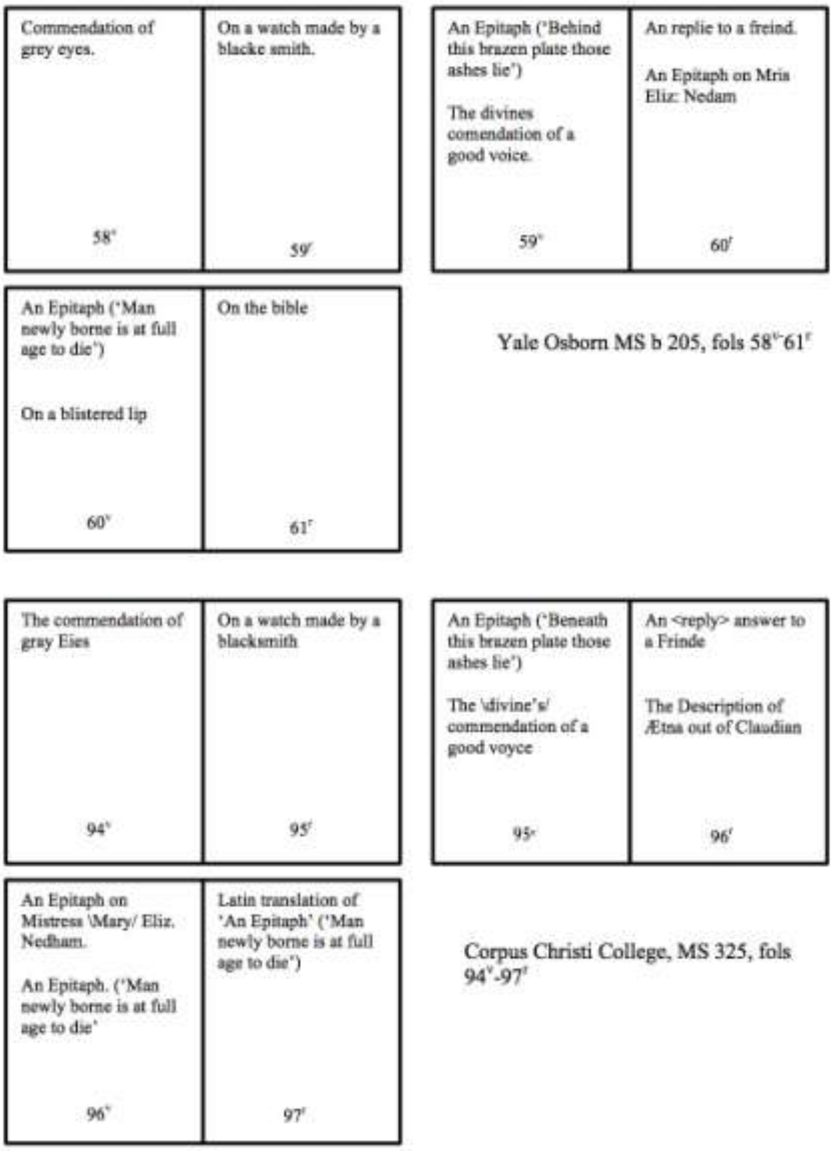
Commendation of grey eyes.
58^{v}
On a watch made by a blacke smith.
59^{r}
An Epitaph ('Behind this brazen plate those ashes lie')
The divines comendation of a good voice.
59^{v}
An replie to a freind.
An Epitaph on Mris Eliz: Nedam
60^{r}
An Epitaph ('Man newly borne is at full age to die')
On a blistered lip
60^{v}
On the bible
61^{r}
Yale Osborn MS b 205, fols 58^{v}-61^{r}
The commendation of gray Eies
94^{v}
On a watch made by a blacksmith
95^{r}
An Epitaph ('Beneath this brazen plate those ashes lie')
The \divine's/ commendation of a good voyce
95^{v}
An <reply> answer to a Frinde
The Description of Ætna out of Claudian
96^{r}
An Epitaph on Mistress \Mary/ Eliz. Nedham.
An Epitaph. ('Man newly borne is at full age to die'
96^{v}
Latin translation of 'An Epitaph' ('Man newly borne is at full age to die')
97^{r}
Corpus Christi College, MS 325, fols 94^{v}-97^{r}

Figure 3.7 Comparison of openings in the Yale Osborn MS b 205 and CCC MS 325[79]

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[78] CCC MS 325, fol. 96^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 108).

[79] To enable comparison, headings are reproduced from the individual manuscripts, rather than from the standardized form in the *CELM*.

Throughout the almost unbroken block of Strode poems, there are further, localized areas of connection between the Corpus MS and Osborn MS II. A further five poems agree with the Corpus MS's text and order between folios 61^{v} and 64^{v}, with the funerary elegies: 'On the death of the young Baronet Portman [...]', 'On Twins divided by death', 'On the death of the Lady Caesar', and 'On the death of Sir Thomas Leigh'.[80] At other times, however, it is certain that the compiler must have used other sources, since he copied poems not found in the Corpus MS, such as the run of verse epistles to Sir John Ferrers and Sir Edmund Ling.[81] One clue as to the nature of these sources is provided by the headings given to a run of songs – some of which do not survive in Strode's hand – entered between 67^{v} and 70^{r}. This group includes 'Song' ('Keepe on your maske, yea hide your Eye'; *CELM*, StW 835-67.5), 'Song A Parallel betwixt bowling and preferment' (*CELM*, StW 924-42), 'On a freind's absence' (*CELM*, StW 364-77), 'In commendation of Musique' (*CELM*, StW 158-91), and 'A Sigh' (*CELM*, StW 707-22). The compiler transcribed them with a consistent numerical system, suggesting that he encountered them together as a group, written out for example, on a booklet:

> A Song ('keepe on yo*u*r maske & hide yo*u*r eye'), fols. 67^{v}-68^{r}
> A parallel betwixt bowling and preferment. song., fols 68^{r-v}
> On a freinds absence. song 3, fols 68^{v}-69^{r}
> The commenda*t*ion of musicke 4 song., fols 69^{r-v}
> 5 Song on a sigh, fols 69^{v}-70^{r}

This is reminiscent of the way in which Strode numbers songs in the Corpus MS. Between folios 62^{r} and 70^{v}, Strode uses a very similar system, labelling 'Song' ('As

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[80] Yale Osborn MS b 205, fols 61^{v}-62^{r} (*CELM*, StW 603); 62^{v} (*CELM*, StW 630); 63^{r-v} (*CELM*, StW 596); 63^{v}-64^{v} (*CELM*, StW 572). Compare CCC MS 325, fols 80^{v}-81^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 597); 82^{r-v} (*CELM*, *StW 623); 82^{v}-83^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 592); 83^{v}-84^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 565). On folios 81^{v}-82^{v} Strode copies 'On the death of Sir Thomas Pelham' (*CELM*, *StW 573). The Osborn MS II does not copy this poem.

[81] Yale Osborn MS b 205, fols 53^{r-v} (*CELM*, StW 1161), 53^{v}-54^{r} (*CELM*, StW 1168), 54^{r} (*CELM*, StW 1157).

I out of a Casement sent; *CELM*, StW 726-40) '2 Song', 'Song' ('I saw faire Cloris walke alone'; *CELM*, StW 744-834.5) '3 Song', and 'Song' ('O sing a new song to the Lord'; *CELM*, StW 868-73), '4 Song'.[82] It is possible that such groupings were the product of Strode circulating his songs in smaller groups and different combinations, working from larger manuscript collections like the Corpus MS.

Identifying the connections between the Osborn MS II and the Corpus MS contributes detail to our understanding of Strode as an author-publisher. Crucially, this manuscript reveals that the poet-verse collector relationship experienced by Strode and Leare was not extraordinary, but repeated on other occasions. We may not know quite who the compiler of the Osborn MS II was, but we know that he (he, because it was almost certainly a Christ Church student) had privileged access to Strode's manuscripts. To be the recipient of an autograph notebook like the Corpus MS implies the presence of a strong tie between poet and verse collector, possibly one experienced by tutor and student, or poet and friend. I have not identified any further case studies that exemplify such a strong connection with Strode's autograph manuscripts, which perhaps serves to emphasize the importance of the Leare MS Osborn MS II. But two further Christ Church miscellanies do warrant attention as witnesses in which Strode's authorship remains as prominent and palpable: the Elizabeth Lane MS and Dobell MS.

3.5 The Elizabeth Lane MS

The Elizabeth Lane MS does not exhibit direct connections with the Corpus MS, but it is clear that it was compiled by an individual with intimate and sustained access to Strode's poetry. In total, the manuscript contains sixty-two poems by Strode, the third-highest ranking concentration of Strode poems in any extant manuscript. The Elizabeth Lane MS is the work of a single scribe, who wrote in an italic hand, and used consistent presentational practices throughout the transcription of the miscellany. All headings are underlined, and neat lines are drawn beneath each completed transcription. To every page of verse, the scribe fits between thirty and thirty-two lines. This consistency suggests a high degree of care and planning went into the transcription of the manuscript's content. The same hand accurately paginated the miscellany and assembled a comprehensive index of its content. Although a precise date cannot be calculated for this miscellany, the latest datable poem it transcribes is Corbett's elegy on Donne, which gives an approximate date of 1631.[83] Because it is not found in the major archives commonly consulted by early modernists, such as the Bodleian, British and Folger Shakespeare Libraries, the Elizabeth Lane MS has attracted only sparse critical attention. Beal discusses it in the *CELM* as a miscellany 'clearly related' to the Leare MS, and as a resource of obvious significance to researchers of Strode's and Corbett's verse.[84]

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[82] CCC MS 325, fols 63^{v}-64^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 726); 64^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 747); 64^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 868).

That the manuscript was indeed a Christ Church miscellany needs further clarification. Arthur Marotti includes the manuscript in his discussion of 'Women and the Manuscript System', as an example of how '[w]omen could both collect and add to the body of poetry they transcribed in their personal anthologies'.[85] The manuscript does indeed bear the ownership inscription on its flyleaves, 'Elizabeth Lane hir booke', followed by the names 'Finch' and 'Johannes Finch'. However, neither of these can be matched with the neat, italic hand that transcribes the manuscript's content, suggesting that Elizabeth Lane and John Finch were later owners, rather than compilers of the manuscript. Women did indeed collect poetry that was traditionally associated with homo-social environments such as the Universities and Inns of Court. For example, the verse miscellany of Constance Aston Fowler (*d.* 1664) of Staffordshire, contains not only many Catholic devotional poems, and verses by family and friends from the local area, but also 'verses by miscellany favourites such as Ben Jonson, Henry King, and Thomas Randolph'.[86] It is likely Constance acquired such poems from her brother Herbert (*bap*.1613, *d*.1688/9), whose verse miscellany – a more typical product of male manuscript culture – also survives.[87] There is nothing to suggest, however, that the Elizabeth Lane MS represents anything other than the tastes and scribal labour of a male compiler, most probably a member of a college the University of Oxford.

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[83] AUL MS 29, pp. 141-42 (*CELM*, CoR 186).

[84] See Beal, *CELM* https://celm2.dighum.kcl.ac.uk/introductions/CorbettRichard.html [accessed 3 January 2016].

[85] Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, p. 48. Marotti refers to the manuscript on p. 50.

An Oxford provenance is suggested by the manuscript's content, which not only includes sixty-five poems by Strode – the most highly represented poet in this miscellany – but also seventeen poems by Richard Corbett, as well as poetry by George Morley, Henry King and John Earles. Other non-Oxford poets found in this collection include Sir Walter Ralegh, Ben Jonson and Thomas Carew. This alone, of course, cannot be used to argue for a definite connection to Oxford, but two other factors do. Ruth Connolly and Tom Cain's research on Herrick's circulation in manuscript identified that the Elizabeth Lane MS shared readings with other Oxford-affiliated manuscripts, including the Leare MS, and the Killigrew MS.[88] Scott Nixon also identified the same textual relationship between the Elizabeth Lane and Killigrew manuscripts for the circulation of Carew's verse.[89] Such textual associations strongly suggest that the compiler was a participant within the scribal communities of Oxford, perhaps as an undergraduate or fellow of a college.

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[86] Helen Hackett, 'Unlocking the Mysteries of Constance Aston Fowler's Verse Miscellany (Huntington Library MS HM 904): The Hand B Scribe Identified', in Eckhardt and Smith (eds.), pp. 91-113 (p. 92).

[87] See Yale Osborn MS b 4.

[88] See, for example, the transmission history for Herrick's 'The Welcome to Sack' in Herrick, II, p. 309.

Furthermore, Strode's presence within the manuscript suggests a compiler with a particularly good access to Christ Church's scribal networks. One of the defining characteristics of the Leare MS and Osborn MS II manuscripts was the exhaustive nature of their Strode collections. That is, they contained not only large numbers of Strode poems, but poems that seem to have scarcely circulated at all, such as 'The Description of Ætna out of Claudian' (*CELM*, StW 58-59) and 'An Answere to a frinde' (*CELM*, StW 26-27). The Elizabeth Lane MS is another compilation that contains rare Strode texts. For example, only the Elizabeth Lane MS and Leare MS contain Strode's poem 'Vpon Will: Bridle, who being zealous for Sweethart never went without a blewe Eye, and one time founde noe other remedy then chalke to hide it' (*CELM*, StW 1207-09).[90] When these witnesses are collated, the Elizabeth Lane MS agrees substantively with the Corpus MS, and if anything, offers an apparently more secure and proximal witness to Strode's manuscript, than the Leare MS.

Where the Leare MS and Osborn MS II manuscripts contain long sections in which it is possible to establish a direct connection with the Corpus MS, the Elizabeth Lane MS compiler evidently had access to a slightly different kind of source for Strode's verse. Rather than an unbroken block of Strode's verse dominating one or more sections, Strode's poetry is more widely dispersed throughout the Elizabeth Lane MS. Such dispersal means that it is likely that the manuscript's compiler did not encounter Strode's poems as a single group, in a single large manuscript, but in several smaller stages over time. Like the Leare MS and Osborn MS II, the Elizabeth Lane MS consistently copies pre-revised versions of Strode's poems. The first of these areas of connection between the Corpus MS and the Elizabeth Lane MS occurs after the transcription of Strode's 'An Epitaph on Mr. Fishborne the great London benefactor, and his executor'. Following this, on the same opening in the Corpus MS, Strode copied 'On a Glasse falling on the stones without breaking'.[91] The Elizabeth Lane MS follows the same order, agreeing with Strode's autograph copies in every respect.[92] The correspondence returns with another three elegies and epitaphs: 'On the death of the young Baronet Portman, dying of an Impostume in the head', 'On the death of Sir Thomas Pelham' and 'On Twins divided by death'.[93]

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[89] Nixon, 'A Reading of Thomas Carew in Manuscript', I. p. 18.

[90] See CCC MS 325, fols 72^{r}-73^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 1207); BL Add. MS 30982, fols 132^{r}-31^{r} rev. (*CELM*, StW 1209); AUL MS 29, pp. 194-97 (*CELM*, StW 1208).

We can infer that the compiler of this manuscript may well have known Strode directly.[94] What distinguishes it from the Leare MS and Osborn MS II is that it not only contains a large concentration of Strode's poetry, but also suggests an even higher degree of interest in Strode's authorship. Fifty-seven Strode poems are carefully ascribed to 'W:S', leaving only three poems unattributed: 'Vpon a Butcher married to a Tanners daughter', 'Vpon *th*e marrige of M^{rs} Van=otten with one w*hi*ch shee termed her Sonne' (discussed at the end of this chapter), and 'On a kisse'.[95] The compiler ascribed only one poem to Strode that he most probably did not write, the song of uncertain authorship beginning 'Hence, all you vain delights', to which Strode penned an answer with ‘An Opposite to Melancholy’.[96] In spite of this one incorrect ascription, the Elizabeth Lane MS takes on importance for ascertaining the authorship of poems ascribed to Strode, but not found in the Corpus and Portland manuscripts, such as his popular song ‘A Sigh’, and the elegy on John Dawson, Butler at Christ Church.[97] Furthermore, the textual authority of the manuscript’s Strode poems means that it could play a crucial role in establishing the copy-texts for future editions of those poems.

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[91] CCC MS 325, fols 93^{r-v} (*CELM*, *StW 437).
[92] AUL MS 29, pp. 65-68 (*CELM*, StW 105), 68-70 (*CELM*, StW 438).
[93] AUL MS 29, pp. 99-101 (*CELM*, StW 598), 101-03 (*CELM*, StW 574), 103 (*CELM*, StW 624). Compare CCC MS 325, fols 80^{v}-81^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 597), 81^{v}-82^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 573), 82^{r-v} (*CELM*, *StW 623).
[94] Forey comes to the same conclusion. See her 'William Strode and the Elegy on John Dawson, 1622', p. 3.
[95] AUL MS 29, pp. 54 (*CELM*, StW 301), 179-81 (no *CELM* reference), 187 (*CELM*, StW 1349). Forey counts ten misattributed poems, but I cannot identify the source of her error. See 'William Strode and the Elegy on John Dawson, 1622', p. 3.

3.6 The Dobell MS I

The category of textual relationship to Strode’s poetry exemplified by the Elizabeth Lane MS is also exemplified by the final case study in this chapter. Mary Hobbs singled out the Dobell MS I as a miscellany of particular importance for researchers of Strode’s poetry, suggesting that like the Leare MS, this verse miscellany contains ‘an authentic group of Strode poems [...] for which I have not yet found the link’.[98] By this, Hobbs meant that the manuscript contained groups of Strode’s poems that agree with Strode’s autograph copies ‘not just in text, but in titles, mistakes and alterations’, but for which no external evidence can be identified as to how this verse collector sourced poems of such textual authority.[99] Hobbs did not specify which area of the Dobell MS I contains the ‘authentic group’ of Strode’s poems. And, in my own research on this manuscript I have identified no such sequence of poems, which suggests that its compiler copied directly from the Corpus MS. It is clear, however, that this verse collector did have access to sources of Strode’s poems, which may well have taken the form of authorial manuscripts. Textual collation of the manuscript's poems reveals a compiler who copied poems by Strode with an equivalent textual authority to the Leare MS, the Osborn MS II, and the Elizabeth Lane MS.

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[96] AUL MS 29, pp. 187-88 (*CELM*, B&F 112).
[97] See AUL MS 29, pp. 165-67 (*CELM*, StW 707).
[98] Hobbs, *Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, p. 121.
[99] Ibid.

The Dobell MS I shows signs of at least three compilers. Beal identifies pp. 13-244 (Section A) as the work of 'a single largely roman hand'. In this section, we find a compilation of poetry dominated by Strode and Corbett, but which also includes poems by Donne, Jonson and Ralegh. This section alone, with its high concentration of Strode poems sourced from authoritative manuscripts, would be strong enough evidence to argue for a Christ Church provenance. However, this argument becomes stronger by looking at the remaining sections of the miscellany. Section B, which runs from pp. 269-333 is a compilation of poetry by Nicholas Oldisworth belonging to a slightly younger generation of poets to Strode and Corbett, that also included William Cartwright. Only two poems by Oldisworth were circulated beyond Oxford: his verse letters 'To Ben Jonson' and 'To the Witts of Oxford, Cambridge and London', meaning that any compiler with such a large collection of Oldisworth's verse was probably well connected to the poet. Indeed, as Oldisworth's editor John Gouws explains, the poems contained in Section B of the Dobell MS I 'are clearly early versions of the ones found in [Oldisworth's] later holograph fair copy [Bod. MS Don. c.24]' and that 'we must assume that the copyist had been granted access to Oldisworth's own papers'.[100] If this is the case, Sections A and B were most probably compiled near contemporaneously, from the late 1620s onwards by different members of the Christ Church scribal community. The final, remaining section of the Dobell MS I dates to as late as the 1650s, and contains verses related to the scandalous death and resurrection of Anne Green, a domestic servant in Oxford.[101] It is likely therefore, the Dobell MS I was used by multiple verse collectors associated with Oxford throughout the early-, to mid-seventeenth century.

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[100] Gouws, 'Nicholas Oldisworth, Richard Bacon, and the Practices of Caroline Friendship', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 47 (2005), 366-401 (p. 373).

Like the Elizabeth Lane MS, the Dobell MS I does not demonstrate one particular area of connection with the Corpus MS, but instead suggests a series of moments at which its compiler accessed authoritative Strode texts. Collation of its texts shows that it substantively agrees with the readings of Strode's poems in the early, pre-revised versions found in the Corpus MS. For copies of Strode's poems not found in the Corpus MS, the Dobell MS I reveals itself to be a potential source for copy-texts in a future edition.

A complicating factor in ascertaining the Dobell MS I compilers' knowledge of Strode's poetry lies in its attribution practices. The compiler of Section A was careful to ascribe texts to Strode, leaving only two of Strode's texts unattributed.[102] However, his understanding of Strode's canon was also more capacious and inclusive than other collectors discussed in this chapter. In addition to the poems listed by the *CELM*, the Dobell MS I compiler attributed a further six poems of uncertain authorship to Strode. One poem, titled 'A Sonnet. W:S.//' and beginning 'Care=charming Sleepe, the Easer of all woes', was included in Beaumont and Fletcher's play *Valentinian*, and circulated in a musical setting by Robert Johnson.[103] The Dobell MS compiler was the only collector to associate the poem with Strode's name. Similarly, he ascribes a song from John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* beginning 'Come, let vs howle some heavy note' to Strode, and transcribes it as a companion poem to his ‘An Opposite to Melancholy’.[104] Like the compiler of the Elizabeth Lane MS, the Dobell MS I also ascribes the poem ‘Vpon Melancholy’ beginning ‘Hence all you fond delights’ to Strode.[105] He also puts Strode’s name to two other texts of which he was certainly not the author; an extract from Ben Jonson’s ‘A Celebration of Charis in ten Lyrick Peeces’ (*CELM*, JnB 8-35), beginning ‘Have you seene the white Lilly grow’, and Ralegh’s ‘On the Life of Man’ (*CELM*, RaW 224-93.8).[106] In other cases, the question of whether or not the Dobell MS I mis-ascribes a poem to Strode is less straightforward. An epitaph beginning ‘Draw not too neare: | Vnlesse you droppe a teare’ was printed as William Herbert’s in *Poems* (1660), but remains a poem of uncertain authorship.[107] While such evidence might be used to advance a case for the Dobell as a manuscript of dubious textual authority as far as Strode’s poems are concerned, it is also possible to see these mis-ascriptions as evidence of Strode’s prominence within Christ Church’s scribal community, and evidence of what a member of this community may have thought Strode to have written.

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[101] For more on this episode, see J. Trevor Hughes, 'Miraculous Deliverance of Anne Green: An Oxford Case of Resuscitation in the Seventeenth Century', *British Medical Journal*, 285 (1982), 1792-1793.

[102] See Folger MS V.a.170, pp. 21 ('On a Butchers Marrying a Tanners daughter'), 45 ('On a Gentlewoman that Sund, and playd vpon a Lute'). This latter poem was later ascribed by another hand to 'TC', possibly Thomas Carew.

[103] Folger MS V.a.170, p. 27 (*CELM*, B&F 176-88).

3.7 Three verse miscellanies and Strode’s ‘other Copie’

This chapter ends by investigating one additional kind of manuscript connection exhibited by the Leare MS, the Osborn MS II and the Elizabeth Lane MS: the light they shed on Strode’s lost ‘other Copie’ (*SOC*) and its poems. In Chapter 2, I explained that William Fulman made a note in the Corpus MS of poems he had encountered in *SOC*, but which were not transcribed in the Corpus MS. This list included eight texts: ‘Widow Mar.’, ‘Midle Temp.’, ‘Valedict.’, ‘Born in June’,

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[104] Folger MS V.a.170, pp. 29-30 (*CELM*, WeJ 6-10).
[105] Folger MS V.a.170, p. 170.
[106] Folger MS V.a.170, pp. 30-31 (*CELM*, JnB 25), 45-46 (*CELM*, RaW 262).
[107] Folger MS V.a.170, pp. 170-71 (*CELM*, PeW 272-82). See *Poems, written by* [...] *William earl of Pembroke* (London: printed by Matthew Inman for James Magnes, 1660), pp. 116-17.

'Chloris, Amynt.', 'Harts and Eyes.', 'Clifton Hunt.', and 'Hawk'.[108] These poems have been assumed lost along with *SOC*, but in this section I would like to argue that Strode's most prolific manuscript verse collectors are the first place to begin looking for them. This is because of the ways in which these compilers acquired copies of Strode's poems. Namely, they transcribed large numbers of Strode's poems from autograph sources like the Corpus MS, and from loose sheets and booklets, some of which bear fleeting similarities and overlaps with the order of poems in *SOC*. My hypothesis when examining these manuscripts was that within their large clusters of Strode's poems, it would be possible that these compilers copied down poems that had evaded the notice of Forey and the *CELM*. If this hypothesis is correct, it would not only contribute to our understanding of Strode's canon, but also our knowledge of how his poems circulated. That is, it would show that the poems in *SOC* did circulate as smaller groupings, in the form of single sheets and booklets. My own hypothesis, that *SOC* was either a manuscript from which Strode circulated poems in booklets or loose sheets, or alternatively, that *SOC* is derived from such booklets or loose sheets, enables us to consider the potential connections between *SOC* and Strode's verse collectors. The discovery of lost poems from *SOC* in a manuscript verse miscellany would, therefore, identify at least a loose connection between the collection of poems that became *SOC*, and Strode's activities as a scribal-publisher of poetry.

Lost or missing literature has recently attracted increased attention from early modernists.[109] Much of the critical attention responding to lost, missing, damaged or fragmentary texts has come from scholars of drama, notably through the *Lost Plays Database*, and also the well-documented example of Shakespeare's

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[108] CCC MS 325, fol. 105^r.

[109] See Adam Smyth and Gill Partington, 'What is the History of Books with Names but No Bodies?', *Critical Quarterly*, 55 (2013), 1-2.

Cardenio.[110] In the area of manuscript miscellany studies, work on missing texts has also included Randall McLeod's use of beta-radiography to read an obliterated text of Donne's 'To his Mistress Going to Bed', as well as Daniel Starza Smith's reconstruction of a copy of Donne's *Satires* in the Conway Papers.[111] But there are few critical or practical precedents that may explain how one goes about looking for a poem about which one knows only a name, or abbreviated name. Textual editors may hope to reconstruct the LOH – the lost original holograph of a poem – through collation, but this section hopes to recover the lost poem itself, not simply an understanding of its authorial archetype.

By looking at Fulman's headings and abbreviations in the notes he added to the Corpus MS, it is possible to make some cautious speculations about the nature of these lost poems. 'Valedict.', for example, is almost certainly an abbreviation of 'valediction', a kind of pseudo-Donne poem like Strode's 'For a Gentleman who kissing his frinde, at his departure out of England, left a Signe of blood vpon her' (*CELM*, StW 123-40.5) , and 'For Mr Fei: & to his Freind' (*CELM*, *StW 141). 'Born in June' was probably a poem celebrating a birth, like Strode's 'On Mistress Jane Hele borne on the 24 of Aprill betwixt St. George's Day and St. Markes. 1637. A Calculation' (*CELM*, *StW 510). I have identified no poems that match these descriptions in any manuscripts containing Strode's verse, and nor have I had any luck with abbreviations and headings which are more difficult to expand and clarify:

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[110] For the *Lost Plays Database*, see https://www.lostplays.org. See also *Lost Plays in Shakespeare's England*, ed. by David McInnis and Matthew Steggle (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Matthew Steggle, *Digital Humanities and the Lost Drama of Early Modern England: Ten Case Studies* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015). The controversy surrounding the nature of Shakespeare's *Cardenio* is one particularly well-discussed example. See Roger Chartier, *Cardenio between Cervantes and Shakespeare: The Story of a Lost Play*, trans. by Janet Lloyd (Melden, MA: Polity, 2013) and *The Quest for Cardenio: Shakespeare, Fletcher, Cervantes, and the Lost Play*, ed. by David Carnegie and Gary Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[111] See Randall McLeod, 'Obliterature: Reading a Censored Text of Donne's "To his Mistres Going to Bed"', *English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700*, 12 (2005), 83-138; Smith, 'Before (and After) the Miscellany: Reconstructing Donne's *Satyres* in the Conway Papers'.

'Harts and Eyes' and 'Hawk'. I have, however, identified two candidates out of the presumed lost eight poems, corresponding to the abbreviations 'Widow Mar.' and 'Midle Temp.'.

I first became aware of these poems whilst transcribing from the long, unbroken sequence of poems by Strode in the Osborn MS II, where, in between 'On a good legge and a foote' (*CELM*, StW 460) and 'Song' ('Keepe on your maske, yea hide your Eye'; *CELM*, StW 852), there is a poem titled 'On a gentlewomans marriage'.[112] The poem begins 'The whispring of *th*e towne is now all spent', and describes the marriage of a mother to the youngest of her six sons. Not recognizing the poem as Strode's, I looked up the poem's first line in the Beinecke Library's *First Line Index of English Poetry 1500-1800*, to find that it is attributed there to Strode.[113] The Osborn MS II's copyist did not ascribe the poem to Strode, and so it is likely that the Beinecke Index's attribution was based on nothing more than the fact that the poem appears in the midst of a long, unbroken run of Strode poems. Indeed, the *CELM* does not include the poem as even a spurious attribution to Strode, meaning that there is ostensibly little reason to claim 'On a gentlewomans marriage' as Strode's work. I had also assumed the Beinecke attribution to be an error until I noticed that the same poem appears in the Leare MS in the same circumstances: an unbroken run of poems by Strode.[114] Furthermore, the poem is copied in the Leare MS next to another poem, titled 'On a Gentlemans Pamph[l]et paralleling *th*e Temple w*i*th *th*e Court, intitled *th*e midle Temple Curtaine'.[115] This pairing is significant, because Fulman's abbreviation 'Widow Mar', can be expanded to ‘widow’ and ‘marriage’: the subject of the poem ‘On a gentlewomans marriage’. Moreover, ‘Widow Mar.’ appeared in *SOC* next to a poem abbreviated by Fulman to ‘Midle Temp.’, a pairing repeated by the Leare MS. In this particular section of the Leare MS (Sequence B), there are other poems by Strode that appeared in the same area of *SOC*’s *Sylvae*, such as ‘On Faireford Windores’ (*CELM*, StW 483-501), ‘On Westwell Downes’ (*CELM*, StW 632-40) and ‘Westwell Elme’ (*CELM*, StW 1234-44), raising the possibility that Leare accessed manuscripts distantly related to this region of *SOC*. I have not identified ‘Midle Temp.’ in any other manuscripts, but did identify a third witness to ‘Widow Mar.’ in the Elizabeth Lane MS, a version which differs from the Leare and Osborn MS II copies in significant ways, which I discuss shortly.[116] A poem answering the description ‘Widow Mar’, copied immediately next to a convincing expansion of ‘Midle Temp.’ in a verse miscellany with demonstrably strong ties to Strode’s autograph manuscripts amounts to a good case for connecting these two poems – never before discussed by scholars – as potential identifications of those poems considered lost with *SOC*.

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[112] Yale Osborn MS b 205, fols 66^{v}-67^{v}.

[113] *First Line Index of English Poetry 1500-1800 in the Manuscripts of the James M. and Marie Louise Osborn Collection in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University*, ed. by Stephen Parks et al. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 814.

[114] BL Add. MS 30982, fols 134^{v-r} rev.

[115] BL Add. MS 30982, fols 134^{v-r} rev.

3.8 ‘Midle Temp.’ in the Leare MS

Midle Temp’ raises fewer textual problems than ‘Widow Mar’. Titled in Leare’s miscellany ‘On a Gentleman’s pamph[l]et paralleling *th*e Temple w*i*th *th*e Court, intitled *th*e midle Temple Curtaine’, it is a commendatory epistle, written to praise a text possibly called *The Middle Temple Curtain*. There are generic precedents for commendatory epistles elsewhere in Strode’s corpus. ‘To Mr Butler on his Booke of Musick’, a poem found only in the Corpus MS, praises the musicologist Charles

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[116] AUL MS 29, pp. 179-81.

Butler, and his 1636 work *The Principles of Musik*, but never appeared in any printed editions.[117] And in 1639, Strode wrote an epistle in Latin, to praise Sir Francis Kynaston's 1639 translation of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*.[118] I have been unable to identify any printed versions of 'Midle Temp', or indeed to identify any work called something like *The Middle Temple Curtaine*. Yet the poem's references to 'the stalls in Pauls-church-yard' and its description of a 'pamphlet' suggests that Strode at least envisaged it appearing in the marketplace of print. Other information about the nature of the work Strode praises can be gleaned from the details provided by his poem. Strode makes it clear that it was a poem, and one that would impress any '[w]ho hath...read on rime, | and seene how patt | Thy meeter iumps', and the 'strange poetique fury' of the author. The title and the poem itself also indicate that *The Middle Temple Curtain* made a playful comparison between the Inns of Court and the Royal Court:

> Thy working fancy hath so paraleld
> The temple with the court, such temper held
> Of ieasting mixt with earnest, that the best
> may either thinke both earnest, or both ieast.[119]

It was a dense, complex work, which could deceive the reader into misinterpreting its tone and intent. Its allusiveness was 'rare' – unusual – but the pamphlet retained a sense of decorum, 'due vnto [its] benchers gravity'. A reference to 'mighty Charles' later in the poem may also suggest a connection with the King, as well as providing an indication that the poem was composed after 1625. The lines following give the clearest suggestion of what *The Middle Temple* was, when Strode remarks: ‘how wee ioy to see | So braue a payre, the prince, Papoole and hee’. ‘Papoole’, a spelling variant of ‘Purpoole’, calls to mind the dramatic festivities or revels at the Inns of Court. Rituals of licensed disorder performed at the Inns during the Christmas period, the revels involved misrule but also engagement with legal and political topics. ‘Purpoole’ was the elected ‘Prince’ of Gray’s Inn, and featured in the 1594 entertainment *Gesta Grayorum, or the History of the Prince of Purpoole*. *The Middle Temple Curtain* appears to be a work based on this tradition, or a record of such a performance. No such evidence of such a performance can be found in the *Records of Early English Drama*. Appropriately, for a poem thought to be lost with a lost manuscript, the text described by Strode’s poems is also a missing text.

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[117] See CCC MS 325, fols 119^{v}-20^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 1138).

[118] Sir Francis Kynaston, *Amorum Troili et Cresidae libri duo priores Anglico-Latini* (Oxford: John Lichfield, 1635), sig. 3^{r-v}.

[119] BL MS Add. 30982, fol. 134r.

The notion that Strode – a Christ Church poet – would have written a poem concerning the activities of the Middle Temple is not surprising. While Strode himself did not attend the Inns, he did write poems commemorating figures from the legal community, namely, ‘An Epitaph on Sir John Walter, Lord cheife Baron’ (*CELM*, StW 115-21) and ‘An Epitaph on Mr. Dayrell, Reader of Grayes Inne’ (*CELM*, *StW 103). Strode’s uncle and cousin were also attendees of the Inns, and became prominent lawyers. So too, was the family of Daniel Leare, and later, Leare himself, associated with the Inns of Court. It is most likely though, that the poem was copied prior to Leare’s departure from Christ Church for the Middle Temple, since it occurs so early in the sequence of Strode poems. At best, all we can say is that the poem commemorates a work written by someone with whom Strode was acquainted, hinted at in its final lines: ‘Who ever knew thee well, may sweare such paines | Could issue from no other but thy braines’. But the possibility should not also be discounted that Strode wrote the poem on behalf of someone else entirely.

As other works within his corpus attest – such as his commissions for Richard Corbett, Leonard Hutten, one ‘Mr. Fei:’, and numerous ‘gentlemen’ – surrogate authorship was a common feature of Strode’s creative practices.

3.9 ‘Widow Mar.’

‘Widow Mar.’ is a more complex poem to discuss, because of the surprisingly diverse nature of the three surviving witnesses. When I first encountered it in the Leare MS and Osborn MS II – without at this point, having yet examined the Elizabeth Lane MS – I assumed that its premise was simple: a comic treatment of the incestuous marriage of a widow to her son. The poem describes an atmosphere of scandal in an unnamed town because of the marriage, goes on to discuss the moments before the wedding, and then finally, the wedding night. Yet it was clear that the witnesses in the Leare MS and Osborn MS II were fragmentary, because the way in which these poems treat the subject of incest is inconsistent. Strode describes the son as a ‘better Oedipus’, ‘a brother | become father, husband to his mother’, meaning that the son had to wait only for his father to die, not to actually kill him. Yet the poem ends by refuting the accusation, conceding ‘*th*e incest [is] but a iest’.[120] It was clear that, not only were these copies missing lines, but missing crucial details to provide context for the poem’s humour. Reading the poem in only these two fragmentary witnesses, is like reading a joke with only the punch line intact.

It is only once we turn to the Elizabeth Lane witness that the poem’s full effect can be grasped. Instead of titling the poem simply ‘On a Gentlewoman’s marriage’, the compiler of this manuscript provided the heading ‘On the marrige of

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[120] Yale Osborn MS b 205, fols 66^{v}-67^{v}, 67^{v}.

Mrs Van=otten with one w*hi*ch shee termed her Sonne'.[121] 'One which she termed' her son does not equate to incest, only the suggestion that the widow could be old enough to be mother to the poem's 'young man'. The Elizabeth Lane witness also adds credibility to the argument that Strode did indeed write the poem. Strode was acquainted with widow Van Otten's first husband, James – a Belgian surgeon who worked for the University of Oxford – whose death Strode alludes to in the verse letter 'To Mr Rives', and for whom he wrote a funerary elegy in 1622.

Surprisingly, the text of 'On a Gentlewoman's marriage' proved to be highly unstable in transmission, with each of the three witnesses copying poems of differing lengths. The Elizabeth Lane MS copies the longest – and probably the most complete – witness, at sixty-six lines, followed by the Leare MS with fifty-one lines and the Osborn MS II at forty-eight lines. These differences in length are matched by significant textual variants, lending support to a hypothesis about this poem's circulation: the Elizabeth Lane MS represents the witness closest to the LOH, while the Leare MS and Osborn MS II derive from a variant archetype, significantly altered through a combination of memorial reconstruction and accumulated errors. An extensive discussion of this poem's transmission history would distract from this chapter's ultimate subject: the three major verse collectors of Strode's poetry. But a few salient details will suffice to explain the principal moments of variation between the witnesses, and what these variants tell us. Firstly, we can assume that the Elizabeth Lane MS represents the poem in its most complete form, and probably a form closely resembling the lost authorial archetype. Except for its one major variant in the final line, which copies 'incest' as 'incense', the

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[121] AUL MS 29, pp. 179-81, 179.

Elizabeth Lane MS offers the longest and most comprehensible form of the poem available.

Reading through the collation of these three witnesses, a pattern emerges: the Leare MS and Osborn MS II agree with each other substantively, and not with the Elizabeth Lane MS. These variants do not just amount to minor readings, but striking differences. Where the Elizabeth Lane MS copies 'w*hi*ch *th*e night | Couerd for Cupids sake, not feare of light', the Leare MS and Osborn MS II copy 'concented for fashions sake not feare of sight' and 'conceald for fashions sake not feare of sight' respectively.[122] And this pattern becomes more apparent as we progress further through the poem. Lines 13-16 in the Elizabeth Lane MS read:

> Thou canst not put of wishing, nor forgett
> To hope for what thou hast, *tha*t feare will knitt
> Stronger embracings, and will make thee close
> With faster hold when there is feare to lose[.][123]

But in the Leare MS and Osborn MS II, these lines are rendered:

> Thou canst not put off wishing but must wooe
> for kisses while thou kissest, ty her shooe
> as glad to see it slacke, and feare to loose
> makes thee embrace her with a stronger close.[124]

These variants cannot simply be treated as errors in transcription, and must instead point towards the likelihood that Daniel Leare and the scribe of the Osborn MS II copied from a version of the poem which ultimately derived from a different archetype to that available to the Elizabeth Lane MS's compiler.

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[122] BL Add. MS 30982, fols $134^{v\text{-}r}$ rev., 134^{v}; Yale MS Osborn b 205, fols 66^{v}-67^{v}, 66^{v}.

[123] AUL MS 29, pp. 179-81, 179.

[124] BL Add. MS 30982, fols $134^{v\text{-}r}$ rev., 134^{v}. I cite from the Leare MS only, because both readings are substantively identical.

The most important question to ask is whether or not these variants point towards authorial emendation, scribal 'corruption', or a combination of both. The evidence points towards the Elizabeth Lane MS as the best text, and the Leare MS and Osborn MS II the result of accumulated errors in transcription. Crucially, this evidence is not just found in individual readings, but at a structural level. Elizabeth Lane continues at line seventeen with a description of Widow Van Otten beginning 'Behold a full reward hath crost *th*e score | Of all thy paynes' (ll. 17-8).[125] The lines continue to conclude that 'none cann bee Hymnen but hee [i.e, the 'young man'], Venus none but shee' [i.e, mistress Van-Otten] (ll. 30-1).[126] Next, the poem shifts to the couple's progress to the wedding itself, with the lines 'The Spring to saue my Poetry hath spread | The way with rosy bedds' (ll. 31-2).[127] But the Leare MS and Osborn MS II copies of the poem are completely different. Without any contextualization, these witnesses shift from 'makes thee embrace her with a stronger close' in line seventeen, to 'on to the church where divers wish to ly | In others roome' (ll. 17-18).[128] These lines do not occur in the Elizabeth Lane MS until line forty-nine, after an account of the widow on her way to the church, and a discussion of her age. The other two witnesses meanwhile, mingle text found in lines twenty-four to twenty-five of the Elizabeth Lane MS and material from later in that witness:

> on to the church where divers wish to ly
> In others roome, make up the recknoning
> A thousand envy her, more envy him.
> the spring to save me Poetry hath spred
> the way with Violets where shee must tread
> else would a birth start up commanded by

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[125] AUL MS 29, pp. 179-81, 179.
[126] AUL MS 29, pp. 179-81, 179.
[127] AUL MS 29, pp. 179-81, 179.
[128] BL Add. MS 30982, fols 134^{v-r} rev., 134^{v}.

> one touch of hers though Flora knew not why.
> perfume upon her lipps the Graces scatter
> her lipp's which nor her maide nor Glasse can flatter
> with being shutt when shee hath look't thereon
> doth hugg and ravish the Reflection.[129]

Very little about these lines is comprehensible. The focus shifts from the scene at the church, to Widow Van-Otten's progress, and from Widow Van-Otten's progress to her appearance. At least one missing line is also conspicuous simply by looking at the poem's form: why is 'ly' left unrhymed? Turning to the copy of the poem in the Osborn II manuscript, it can be seen that while this copy agrees with Leare's garbled, conflated and rearranged readings, it also omits the section causing formal difficulties. That is, the Osborn MS II scribe omits lines eighteen to twenty, shifting instead immediately to 'the spring to save me poetry hath spred | the way with violets'.[130] One explanation for this is that the copy-text available to both Leare MS and the Osborn MS II compiler lacked the line which rhymed with 'ly'; Leare transcribed the poem as he found it, whereas the Osborn MS II scribe did not. Alternatively, the Osborn MS II copied the poem from a source *after* the error found in Leare's miscellany, and attempted to emend the formal irregularity by omitting the problematic lines altogether.

Later in the poem, we also see how the Leare MS and Osborn MS II truncate elements of the poem as copied by the Elizabeth Lane MS. Lines 35-46 of the Elizabeth Lane witness read as:

> What are those Children more then dreames *tha*t rise
> From merry wenches; shee *tha*t truth may take
> For dreames, they dreames for truth untill they wake
> Aske not *th*e deed *tha*ts done, but aske *th*e will
> Her body's wise, her mind is Virgin still,

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[129] BL Add. MS 30982, fols 134^{v-r} rev., 134^{v}.

[130] Yale Osborn MS b 205, fols 66^{v}-67^{v}, 67^{r}.

> One *tha*t doth blush all though her maske bee on,
> When none cann spye shee, shee’s *th*e mayd alone[.][131]

In the Leare and Osborn II manuscripts, these become:

> and what are Children more then dreames that rise
> for merry wenches: fancy doth conferre
> more unto such then Children doe to her.
> aske not the deede thats donne but aske the will
> her body’s wise, her mind is Virgin still.[132]

Seven lines become five, and as with the other variants discussed above, the shortened reading of the Leare MS and Osborn MS II witnesses make for a less developed, comprehensive text. Although the sense is only slightly altered, it is clear that these copyists were transcribing from a source missing substantial amounts of material. Some of this material would have provided crucial contextual detail, vital for understanding the poem as a playful epithalamium. It is difficult to understand what Leare’s copy means in its reference to the church, briefly mentioned above. What do the lines ‘make up the recknoning | A thousand envy her, more envy him’ actually mean? It is only by looking at the Elizabeth Lane MS that it becomes clear that the poem describes guests at the wedding:

> On to *th*e Church where all *th*e peoples eye
> Suruayes each party; diuers wish to lye
> In eythers roome; make up *th*e recknoning
> A thousand enuy her, more enuy him[.][133]

By comparing these lines with those copied by Leare, it is in fact, possible to see that he, or the copyist from whom he acquired a copy has omitted a line, and, from ‘eyeskip’, conflated two lines together, making lines forty-seven to forty-eight in the Elizabeth Lane MS ‘on to the church where divers wish to ly’. Another important omission occurs later, and is important because it explains precisely what the nature of the widow’s relationship with the young man involved. The Elizabeth Lane MS has ‘Of sixe *adopted* sonnes *th*e last hath spedd | To bee *th*e Supreme ffather to *th*e rest’ (ll. 51-2, my emphasis) becomes in Leare ‘six sonnes shee had, of which the youngest sped | to be the supreme father of the rest’.[134] The Elizabeth Lane MS reading is coherent with its heading, in which Widow Van Otten is said to have married one whom she ‘termed’ her son, a relationship that Strode playfully describes as incestuous. The ‘son’ is a ‘better Oedipus a brother | Become a Father, husband to his Mother’.[135] By contrast, the Leare MS and Osborn MS II provide no suggestion that the relationship is anything but incestuous. The final line in Leare MS and Osborn MS II reads ‘the bed is earnest, th’Incest but a Jeast’, a reading that is confusing because up until this point there has been no suggestion that the account of incest really is a joke.[136] Yet in the Elizabeth Lane MS, the final line reads: ‘The bedd is earnest, th’incense but a Jest’.[137] Ironically, this variant suggests that the copyist of the Elizabeth Lane MS has missed the point of the joke. There is no explanation for this, other than the fact that the scribe miscopied ‘incest’ as ‘incense’, a minor slippage, but one that has a great influence on how we read his copy of the poem. Emendation of this line would be desirable in any future edition of the poem.

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[131] AUL MS 29, pp. 179-81, 180.
[132] BL Add. MS 30982, fols 134^{v-r} rev., 134^{v}.
[133] AUL MS 29, pp. 179-81, 180.

My hypothesis, then is as follows: the Elizabeth Lane MS represents the poem in the form closest to the lost original holograph, but even here, there are some important respects in which the text varies from that authorial archetype, most notably in its final line: ‘the incest’s but a jest’. Whether or not these changes were the result of the scribe of the Elizabeth Lane MS, or present in the copy-text he acquired remains unknown, meaning that it must be represented as an unknown stage in a stemmatic diagram for the transmission history of the poem. The Leare MS, meanwhile, derives from an archetype that differed in a number of substantives respects from the lost holograph. It was shorter, and some of its lines are unquestionably garbled, possibly the result of memorial reconstruction or alternatively caused by many phases of accumulated error found in many (now lost) other witnesses. I hold that the scribe of the Osborn MS II also accessed the poem from this archetype, possibly from Leare himself, which would explain his attempt to correct as he copied by omitting the incomplete content found in Leare’s MS. However, since this cannot be definitely proved, we have to assume that Osborn MS II derives from another unknown stage in the poem’s transmission history.[138]

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[134] AUL MS 29, pp. 179-81, 180; BL MS Add. 30982, fols $134^{\text{v-r}}$ rev., 134r.

[135] AUL MS 29, pp. 179-81, 180.

[136] BL Add. MS 30982, fols $134^{\text{v-r}}$ rev., 134^{v}.

[137] AUL MS 29, pp. 179-81, 181.

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No four of these miscellanies contain identical collections of Strode’s poetry. Leare collected around forty more poems by Strode than the compilers of the Elizabeth Lane MS and Dobell MS I, and just under fifty more than the copyist of the Osborn MS II. Each miscellany therefore tells a subtly different story about its verse collector’s relationship to Strode, representing different amounts and configurations of Strode’s texts. A common feature of this group of manuscripts lies in the fact that their compilers had access to authorial manuscripts, and it is indeed often the case that copies of the same poems shared by miscellanies in this group demonstrate substantively identical readings. Compare for example, the transmission histories of the poems ‘Upon Will: Bridle’ and ‘Upon a Faire Crooked Gentlewoman, Proude and Dissembling’, in the Leare and Elizabeth Lane MS, in which the collation reveals no substantive textual divergence from the pre-revised versions of these poems found in the Corpus MS. Even so, it is important to recognize that this is not the case for every Strode poem found in each of these four manuscripts. This can be readily grasped by comparing the copies of Strode’s verse letter ‘To Mr Rives’ in the Leare and Elizabeth Lane MS, in which the Leare MS constitutes the best extant witness to the revised archetype of this poem, while the Elizabeth Lane MS omits twelve lines, and derives from a source later in the poem’s transmission history. This is a reminder that we cannot assume every Strode poem copied in these manuscripts will have precisely the same textual relationship to Strode’s poetry. As the case study of Daniel Leare indicates, even a collector with privileged access to Strode’s verse, would on occasion draw their poems from alternative sources.

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[138] For an edition of the poem and collation of the three witnesses, see Appendix 3.

Identifying such moments of instability and textual difference emphasizes the fact that Strode was a poet of the verse miscellany, rather than a poet of the book. We cannot take it for granted that every collector experienced his poems in the same way, even when we are ostensibly dealing with collectors who shared a lot in common with each other, as members of the same scribal community, with access to many of the same sources. In spite of these differences, however, this group of manuscripts has important implications for our understanding of Strode’s poetry and its transmission. From an editorial perspective, these manuscripts commonly form an authoritative group in Strode’s transmission histories, revealing which collectors obtained works by Strode early on. And the same manuscripts can for this reason, help us to ascertain what the early transmission of Strode’s poems looks like, when we do not have autograph manuscripts available for collation. As a result, manuscripts in this group serve as a useful starting point for collating such poems, and for establishing copy-texts of them for a future edition of Strode's works.

Despite their textual differences, these manuscripts can be used to arrive at some firmer conclusions about how Strode's poems travelled in early modern England. They point towards a paradigm of manuscript circulation at Christ Church in which Strode took agency for the circulation of his own poetry, by sharing his Corpus MS and other manuscripts with members of the Christ Church scribal community. Crucially, this more informal mode of what Love would call 'author publication' differs markedly from the mechanisms of scribal publication used by King, which depended on an organized network of penmen.[139] We can trace moments of precise connection between Strode's autograph manuscripts and miscellanies in this group. It thus becomes easier to witness the presence of authors within the culture of manuscript verse circulation and collection. Because of this, the enduring and influential account of manuscript publication described by Marotti as wholly reader-centric, a culture largely uninterested in the origin of texts, begins to look less secure, an issue to which I return in greater detail in Chapter 5.

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[139] Love, *Scribal Publication*, p. 47.

Chapter 4

Defining Strode's Manuscript Connections

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the pedagogical and associational cultures of Christ Church facilitated the circulation of Strode's poetry in manuscript. The social proximity of a collector like Daniel Leare to Strode enabled him to acquire large amounts of Strode's poems, and my research for this thesis has identified a further three verse miscellanies – the Elizabeth Lane MS, the Osborn MS II, and the Dobell MS I – which most probably emerged from the similar circumstances. Collectively, these manuscripts offer evidence of Strode's earliest readership at Christ Church, and by tracing the movement of poems from the Corpus MS (and possibly manuscripts descended from, or ancestors of *SOC*), it is possible to identify precise moments at which Strode's poems entered miscellany culture, the initial textual transactions that would consolidate his literary reputation in the scribal communities of Oxford.

An examination of those four miscellanies has proved informative, yielding insight not only into who Strode's earliest and most prolific collectors were, but also helping us to identify poems previously thought lost to scholarship. However, this analysis still leaves at least 217 extant manuscript sources unexamined, and their significance for understanding Strode's publication in manuscript uncertain. Certainly, we can say that the four miscellanies discussed in the previous chapter were unrepresentative of how most verse collectors encountered Strode's poetry. As Scott Nixon explains, '[g]iven the sheer numbers of [non-autograph copies of poems] and the comparative scarcity of autograph verse, it becomes apparent that, when considering the publication of seventeenth-century verse, vertical transmission (from poet to reader) was far less common than horizontal transmission (between readers)'.[1] Apart from George Morley's supply of Strode texts to Daniel Leare and the compiler of the Killigrew MS, this thesis has been unable to identify the precise mechanics of how Strode's poems were horizontally transmitted. But it is still important to attend to the evidence, even when it is unyielding of firm answers, in order to examine what it meant for collectors unlike those discussed in Chapter 3 to 'witness William Strode'. Of course, it is not possible to discuss and describe every manuscript at length; such a project would descend into too many particularities, and amount to little more than an inflated manuscript catalogue. But it remains useful to investigate what this remaining evidence is indicative of, as far as Strode's circulation in manuscript is concerned, to identify and explain broad patterns and tendencies represented by the textual evidence. What do these documents reveal about how, and in what numbers, the majority of Strode's compilers encountered his poetry both inside and outside the university? More broadly, how can these manuscripts help sustain the ambition of the previous chapter in nuancing previous scholarly assumptions about the nature, pattern, and tendencies of manuscript verse circulation?

It is important to examine these manuscripts, so that we do not overstate the extent of Strode's scribal popularity. To what extent was Strode's poetry known in large numbers beyond his immediate circle? Is it helpful to describe him as a university poet – a poet whose career is tightly connected to Oxford – or is there evidence that Strode's literary reputation extended far beyond the university? By looking at the evidence of ascriptions, and by analysing the ownership and provenance of manuscripts containing Strode's work, this chapter aims for a more exact account of Strode's manuscript circulation and how this relates to his poetic reputation. This thesis draws attention to two key trends. Firstly, Strode's reputation as a manuscript poet rests almost exclusively on his Group I poems (defined as those composed before 1633). None of the collectors discussed in the previous chapter had access to any of the Group II poems, and only one of the later Christ Church compilers discussed in this chapter had access to one of the Group II poems: a copy of Strode's anti-puritan ballad, 'The Townes new teacher'.[2] This observation suggests that the circulation of the Group II texts was extremely limited, either by geography or Strode's decision to restrict the circulation of those poems. Secondly, that there is little evidence to support the view that Strode's poems were recognized in high numbers outside of Oxford. I have found only one exceptional case study, in which we can identify Strode's verse moving between Oxford and the Inns of Court (Folger MS V.a.245), but otherwise, the evidence of the other miscellanies indicates a declining awareness of Strode's canon as his works are transmitted further from Oxford, and from the authorial archetypes. This information is not presented to detract from the significance of Strode's poems within seventeenth-century manuscript culture, but to draw attention to the importance of carefully reading the textual evidence that attests to his circulation.

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[1] Nixon, 'A Reading of Thomas Carew in Manuscript', I, p. 17.

As in the previous chapter, the findings I present here not only inform our account of Strode's circulation in manuscript, but should also benefit researchers of other texts contained in the same manuscripts that I discuss. I make a number of original arguments about the provenance of miscellanies that, up until this study, have remained ambiguous. I show that Strode's place in the Holgate MS (Morgan Library and Museum, MA 1057; *CELM*, StW Δ 22) – recently edited, but about which much is still unknown – helps us to understand that manuscript as a collection with an Oxford origin. I also show how Rosenbach MS 239/27 (Rosenbach MS II; *CELM*, StW Δ 24), which has never before been studied from the perspective of Strode's poetry, contains the most complete exemplar of Strode's earliest poem, his elegy on the Oxford surgeon James Van Otten. This discovery helps us to reconsider the scribal communities to which that Rosenbach MS II likely belonged. My findings also include an original argument about the provenance of Folger MS V.a.97 (Thorpe-Halliwell MS; *CELM*, StW Δ 18), which I present for the first time as the verse miscellany of a hitherto unknown poet of Wadham College, Francis Atkins (*fl*. 1629-35), whose own verse shows the influence of Strode in the form of echoes and allusions. Another verse miscellany, Folger MS V.a.245 (Dobell MS II; *CELM*, StW Δ 19) is discussed as a manuscript in transit between Oxford and the Inns of Court, by identifying its textual connections with other Inns of Court miscellanies, as well as an unrecorded palaeographic connection with Huntington HM 172.

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[2] See Yale Osborn MS b 200, pp. 356-57 (*CELM*, StW 1179).

4.1 'Placing' manuscript verse miscellanies

The processes of textual production and circulation described in Chapter 3 perfectly illustrate Harold Love's concept of the 'scribal community'. A social grouping, in this case, members of an Oxford college, facilitates the exchange of literary texts in manuscript.[3] When considering the further circulation of Strode's works beyond Christ Church, how do we know whether a text has left one scribal community, to be circulated in another? It is common to find in manuscript catalogues and in discussions of miscellanies that a miscellany was 'probably associated with Christ

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[3] Love, *Scribal Publication*, p. 83.

Church, Oxford', or 'probably associated with Oxford University'.[4] A manuscript may be described as 'very much a London' collection, but what does this mean in terms of its contents? Does it refer to the manuscript's known geographical connections?[5] This thesis is no exception, and the very concept of a scribal community, in which geographical, institutional, convivial or political associations give rise to textual exchange, make this way of thinking an inevitability, driven by convenience. This chapter is motivated by the challenge of refining what is known about the socio-textual coordinates of miscellanies containing Strode's work, both in order to increase our understanding of how Strode's poetry circulated, but also for the benefit of future researchers of those manuscripts.

A key problem for any researcher working with verse miscellanies is their illegibility. By this, I do not mean simply their at times unclear handwriting as an obstacle to analysing their contents, but the legibility of their social, geographical and institutional associations. Sometimes, it is clear that a manuscript belonged to a particular individual or environment. Daniel Leare's marks of ownership in his miscellany, or a painting of New College, and Oxford's crest in one exceptional Bodleian verse miscellany, make it clear to whom and to whom and where these manuscripts belonged. But in the absence of such evidence, scholarship on verse miscellanies has historically made an equation between manuscripts' contents and their social coordinates. Mary Hobbs describes a series of distinct, but overlapping 'traditions', in which specific kinds of material reveal particular social affiliations. Oxford, for example can be broken down into two major traditions, structured around New College, featuring the poetry of John Deane and John Hoskyns, and Christ Church, featuring Strode, Richard Corbett, Henry King, George Morley and others.[6] Cambridge meanwhile, featured the poetry of Robert Herrick and James Shirley, both of whom later migrated to, and circulated their verse in manuscript at the Inns of Court. Hobbs defines such miscellanies as ones 'containing groups of songs by Carew and others [...] as well as the poems of the lawyers John Vaughan, Henry Blount and Robert Ellice'.[7] Other scholars typically make the same association between a manuscript's content and its social affiliations, but may use an alternative critical vocabulary. Arthur Marotti speaks of 'socio-literary environments', while Harold Love speaks of 'scribal communities'.[8]

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[4] See Beal, *CELM*, StW 8; StW 10.

[5] Marotti, 'Chaloner Chute's Poetical Anthology (British Library, Additional MS 33998) as a Cosmopolitan Collection)', *English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700*, 16 (2011), 112-41 (p. 130).

Describing manuscripts in this way is certainly helpful, because it is clearly the case that different social groupings – at the level of clubs and societies, colleges, counties, regions and even nations – left their mark on manuscript culture in distinctive ways. Sebastiaan Verweij's recent study of Scottish literary manuscript production during the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries provides a clear illustration of this by mapping an alternative terrain for manuscript circulation. Verweij observes that:

> several key centres of manuscript-making so familiar from English studies, such as the universities or the Inns of Court, play little to no part in this narrative, and a combination of local circumstances and ingrained cultural differences largely account for such a lack (obviously, Scotland had no Inns; by the end of sixteenth-century it did, however, have five universities, but [...] there is little evidence that vernacular poetic cultures flourished there).[9]

Similarly, we can see a different emphasis on the kinds of texts collected in miscellanies, which can be demonstrably shown to originate from different scribal communities. A comparison between Daniel Leare's miscellany and the verse miscellany of Constance Aston Fowler, a female verse collector from the Staffordshire 'Tixall circle', reveals significant differences in content: Constance was able to collect the kind of poetry which circulated at Oxford, but her miscellany also has a greater emphasis on verse by Catholic writers, such as Robert Southwell.[10]

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[6] Hobbs, *Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, pp. 92-93.

[7] Ibid.

[8] See Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, esp. pp. 30-48; Love, *Scribal Publication*, pp. 177-230, describes the different environments in which scribal texts circulated. See also Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney*, pp. 164-74.

[9] Verweij, *The Literary Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, p. 4.

However, it is often the case that collectors copied from multiple textual traditions, frustrating our attempts to assign their manuscripts single geographical or cultural markers. For example, the compiler of Bod. MS Rawl. poet. 206 declared his association to New College, Oxford, by beginning his verse collection with an illustration of his college's crest. But the same scribe did not confine his collection to New College verse. He copied many poems originating from Christ Church, including works by Strode and Corbett.[11] A compiler can easily show an affiliation to one scribal community, whilst copying out material from another. Especially when dealing with such widely circulated poets as Strode and Corbett, content is by no means a secure route to establishing provenance for a miscellany. Since their works spread far and wide, another, more secure methodology is required.

Alternatively, a manuscript may provide very little information about its compiler, or the contexts in which the manuscript was compiled. Jason Scott-Warren describes such manuscripts as 'homeless', documents that 'can seem to be so impersonal as to resist all but the most general attempts to contextualize them'.[12] A good example is Bodleian MS Ashmole 47, which contains poems by Oxford,

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[10] See Chapter 3.5, p. 162 (n.86).

[11] The manuscript contains six poems by Strode, and three poems by Corbett. See *CELM*, http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/repositories/bodleian-rawlinson-200.html#bodleian-rawlinson-200_id523679 [accessed 12 January 2016].

[12] Jason Scott-Warren, 'Reconstructing Manuscript Networks: The Textual Transactions of Sir Stephen Powle', in *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric*, ed. by Alexandra Shephard and Phil Withington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 18-36 (p. 20).

Cambridge and Inns of Court poets, whilst showing no particular affiliation to any one scribal community, and no marks of ownership. Another problem arises not simply from the fact that some manuscripts are ‘homeless’, but that the ways in which they are catalogued and described can prompt misleading interpretations of their social and textual associations. For example, in this chapter, I reconsider the provenance of a number of the principal manuscript collections containing Strode’s verse, showing how reading against the *CELM*’s descriptions can complicate and help us to reassign the geographical labels that certain miscellanies have acquired over time. The point is not that one single methodology can help us to better describe the social and textual matrices of verse miscellanies, but rather that only by considering a range of different kinds of evidence (such as contents, handwriting, and ownership), can we arrive at a more precise and historically accurate account of these documents.

3.2 Oxford: continued transmission

Unsurprisingly, Oxford remains the key location in which Strode’s poems were circulated, from the 1620s through to the 1640s. These miscellanies attest to the horizontal sharing of Strode’s texts between collectors (user publication) rather than their direct access to Strode’s authorial manuscripts (author publication). Estimating how many of the surviving manuscripts containing Strode’s poetry that were actually associated with Oxford is, of course, a difficult task to achieve in practice. There must presumably be many miscellanies, which although ostensibly ‘homeless’, were compiled at the university. Bod. MS Juel-Jensen E7 (Sparrow MS; *CELM*, StW Δ 31), for example, is a fragmentary verse miscellany containing twenty-four poems by Strode, as well as verse by Corbett, Carew, Donne, Jonson and Herrick. There are no marks of ownership other than 'Phil. Mu' (possibly an abbreviation of 'Philomusus'), and no clear reasons why the *CELM* states that the manuscript is 'associated with Oxford'.[13] In such cases, it seems inevitable that the presence of texts by Corbett, Strode and others, comes to stand as a shorthand geographical marker in itself, as indeed it does for Ruth Connolly and Tom Cain in their discussion of Herrick's transmission. CCC MS 176 is described by Herrick's editors as 'probably made at Oxford judging by the sheer quantity of verse by Corbett, Strode, and Grange within it'. Again, poems by Strode are described in another example as 'often an indicator of an Oxford miscellany'.[14] This thesis recognizes the potential circularity of this thinking, but also its inevitability, given the paucity of additional, external evidence. The aim of this section is not to attempt the task of describing every possible Oxford manuscript and its relationship to Strode, but to outline some of the salient features of miscellanies that do seem to have been compiled by Oxford men.

The list of principal manuscript collections containing Strode's work contains sixteen out of twenty-eight miscellanies (not including those already discussed in Chapter 3) that are associated with Oxford. The verse miscellanies belonging to this textual category – indicative of the horizontal circulation of Strode's poetry at Christ Church – are too numerous to discuss here in full, but it useful to describe some other salient examples. Bod. MS Eng. poet.e.97 (English Poetry MS; *CELM*, StW Δ 6), a miscellany dating between the 1630s and 1640s, contains the most Strode poems compared to other manuscripts in this category, with thirty-seven Strode poems in total. Its association with Christ Church is unclear, since the identity of its compiler(s) remains unknown.[15] The geographical association must, ultimately, rest on an examination of the manuscript's contents, in which Strode is the highest represented poet, followed by Corbett (with eleven poems). The collector was able to acquire a broad range of Strode's texts, which are scattered throughout the manuscript, indicating that he encountered them in a range of sources over time, rather than in a single, large collection. But we can be sure that this manuscript represents a relatively 'late' collection of Strode's verse, and does not represent a collector with access to manuscripts sourced from social proximity to Christ Church poets of the 1620s. For example, the compiler ascribed Henry King's epitaph on the Earl of Dorset to 'Dr. Corbett. B: of Oxon'.[16] This tells us that the manuscript was transcribed no earlier than 1628, but also that the collector was not particularly knowledgeable (or did not care) who composed what in Christ Church's verse community.[17] This is further suggested by the fact that Corbett is named by this collector as the author of Strode's elegy on John Dawson, butler of Christ Church.[18] Tellingly, this is transcribed immediately before Cartwright's 1634 poem 'On the great Frost', indicating that it was copied over a decade after its composition in 1622.[19] This detail suggests that while the compiler was able to source large amounts of verse by Christ Church poets dating to the 1620s, his collection represents the sustained circulation and appeal of that verse to a member of an Oxford scribal community, rather than an individual with privileged access to a knowledge of the precise contexts and authorship of that verse. A detail that is particularly suggestive of this is found between pages 143 and 144, where the collector had begun transcribing the Christ Church poet Jasper Mayne's 'On Mrs Anne King's Tablebook of Pictures'.[20] The poem is labelled 'wanting and imperfect' by the compiler, which is striking for two reasons. Firstly, as Forey has suggested, the note suggests that 'the author could not be contacted for information'.[21] (Since Mayne remained in Oxford until at least the 1640s, this detail might suggest that the collector was by this point, not based in Oxford.)[22] Secondly, this is in keeping with the attitudes towards textual care in the compilation of verse miscellanies: the compiler was motivated to seek out a better source, and more accurate information about the poem.

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[13] This inscription is recorded on the inside cover of the manuscript.

[14] Herrick, II, pp. 267, 280.

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[15] As Eckhardt explains, this verse miscellany 'features a range of writing styles', which would suggest multiple compilers. Eckhardt suggests that the miscellany 'is the product either of a single scribe showcasing his range, or of a few hands have developed related writing styles and necessarily collaborated on this book'. See *Manuscript Verse Collectors*, pp. 223-24.

[16] Bod. MS Eng. poet.e.97, p. 28 (*CELM*, KiH 283).

[17] Forey mentions a reference in 'the first few pages' of the miscellany to Corbett as Bishop of Norwich, which would date the manuscript to no earlier than 1632. However, she does not cite where precisely this reference occurs, and after looking again at the manuscript, I have been unable to locate the reference. See Forey, 'William Strode and the Elegy on John Dawson', p. 519.

[18] Bod. MS Eng. poet.e.97, p. 170 (*CELM*, CoR 474).

[19] Bod. MS Eng. poet.e.97, p. 171 (*CELM*, CaW 31).

Other manuscripts in this category include Yale MS Osborn b 200 (Osborn MS I; *CELM*, StW Δ 29), a large quarto verse miscellany transcribed by various hands, contains twenty-six poems by Strode, as well as fourteen poems by Corbett and thirteen by Carew. Its association by the *CELM* with Oxford, and by Eckhardt with Christ Church, is suggested by the presence of dramatic extracts from Cartwright's play *The Royal Slave*, written for the royal visit to Oxford in 1636.[23] This again confirms the manuscript as a mid-1630s Oxford collection, with this providing a more likely date than the *CELM*'s suggested '*c*.1651'.[24] This Osborn

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[20] Bod. MS Eng. poet.e.97, pp. 143-44 (*CELM*, MyJ 11).

[21] Forey, 'William Strode and the Elegy on John Dawson', p. 519.

[22] See Dennis Flynn, 'Mayne, Jasper (1604-1672)', *ODNB*.

[23] See Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors*, p. 200. For the Cartwright material, see Yale Osborn MS b 200, pp. 150-57 (*CELM*, CaW 120, 122, 112, 115, 124, 117, 93, 105, 107, 109).

[24] The manuscript was however, apparently still in use by the 1650s. Scribbling on the miscellany's table of contents contains the name 'Peyton Chester'. This is possibly the same Peyton Chester (1636-1686) who was admitted to St John's College, Cambridge on April 1, 1651. Chester went on to become a member of Gray's Inn (1653-4) and the Inner Temple (1654), before becoming Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Duke of Gloucester at Brussels. See *ACAD – A Cambridge Alumni Database* http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search2016B.pl?sur=chester&suro=w&fir=peyton&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=&sy

MS I is one of the only pieces of evidence that can attest to the apparently limited circulation of Strode's Group II poems at Christ Church, with its copy of Strode's 'The Townes new teacher'.[25] Collation of this witness against the Corpus manuscript (textual variants are listed as an appendix), suggests that this copy is closely related to the authorial manuscript, differing substantively in only one respect.[26] Again, this detail is suggestive of Strode's works continuing to circulate between verse collectors at Christ Church over a decade after those poems were originally released into circulation.

To this category, we should add Folger MS V.a.97 (Thorpe-Halliwell MS), the only verse miscellany in this group about which I have been able to advance our knowledge of its provenance. This small, octavo manuscript, is described in the *CELM* as the work of 'an Oxford man, possibly a member of Christ Church'.[27] It is difficult to see why Beal selected Christ Church as a particular *locus* for this manuscript, based on the content alone, other than the fact that it contains thirty-two poems by Strode, and twelve poems by Corbett. A closer examination of the manuscript's rare or unique items by anonymous or less well-known poets helps us to be more certain about the manuscript's ownership and provenance.

Twenty-four poems in the Thorpe-Halliwell MS are signed by one Francis Atkins, often with the subscription 'Posuit Fr: Atkins' (set, or placed by Francis Atkins).[28] Only one of Atkins's poems, a blazon addressed to one 'E.S' appears in

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e=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=50 [accessed 3 February 2016]. It is possible that the manuscript was used by a relative of Chester, but I have been unable to establish any firm candidates.

[25] Yale Osborn MS b 200, pp. 365-67 (*CELM*, StW 1179).

[26] The variant is at l. 32, 'With speech unthought' (p. 366), which Strode copied as 'With words unthought' (CCC MS 325, fols 114^{r}-15^{r}, 114^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 1178)).

[27] Beal, *CELM*. http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/repositories/folger-v-a-1.html#folger-v-a-1_id685162 [accessed 3 February 2016]. Pages 77-84 were detached during the nineteenth century, and are now bound separately in the Folger as MS V.a.152. Amongst these leaves is Strode's translation of Ben Jonson's 'Ode to himselfe'. See pp. 79-80 (*CELM*, StW 1409).

[28] Folger MS V.a.97, pp. 54-55 ('Vpon Heauens best image the faire and vertuous Mrs E.S.'); 55-56 ('Vpon the same, being lame in her foote'); 56 ('On his Loue'); 57 ('A Dreame'); 121-22 ('To his

other manuscripts, suggesting that the other twenty-three items did not circulate particularly widely.[29] The fact that so many poems by Atkins appear in the Thorpe-Halliwell MS suggests that they were the work of its compiler. Atkins used the manuscript as a record of his own poetry, and as a miscellany containing verse written by others.

Atkins can be identified as a figure who not only collected high numbers of Strode's poetry, but also as a poet whose career intersected with Strode's on one occasion. One of the poems in his miscellany, an elegy 'On S*ir* Rowland Cotton', appeared in the printed collection *Parentalia spectatissimo Rolando Cottono* (1635), to which Strode also contributed two poems (along with contributions from Thomas Randolph, William Cartwright, Owen Feltham and others).[30] Atkins's contribution to that volume is signed '*Francis Atkins of Wadham College'* identifying him as part of the same institution as Strode, and, on this occasion in 1635, part of the same community of mourners in print. This information helps to rediscover in the Thorpe-Halliwell MS an unrecorded body of poetry composed by an Oxford poet and verse collector who belonged to a slightly younger generation compared to Strode (Atkins matriculated in 1629, by which point Strode was already an ordained priest). His works include topical poems such as verse epistles and funerary elegies, and poems on university affairs, besides love lyrics and posies. While Atkins's verse should warrant attention from scholars interested in the poetic cultures of the

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Mrs'); 129-30 ('Beauties Raigne'); 131-35 ('Mrs. M:C.'); 143-47 ('To K:D.'); 147-49 ('On Mrs P: needleworks'); 170-71 ('To B:R: for Her bracelet'); 171-74 ('On S*ir* Rowland Cotton'); 174-75 ('On Dr Ashly'); 176-78 ('To Mrs J: Lee./'); 178-80 ('Vpon *th*e L: charles Herbert dying in Italy./'); 180-82 ('Valantine'); 185-86 (no heading, begins 'No prostrate Persian can more'); 186-87 ('Epitaphium Jo: Cole'); 187-90 ('Mr Rolles'); 190 ('An Epitaph on my sister Anne'); 191-93 ('On the sad death of Mr Roger Ashford'); 196-98 ('T H: fford for my whip./'); 198-201 ('The Hand'); 201-02 ('Epitaphium').

[29] Folger MS V.a.97, p. 54. The poem also appears in Bod. MS Ashmole 47, fol. 104^{v}, and BL Add. MS 22602, fol. 20^{r}. The poem was later printed in *Parnassus biceps. Or severall choice pieces of poetry*, ed. by Abraham Wright (London: printed for George Eversden, 1656), p. 88.

[30] For Atkins's poem, see Edward Heigham, ed., *Parentalia spectatissimo Rolando Cottono*, sigs $F3^{v}$-$G1^{r}$.

early modern universities, it is also relevant to a study of Strode's poetry, which it sometimes echoes and alludes to through specific phrases, images and rhetorical structures. Early in his miscellany, Atkins had copied Strode's 'On Faireford windores' (*CELM*, StW 483-501), and he seems to have been particularly taken by Strode's interest in the inability of language to communicate the intensity of experience. In his copy of that poem, Atkins had transcribed the lines:

> I know noe paint of poetry
> Can mend such colours imagry
> In sullen ink[.][31]

Similar imagery appears in Atkins's own poem 'The Hand', in order to communicate the same awareness of language's limitations, although in relation to a mistress's beauty, rather than stained-glass windows:

> Know, ffairest of Maides, I dare not think
> That any paint of sullen inke
> can shaddow forth that picture[.][32]

Not only do these lines repeat the adjectival phrase 'sullen inke', but also the idea of poetry as paint, and of writing as deficient compared to lived experience. The same idea appears again in another poem by Atkins, 'To his Mrs', when he notes that 'the roses and lillies' in a mistress's cheek 'are flowr's beyond those flow'rs of retoricke'.[33] In Atkins's poem 'On Mrs P: needlework' a text which commemorates the gift of a lavish tapestry depicting biblical scenes by Lady Elizabeth Pawlett to the University of Oxford, the influence of 'On Faireford windowes' becomes even more apparent by providing a structure with which Atkins can describe the relationship between artistic imitation and reality.[34] Strode's poem repeatedly claims that the stained glass windows in St Mary's Church, Fairford, the images would deceive the eye:

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[31] Folger MS V.a.97, pp. 23-25, 23 (*CELM*, StW 489).
[32] Folger MS V.a.97, p. 198.
[33] 'To his Mrs', Folger MS V.a.97, pp. 121-22, 121.

> When with a fishing rod the clark
> St Peter's draught of fish doth mark
> Such is the scale, the eie, the finne
> You'l think they striue and leap within[.][35]

The basic premise is echoed by Atkins's poem, which claims:

> ffor were ther liuing creatures brought
> And set by thos w*hi*ch shee [i.e. Pawlett] had brought
> Sure you could scarcely iudge by view
> w*hi*ch were the picturd, w*hi*ch the true.[36]

Atkins's poem should be read alongside others on the same subject, including contributions by William Cartwright, and Ralph Brideoake (*d.*1678) of New College, all of whom use the ekphrastic framework of 'On Faireford windores' to communicate, in this case, the representative power, as opposed to the limitations of art.[37] Atkins's manuscript therefore attests not only to the circulation of Strode at Oxford, but contains evidence of how one member of Oxford's extended literary community responded to Strode's verse by using his borrowings as the basis for his own distinctive acts of creativity.

These manuscripts indicate that Strode's poems remained popular within the university's scribal communities long after those texts were released into circulation. Collectors continued to share and copy his poems well into late 1630s. Robert Codrington (1601/2-1665?), who was a contemporary of Strode's at Magdalen College during the 1620s but returned to Corpus Christi College, Oxford during the mid-1630s, compiled a miscellany in 1638 (Bod. MS Eng. poet.f.27).[38] Codrington copied fifteen poems by Strode, including some rarer items – suggesting he may have had some degree of privileged access to Strode's verse – such as his 'An Epitaph' ('Beneath this brazen plate those ashes lie'; *CELM*, StW 85-88), which is otherwise found in only the Leare MS and Osborn MS II.[39] Compiled contemporaneously with the Codrington MS is a verse miscellany signed by Hugh Barrow of Brasenose College containing twelve poems by Strode.[40] Another miscellany, Bod. MS Rawl. D.1092, includes a fragmentary miscellany of poems by Strode, Corbett and King, signed 'Richard Powell ex æde Christi: Oxon 1638'.[41] This information is important for two reasons. Firstly, these Oxford manuscripts indicate that university compilers continued to share and copy Strode's poems up to two decades after Strode initially released his poems into circulation. They may not represent especially authoritative manuscripts, but they do indicate the prized status Strode's poetry retained in its native scribal community. Secondly, the manuscripts reveal that despite being compiled in the mid-to to late-1630s, none of these collectors had access to Strode's Group II poems. As I argued in the Introduction to this thesis, this can most probably be accounted for by a combination of factors: Strode's geographic movements between Oxford (a centre of verse transmission) to the provincial and distant Norwich, as well as Strode's increased clerical and academic duties.

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[34] Pawlett (or Paulet; *d.* 1656) was the second wife of Robert Devereux, third earl of Essex (1565-1601) and daughter of Sir William Paulet, 'a bastard son of the marquess of Winchester'. See John Morrill, 'Devereux, Robert, third earl of Essex (1591-1646)', *ODNB*.

[35] Folger MS V.a.97, pp. 23-25, 24 (*CELM*, StW 489).

[36] 'On Mrs P: needleworke.', Folger MS V.a.97, pp. 147-49, 147.

[37] For Cartwright's poem, see 'To the Right vertuous the Ladie Elizabeth Powlet' (*CELM*, CaW 52-55). For Brideoake's poem see Bod. MS Bodley 22 (fol. 9^{v}); MS Eng. poet.f.27; MS Malone 21 (fol. 20^{v}) and BL Egerton MS 2421 (fol. 29^{v}).

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[38] Scott Nixon, 'A Reading of Thomas Carew's Poetry in Manuscript', I, p. 105.
[39] Bod. MS Eng.poet.f.27, p. 131 (*CELM*, StW 86).
[40] NYPL, Arents Collection, Cat. No. S. 288, pp. 12-13.
[41] Bod. MS Rawl. D.1092, unpaginated. A Richard Powell matriculated on 10 March 1637, aged fourteen at Christ Church. See 'Popham-Price', in *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714*, ed. by Foster (Oxford, 1891), pp. 1181-1208 *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714/pp1181-1208 [accessed 3 February 2016].

3.3 Reassessing the provenance of the Rosenbach MS II and the Holgate MS

Oxford may dominate Strode's textual record, but some manuscripts risk being overlooked as important witnesses to Strode's university readership because of the very opposite problem: by *not* being linked with Oxford in their descriptions in the *CELM*. A case in point is Rosenbach MS 239/27 (Rosenbach MS II). Scott Nixon identifies this miscellany as an important witness to Carew's verse, containing in total forty-five poems by Carew, distributed throughout the miscellany.[42] Strode is the second most highly represented poet in this manuscript by a total of twenty-six poems. The *CELM* does not offer any suggestions about who may have compiled this miscellany, or to which scribal communities they were affiliated, but the high concentrations of poems by Strode, as well as a relatively high number of poems by Corbett (eleven) does suggest that an Oxford provenance is at least worthy of provisional consideration. This possibility is strengthened once we focus on the manuscript's textual relationships to Strode, and in particular, those represented by its copy of Strode's elegy 'On Mr James Van Otten's death. March 1'.[43] This elegy on an Oxford surgeon is probably Strode's earliest datable poem, and does not seem to have circulated particularly far or wide. The Leare MS, which copies the poem twice, is the only other witness and up until this study, was the only witness to the poem that had been consulted and collated.[44] The text found in the Rosenbach MS II shows that the poem consisted of an additional thirty lines not present in the Leare MS and therefore strongly appears to offer the best available copy-text for this poem. The lines omitted from the Leare manuscript concern Van Otten's wife, the subject of Strode's poem 'On a Gentlewoman's marriage' discussed in the previous chapter (See Section 3.9, 'Widow Mar.'). That poem concerned the remarriage of widow van Otten to a much younger man, and in the Rosenbach witness we find Strode praising the same woman for her loyalty to van Otten:

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[42] Scott Nixon, 'The Manuscript Sources of Thomas Carew's Poetry', pp. 193-95.
[43] Rosenbach MS 239/27, pp. 331-32 (*CELM*, StW 509).
[44] Forey, pp. 218-19.

> But see Van-Otten's wife; that earthly starre
> And whilst he liued his brightest Lucifer
> Att his convulsion none can greatly wonder
> Death need tugge hard to pluck such twins asunder
> But Nimph mourne not thy losse, mans greatest pride
> Can wish noe goodlier ribb, then by's side.[45]

The difficulty in reconciling both positions may explain the transmission history of this poem: the Rosenbach MS II compiler copied a version of the poem prior to Strode's deletion of the lines which are omitted in the Leare MS. This may suggest that the Rosenbach MS II was compiled by an individual with good access to Strode's poetry, probably an Oxford reader, although this interpretation is by no means certain.

It seems unlikely, however, that the Rosenbach MS II was compiled at any time close to the poem's composition in 1622. The *CELM* gives the date '*c*.1634', and the first Strode poem transcribed within the miscellany (some 300 pages before the elegy on van Otten's death) is 'A Song' ('Aske me no more whether doth stray'), composed no later than 1633.[46] It is however, possible that the compiler transcribed this manuscript many years after collecting the material for his miscellany, meaning that we cannot entirely discount the chance that this miscellany does indeed constitute in some way at least, an early reading of Strode in manuscript.

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[45] Rosenbach MS 239/27, pp. 331-32, 332 (*CELM*, StW 509).

[46] Rosenbach MS 239/27, p. 28 (*CELM*, CwT 275). See Beal, *CELM* http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/repositories/rosenbach-1.html#rosenbach-1_id358978 [accessed 3 Feburary 2016]. The poem must have been composed before Leare left Christ Church. See Chapter 3.2, p. 135 (n.23).

A similarly puzzling series of readings is found in the Holgate MS (Morgan MA 1057). The Holgate MS is listed in the *CELM* as one of the principal manuscript collections of Strode's works, and contains fifteen Strode poems in total, alongside verse by Corbett, Donne, King, Morley and others.[47] Recently edited by Michael Denbo, who established that this vellum-bound miscellany was largely the work of one William Holgate of Great Bardfield, Essex, the Holgate manuscript appears to be a rare example of a relatively high concentration of Strode's poetry compiled by a non-university verse collector.[48] Holgate appears in neither the admissions registers for Oxford nor Cambridge nor the Inns of Court, but he may have had some connection to the Conway family, since his hand – or one very similar to it – copied some of Donne's verse letters in a composite volume of literary manuscripts belonging to the family (BL Add. MS 23229).[49] There is then, nothing about this manuscript's provenance to suggest that its compiler had a particularly strong relationship to Strode. Nor does the fact that the compiler copied fifteen poems suggest that Holgate was exceptionally interested in Strode's poetry. We can complicate this view however, by looking more closely at some of the manuscript's precise textual readings of Strode's individual poems. Three poems in particular warrant attention in the Holgate MS, because they transmit versions not found in any other manuscripts, and shed light on the early circulation of Strode's works. Through textual collation, we can use the Holgate manuscript to understand the social history and circulation of Strode's poetry, and thereby to refine arguments about the provenance of the Holgate MS as a whole.

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[47] For a partial index of the Holgate MS, see Beal, *CELM* http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/repositories/pierpont-morgan-library.html#pierpont-morgan-library_id667546 [accessed 14 January 2016].

[48] William Holgate, *The Holgate Miscellany: An Edition of Pierpont Morgan Library Manuscript, MA 1057*, ed. by Michael Denbo (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies in conjunction with Renaissance English Text Society, 2012). See also Denbo's unpublished and more comprehensive doctoral dissertation, 'The Holgate Miscellany (The Pierpont Morgan Library – MA 1057): A Diplomatic Edition', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral dissertation: City University of New York, 1997).

[49] Denbo, 'The Holgate Miscellany', I, pp. 42, 65. See also Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers*, pp. 180-82.

First, is a little-known verse letter addressed by Strode to one 'Mr Rives' (*CELM*, StW 1139-52), who had successfully recovered from surgery on a calciferous cyst through the efforts of Bernard Wright (*d.*1626), a lecturer in anatomy at Oxford. Strode's poem describes the surgery and Rives's recovery, praising Wright's surgical skill. The level of visceral detail used by Strode may even indicate that he was present at the surgery:

> Crosse vaines did guard the sore, a hollow caue
> Must wade into the flesh, the Surgeons graue
> Thus being dig'd the file with harsh delay
> Must grate the bones carue those chipps away[.][50]

Fourteen witnesses to the poem survive, thirteen in manuscript and one in print.[51] Amongst this evidence, the Holgate manuscript transmits a unique version which links the Holgate manuscript directly to Strode's early version of the poem, before introducing the revisions which are attested to by the remaining manuscript and print versions. A fragment of the poem survives in Strode's hand of lines 13-66; the Corpus MS evidently once contained a full version of the poem, which was later truncated through the removal of leaves (whether by Strode, or a later user is unclear).[52] In one line of the poem, Strode wrote 'Or if you will you may conuert', before changing 'conuert' to 'translate'.[53] Strode appears to have made this revision because ‘translate’ rhymes better with the following line, ‘Into a Die because twas fortunate’. But the Holgate MS’s compiler acquired his copy of the poem prior to this revision, and he was the only one of the known copyists of the poem to read it in this state. This reading reveals that in the poem’s chronology of transmission, the Holgate MS represents a copy of the poem sourced prior to any of the other known copyists, sourced either from the pre-revised Corpus MS or a document upon which the Corpus MS’s transcription was based or descended. Forey suggests that both the Holgate MS and the Corpus manuscript are descended from a common ancestor (γ), a loose sheet contained the original reading ‘conuert’, which Strode originally transcribed into the Corpus MS before correcting it to ‘translate’.[54]

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[50] Morgan MA 1057, p. 209 (*CELM*, StW 1147).
[51] See Beal, *CELM*, StW 1139-52.
[52] CCC MS 325, fol. 62^{r-v}. (*CELM*, *StW 1139)
[53] CCC MS 325, fol. 62^{v}. (*CELM*, *StW 1139)

One other Strode poem in the manuscript, however, commands attention for reasons of textual authority. The verse letter ‘To his Sister’ (*CELM*, StW 1129-37) does not survive in Strode’s hand, but a distinctive version of the poem was copied into the Holgate MS.[55] This version is significantly longer than other witnesses, adding an additional four lines, as demonstrated by the *Juxta* collation diagram below (Figure. 4.1). Given the expectations of provenance based on Denbo’s description, namely, that the Holgate miscellany is an Essex-based manuscript and has very little sense of a clear association with Oxford, it would be tempting to interpret these lines as non-authorial interventions with the text by a compiler, rather than authorial intention. I am sceptical, however, that this variant can be explained as a non-authorial emendation, because the lines so coherently function within the context of the rest of the poem. They develop the image of the gold, gifted to Strode by his sister. Like the variant found in the Holgate copy of ‘To Mr Rives’, this version of the poem appears to have had little impact on the circulation of Strode’s verse at large. No other witnesses reproduce the additional lines, or ‘kinde’ in line two, and ‘But’ in line 12. They have, instead, ‘last’ and ‘and’ respectively. Owing to the unique authorial readings found in Holgate’s copy of ‘To Mr Rives’, the possibility that this miscellany’s copy of ‘To his Sister’ is the closest surviving witness to Strode’s exemplar would not be surprising or inconsistent with the wider manuscript context in which these readings occur. If this is the case, this potentially has important editorial implications for establishing the text of Strode’s poems: the Holgate manuscript offers more ‘authoritative’ readings for these two poems than other manuscripts long assumed to be the closest to the poet’s own papers.

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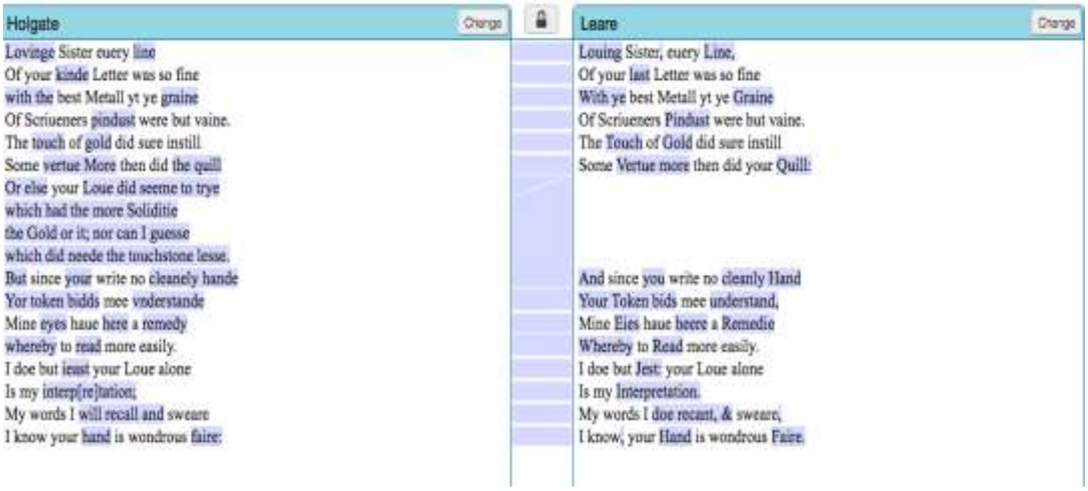
[54] See Forey, pp. 228-30, 366-73; Denbo, ‘The Holgate Miscellany’, I, pp. 408-09.

[55] Morgan MA 1057, p. 207 (*CELM*, StW 1135).



Holgate

Lovinge Sister euery line
Of your kinde Letter was so fine
with the best Metall yt ye graine
Of Scriueners pindust were but vaine.
The touch of gold did sure instill
Some vertue More then did the quill
Or else your Loue did seeme to trye
which had the more Soliditie
the Gold or it; nor can I guesse
which did neede the touchstone lesse.
But since your write no cleanely hande
Yor token bidds mee vnderstande
Mine eyes haue here a remedy
whereby to read more easily.
I doe but ieast your Loue alone
Is my interp[re]tation;
My words I will recall and sweare
I know your hand is wondrous faire:

Leare

Louing Sister, euery Line,
Of your last Letter was so fine
With ye best Metall yt ye Graine
Of Scriueners Pindust were but vaine.
The Touch of Gold did sure instill
Some Vertue more then did your Quill:

And since you write no cleanly Hand
Your Token bids mee understand,
Mine Eies haue heere a Remedie
Whereby to Read more easily.
I doe but Jest: your Loue alone
Is my Interpretation.
My words I doe recant, & sweare,
I know, your Hand is wondrous Faire.

Figure 4.2 *Juxta* collation diagram of two witnesses to ‘To his Sister’: The Holgate MS (left) and the Leare MS (right). The highlighted text indicates textual variants; spaces in the Leare MS window indicate lines not copied in that witness.

How the Holgate MS came to source such a copy of the poem is unknown. However, the presence of such a reading certainly prompts a reconsideration of this manuscript’s provenance. Once we look again at the larger context in which this copy occurs, the possibility that this manuscript was indeed compiled by an Oxford man becomes a viable interpretation. Not only does Holgate copy poems by many Christ Church poets such as Strode and Corbett, but also rare items from this textual community, such as the only known copy of George Morley's poem 'Qualis, dum Scythia languescit rupe Prometheus'.[56] Furthermore, a funeral elegy written by one 'WH' – probably Holgate himself – concerning the death of one 'Dr Ashboold', refers to the compiler residing in Oxford during late 1622, the date of Ashbold's death. 'The Letter', informing Holgate of the Cambridge academic's death, 'was afraid to shew its fate'

> And though on August 30th it was sent
> To Oxfoord soe much tyme it loytringe spent
> As that Septembers 6 and 20th Sunn
> Gaue mee first knowlidge his last Day was done[.][57]

This indicates that individuals trying to contact Holgate could have expected to be able to reach him by letter in Oxford during late August 1622, the time of Ashboold's death.[58] While Denbo does not consider the possibility that Holgate attended Oxford, Holgate could, like Daniel Leare, have been temporarily associated with Oxford, spending time there without taking a degree, explaining how he came by such unique, and apparently early copies of Strode's poems.

I do not assert with certainty that the Rosenbach MS II and Holgate MS were Oxford and only Oxford manuscripts. Nor should we necessarily assume that what is true of the transmission history for one or two poems in a miscellany holds true for other texts in that collection, even by the same author. The point is that sometimes pinning a manuscript to one location can risk overlooking the ways in which textual evidence from collation can complicate and refine those arguments.

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[56] Morgan MS MA 1057, p. 16 (*CELM*, MoG 81).
[57] Morgan MS MA 1057, p. 5.
[58] Denbo, 'The Holgate Miscellany', I, pp. 109-10.

4.4 Between Oxford and the Inns of Court: the Dobell MS II

Folger MS V.a.245 (Dobell MS II) illustrates well the idea of a miscellany as a 'point of transit within networks of copying'.[59] Ostensibly, this manuscript demonstrates the category of textual connection described in Chapter 3, in which a Christ Church verse collector acquired large amounts of Strode's poetry, possibly in the form of autograph manuscripts. The Dobell MS II is indeed, like those miscellanies, a good example of a compiler who invested significant time and energy in amassing a substantial collection of poetry by Strode (a total of forty-three poems). This section, the most thorough account of the Dobell MS II to date consolidates Beal's suggestion. Firstly, by outlining the evidence for viewing the Dobell MS II as a miscellany with associations to Oxford. Secondly, by connecting it with a group of manuscripts originating from the Inns of Court.

The Dobell MS II has received no adequate description or discussion, apart from brief mentions by Mark Bland, Ruth Connolly and Tom Cain (which I address below). Since the broader manuscript context in which these poems occur needs to be fully understood, I offer an interpretation of this manuscript's contents and material form for the benefit of future investigators. Measuring approximately 150 mm by 250 mm, the Dobell manuscript II is a quarto bound in calf with blind tooling. 'Poems MS' is stamped in gold on the spine, and it is likely that this stamp coincided with the manuscript's re-binding in the eighteenth century. There is no evidence of soiling on the outer leaves, meaning it is unlikely that the collection ever circulated without binding. The same paper stock is present throughout, containing a watermark formed of a pot, crowned with a bunch of grapes. A distinctive feature of the Dobell MS II is its exceptionally neat hand. Using black ink, its scribe copied the manuscript's content in an angular secretary script, alternating with an italic script for the titles of poems, ascriptions and the occasional word for emphasis. The secretary hand features long, descending strokes on minuscule *f* and *s* graphs that extend far below the line to emphasize the subtle forward-learning slope of this scribe's hand. Because of the presence of catchwords, and because the writing never cramps as it reaches the gutter, this manuscript must have been transcribed before folding and binding, rather than being copied into a pre-bound book.

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[59] Love, 'The Work in Transmission and Its Recovery', *Shakespeare Studies*, 32 (2004), 73-80 (p. 75).

The poems were copied with consistency and uniformity, with the scribe tending to allot twenty-eight lines of verse to each page of text (unbroken by headings or separations for new poems), although this sometimes increases to between thirty-two and thirty-four lines. He was generous with his use of space, with large headings and poems positioned on the page with lavish amounts of blank space. Single lyrics are sometimes allotted a single page, a clear material sign to any reader of the manuscript that it was not produced with an economy of paper usage in mind. The discrete units of copying by which this manuscript's contents were transcribed are almost invisible. There are no revealing signs, such as a change in quill, ink or script that declare the moments in which a scribe took a break from copying this manuscript. Only rarely are there moments of error in the manuscript, such as in the twice-copied, and then deleted second stanza of Strode's 'In the commendation of Musique'.[60] In light of these details, it seems likely that the scribe copied out the material *seriatim*, in a pre-decided order and in a series of carefully plotted sessions of transcription. Chronological evidence is also supportive of this interpretation. Beal dates the manuscript to '*c*. 1630s', and it is true that much material in the manuscript dates to around this time, with the latest poem I have identified being Aurelian Townshend's 'An answer', a poem that was written in response to a poem critical of Ben Jonson's *The Magnetic Lady*, licensed for performance in 1632.[61] Copied next to this is Sir William Davenant's 'To the King. A newyeares guift', sometimes dated in other copies to 1630-1631.[62] The manuscript begins and ends with content dating to this period, and it does not appear that the scribe acquired and transcribed material over a long period of time. These material features point towards reading the manuscript as the production of a professional scribe, an interpretation not considered by the *CELM*. This would make the Dobell MS II a rare example of scribal professionalism in the culture of early-seventeenth century manuscript verse circulation and collection, an interpretation supported by my later discussion of this compiler's connections to a miscellany in the Huntington Library.[63]

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[60] Folger MS V.a.245, fol. 38^{v} (*CELM*, StW 169).

The compiler of the Dobell MS II had good access to a large body of poems by Strode, including love songs, posies, funerary elegies, verse letters and religious verse. All items are correctly ascribed to Strode, indicating that the compiler had a secure knowledge of Strode's canon. The Strode poems appear closely clustered together in the manuscript, as if the compiler had encountered them from a single, large source, rather than in a number of separate stages. After Strode's poem 'Upon the blush of a faire Ladie' on folio 19^r (*CELM*, StW 1367), the remaining Strode texts are almost interrupted between folios 37^r and 64^v. Collation of these texts with Strode's autographs reveals that they are consistently of a high degree of authority. Even long poems like 'On the Bible' and 'A Translation of the Nightingale out of Strada' agree in all but accidental readings.[64] Such textual relationships with Strode would suggest a compiler with access to manuscripts of Strode's poetry closely descended from the authorial archetypes, and we should not discount the possibility that he was able to access autographs (even if the manuscript does not offer any immediate evidence of its compiler transcribing directly from the Corpus MS), like the Leare MS, the Osborn MS II, the Elizabeth Lane MS, and the Dobell MS I.

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[61] Folger MS V.a.245, fol. 70^{r} (*CELM*, ToA 83).

[62] Folger MS V.a.245, fol. 70^{r} (*CELM*, DaW 65). See, for example, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 12442 A, Part II, pp. 102-04 (*CELM*, DaW 66), which titles the poem 'Dauenat's [*sic*] newyeares guift to K Charles 1631'. Trinity College, Dublin, MS 877 [Part II], fols 213^{v}-14^{r} (*CELM*, DaW 67) gives the heading 'To the King on Newyeares day. 1631'. The same dates are given in BL Add. MS 25707, fol. 158$^{r\text{-}v}$ (*CELM*, DaW 63), and Egerton MS 923, fol. 27$^{r\text{-}v}$ (*CELM*, DaW 64).

[63] See Marcy L. North, 'Amateur Compilers'. North argues that there is 'little concrete evidence that, in the early seventeenth-century, an organized industry of copyists played a major and systematic role in poetic miscellany production' (p. 82).

Beal suggests that the compiler of the Dobell MS II was associated firstly with Oxford, and afterwards the Inns of Court.[65] The manuscript's textual authority as far as Strode's poems are concerned strengthens the argument for viewing the Dobell MS II as an Oxford manuscript. So too, does the presence of poems by other Oxford figures. There are seven poems by Richard Corbett, three by Henry King and George Morley, and a poem by Jasper Mayne.[66] The Dobell MS II also includes an anonymous prose sketch titled 'A Character of Mrs Mallett'.[67] Mallett is the subject of poems by Corbett, and James Smith (also of Christ Church);

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[64] Folger MS V.a.245, fols 45^r (*CELM*, StW 543); 48^r-49^r (*CELM*, StW 1194).

[65] Beal, *CELM*, http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/repositories/folger-v-a-200.html#folger-v-a-200_id668687 [accessed 3 February 2016].

[66] Folger MS Va.245. For the Corbett poems, see fols 20^v (*CELM*, CoR 619); 21^v (*CELM*, CoR 578); 33^v (*CELM*, CoR 559); 40^{r-v} (*CELM*, CoR 675); 41^r (*CELM*, CoR 449); 57^r-59^v (*CELM*, CoR 220); 63^r (*CELM*, CoR 705). For the three poems by King, see fols 27^r-29^r (*CELM*, KiH 234); 36^{r-v} (*CELM*, KiH 125); 50^r (*CELM*, KiH 452); For Morley, see fols 49^v (*CELM*, MoG 67); 51^v (*CELM*, MoG 27); 64^v-65^r (*CELM*, MoG 97). For Mayne, see fol. 34^r (*CELM*, MyJ 2).

[67] Folger MS V.a.245, fol. 68^r.

apparently a lecherous widow and the target for misogynistic 'humour' at Oxford.[68] The presence of this rare prose sketch in the Dobell MS II demonstrates that its compiler was able to acquire copies of less widely circulated Oxford texts.

But what of Beal's other suggestion, that the manuscript was associated afterwards with the Inns of Court? Research for this thesis has identified three key pieces of evidence that help us to secure Beal's suggestion. First: a palaeographical connection with an Inns of Court miscellany in the Huntington Library. Second: a link between the Dobell MS II and the group of Inns of Court manuscripts known as the 'Crum archetype'. Third: a hitherto unrecorded verse letter, written by a member of the Inns of Court, which helps us to better define this manuscript's socio-literary connections.

4.5 The Dobell MS II, the Huntington MS, and the 'Crum archetype'

Huntington HM 172 (Huntington MS; *CELM*, RnT Δ 9) is a quarto manuscript verse miscellany containing a substantial collection of Thomas Randolph's verse, besides poetry by Thomas Carew, Robert Herrick, James Shirley, Ben Jonson, and others. The Huntington MS has never before been connected to the Dobell MS II, but this thesis has identified a definite link between the two manuscripts: they share the same scribe. This identification is without doubt; the hand of the Huntington MS repeats precisely the same micro-, and macro-features of that found in the Dobell MS II, as demonstrated by Figures 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5. Listing every corresponding letterform would not be practical, but note the identical formation of majuscule *A* (which omits the crossbar) and the different formations of minuscule *s*, in for example 'dewes' (l. 11), 'passing' (l. 8) and 'Presente*s*' (l. 4).

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[68] See Corbett, pp. 6-8; Timothy Raylor, *Cavaliers, Clubs, and Literary Culture: Sir John Mennes, Sir James Smith, and the Order of the Fancy* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1994), pp. 51-54.

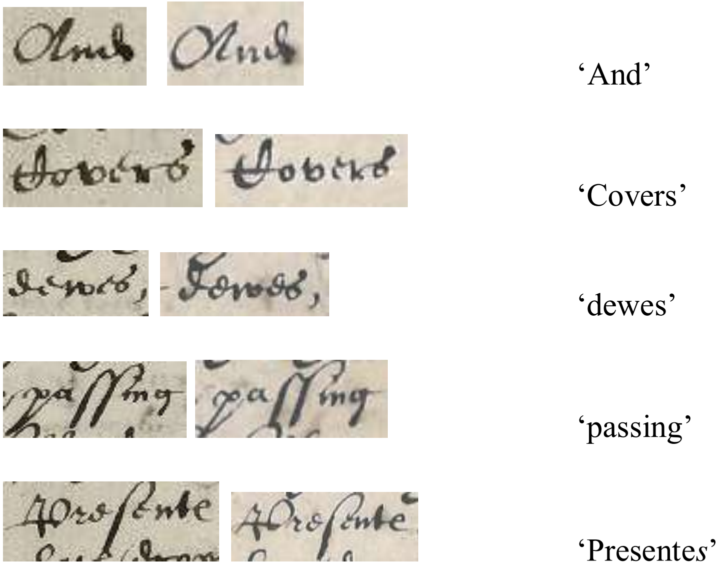
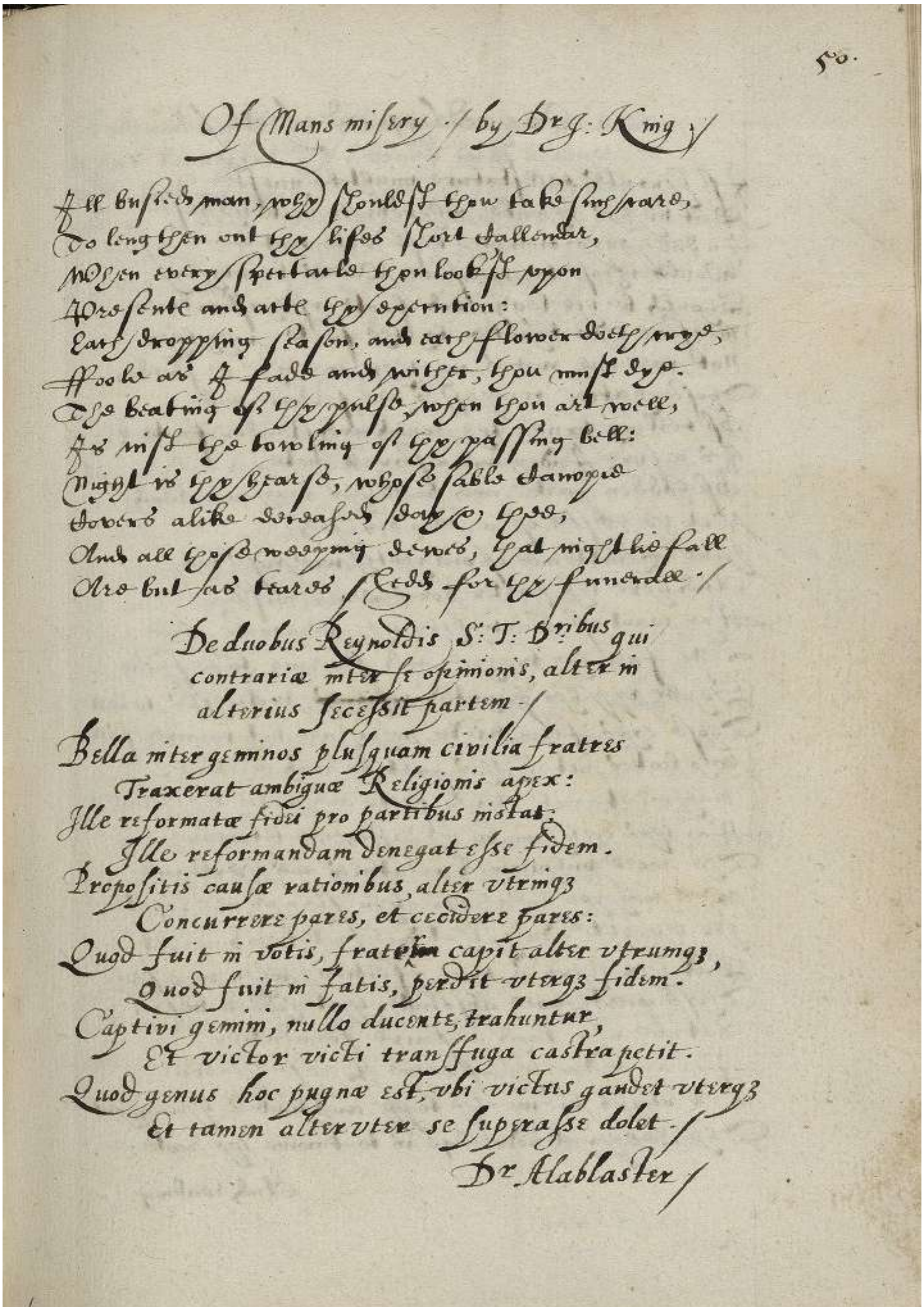

‘And’
‘Covers’
‘dewes’
‘passing’
‘Presente*s*’

Figure 4.3 Comparison of specific letterforms in Folger MS V.a.245 (left) and Huntington HM 172 (right)



50.

Of Mans misery / by Dr J: King /

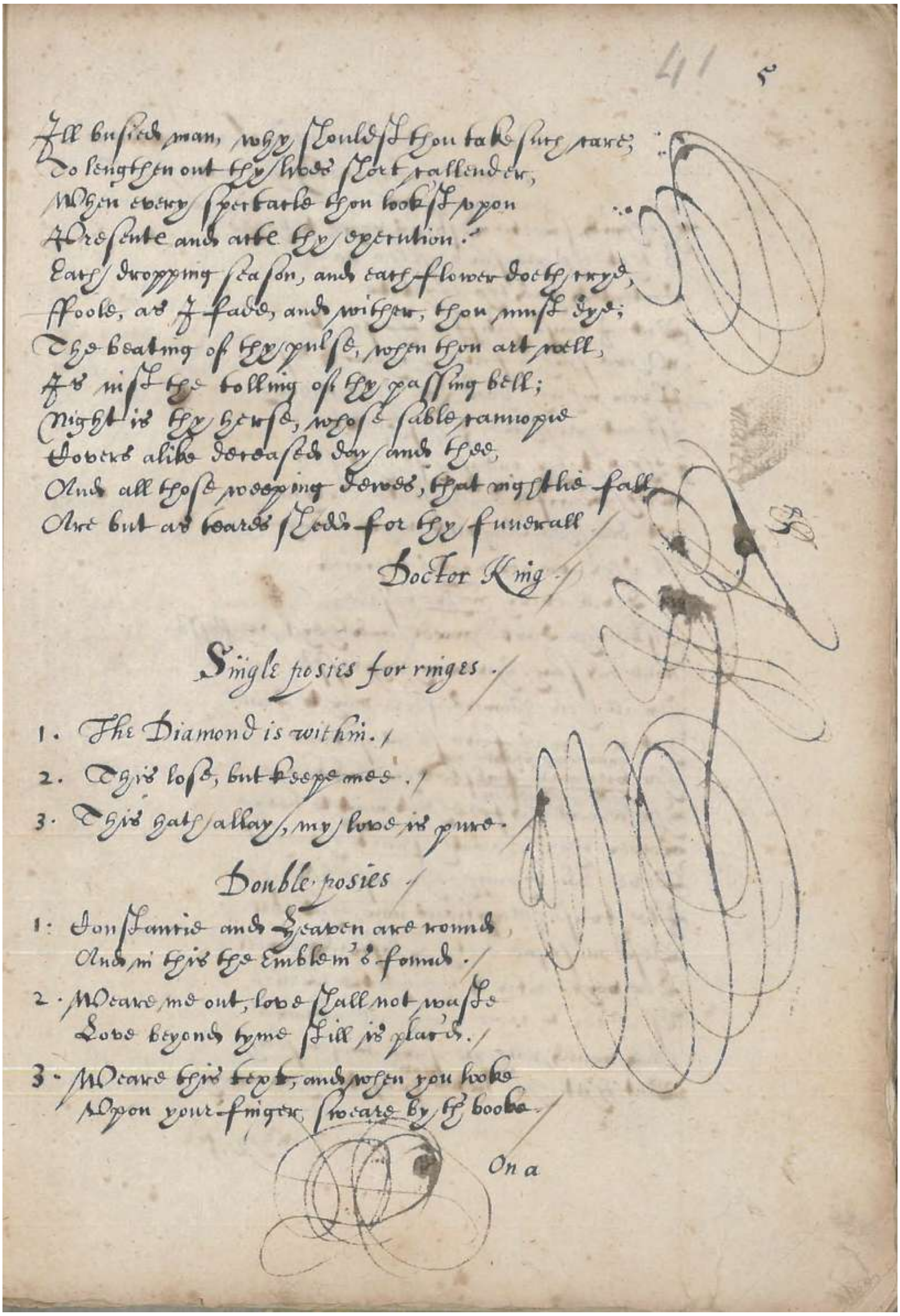
Ill busied man, why shouldst thou take such care,
To lengthen out thy lifes short Callendar,
When every spectacle thou lookest upon
Presents and acts thy execution:
Each dropping season, and each flower doth crye,
Foole as I fade and wither, thou must dye.
The beating of thy pulse, when thou art well,
Is just the towling of thy passing bell:
Night is thy hearse, whose sable Canopie
Covers alike deceased day & thee,
And all those weeping dewes, that nightlie fall
Are but the teares shedd for thy funerall./

De duobus Reynoldis S: T: D:ribus qui
contrariæ inter se opinionis, alter in
alterius secessit partem./

Bella inter geminos plusquam civilia fratres
Traxerat ambiguæ Religionis apex:
Ille reformatæ fidei pro partibus instat,
Ille reformandam denegat esse fidem.
Propositis causæ rationibus, alter vterq3
Concurrere pares, et cecidere pares:
Quod fuit in votis, fratrem capit alter vtrumq3,
Quod fuit in fatis, perdit vterq3 fidem.
Captivi gemini, nullo ducente, trahuntur,
Et victor victi transfuga castra petit.
Quod genus hoc pugnæ est, vbi victus gaudet vterq3
Et tamen alter vter se superasse dolet./

Dr Alablaster /

Figure 4.4 Detail, Folger MS V.a.245, fol. 50^{r})



41 5

Ill busied man, why shouldst thou take such care;
To lengthen out thy lives short callender,
When every spectacle thou lookst vpon
Presente and acte thy execution.
Each dropping season, and each flower doth crye,
Foole, as I fade, and wither, thou must dye;
The beating of thy pulse, when thou art well,
Is iust the tolling of thy passing bell;
Night is thy hearse, whose sable canopie
Covers alike deceased day and thee,
And all those weeping dewes, that nightly fall,
Are but as teares shedd for thy funerall
Doctor King.

Single posies for ringes.

1. The Diamond is within.
2. This lost, but keepe mee.
3. This hath alloy, my love is pure.

Double posies

1: Constancie and Heaven are round,
And in this the Emblem's found.
2. Weare me out, love shall not waste
Love beyond tyme still is placed.
3. Weare this text, and when you looke
Vpon your finger, sweare by the booke.

On a

Figure 4.5 Detail, Huntington HM 172, fol. 5^{r})

It is surprising that despite sharing the same scribe, both manuscripts are very different in terms of content. The Huntington MS contains only a very small number of poems written by poets associated with Christ Church (none by Strode), with one poem ascribed to John King ('My Midd-night Meditation'), a poem by Henry King ('An Exequy To his Matchlesse never to be forgotten Freind'), and one poem by Richard Corbett ('An Elegie Upon the death of the Ladie Haddington who dyed of the small Pox').[69] Instead, the manuscript contains poems that strongly link it to the Inns of Court environment, such as James Shirley's 'Would you know what's soft?' and Francis Beaumont's verse letter to Ben Jonson beginning 'The sun which doth the greatest comfort bring'.[70] The content of HM 172 is connected to a group of manuscripts known as the 'Crum archetype', a group of miscellanies defined by Margaret Crum as important witnesses to the circulation of poems by a number of poets associated with the Inns of Court, including Thomas Randolph, Robert Herrick and Thomas Carew. The 'Crum archetype' group consists of Bodleian MS Eng. poet.c.50, Harvard fMS 686, BL Harley MS 6917 and MS 6918, Folger MS V.a.96 and Rosenbach MS 239/23.[71] Although Bodleian MS Eng. poet.c.50 contains twenty poems by Strode, taken as a whole, this group of manuscripts does not represent one of the routes through which Strode's poems travelled in early modern England, and represents instead, evidence of a culture of verse composition and circulation centred around the Inns of Court. As Marotti notes for example, ‘only a few poems from Christ Church made it into these manuscripts’.[72]

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[69] Huntington HM 172, fols 5^{r} (*CELM*, KiH 454); 19^{r}-^{v} (*CELM*, CoR 155); 20^{r}-21^{v} (*CELM*, KiH 344).The *CELM* attributes KiH 454 to Henry King, but both the Huntington MS and the Dobell MS II ascribe it to John King (*d.*1621), Henry's brother. See Peter McCullough, 'King, John (*d.*1621)', *ODNB*.

[70] Huntington HM 172, fols 15^{r} (*CELM*, ShJ 130), 30^{r}-31^{v} (*CELM*, BmF 109).

[71] Margaret Crum, 'An Unpublished Fragment of Verse by Herrick', *Review of English Studies*, n.s., 11 (1960), 186-89.

The two manuscripts in fact only share two poems: a poem of uncertain authorship titled in the *CELM* ‘My Midd-night Meditation’ (*CELM*, KiH 420-62), and a Latin poem by William Alabaster, ‘Upon a Conference in Religion between John Reynolds then a Papist, and his Brother William Reynolds then a Protestant’ (*CELM*, AlW 147-67.5).[73] There are minor differences between each witness. In the Dobell MS II, Alabaster’s poem is copied without its English translation, which is present in the Huntington MS. And, where Dobell MS II gives ‘My Midd-night Meditation’ the heading ‘Of Mans Misery ./ by D^{r} J: King./’, the Huntington MS leaves the poem untitled, and with the ascription ‘Doctor King./’. However, in terms of substantive readings, the copies of these texts are identical. To take the example of ‘My Midd-night Meditation’, collation reveals identical punctuation, and only minor spelling variants (Figure 4.6). This close textual relationship suggests that both copies were transcribed from the same source.

Line	**Dobell MS II**	**Huntington MS**
Title	Of Mans Misery ./ by D^{r} J: King./	No title
2	lifes; Callendar	lives; callender
8	towling	tolling
9	hearese; Canopie	herse; cannopie
10	&	and

Figure 4.6 Minor spelling variants between Folger MS V.a.245 and Huntington HM 172 for ‘My Midd-night Meditation’ (*CELM*, KiH 452, 453)

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[72] See, Marotti, ‘“Rolling Archetypes”’, p. 505.

[73] See, Folger MS V.a.24, fol. 50^{r} (*CELM*, KiH 452; AlW 159); Huntington HM 172, fols 2$^{r\text{-}v}$ (*CELM* AlW 162), 5^{r} (*CELM*, KiH 454).

My identification of the same scribe could be explained in numerous ways. Firstly, it could be that both miscellanies are the product of a professional scribe, hitherto unknown to early modern studies, who assembled two verse miscellanies for different clients. In favour of this interpretation are the uniformly high standards of presentation found in both manuscripts. But this explanation would not account for the strong parallels between the copies of ‘My Midd-night Meditation’ in both manuscripts, or at least, could only be explained by a strange coincidence linking the collections of two otherwise unrelated collectors. Alternatively, both miscellanies could be the work of a single verse collector who produced two manuscript collections, one containing predominantly Oxford material, and the other predominantly containing material from the Inns of Court. But why would this collector choose to reproduce two texts across both collections? The most plausible explanation is that both manuscripts represent the work of a scribe associated with the Inns, who assembled in the Huntington MS, a verse miscellany with distinct connections to the ‘Crum archetype’. The same produced in the Dobell MS II, a miscellany in which large amounts of Christ Church verse are fused with material from the Inns of Court.

There is an additional manuscript connection between the Dobell MS II and one of the other miscellanies in the Crum archetype: Rosenbach MS 239/23. This miscellany is an important witness to both Carew’s and Randolph’s verse, but also copies a small number of poems by Strode, attributing only ‘On a Girdle’ and an apocryphal epitaph beginning ‘Lett none repine, if once a yeare’.[74] Although the Dobell MS II and Rosenbach MS 239/23 were copied from different sources of

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[74] Rosenbach MS 239/23, pp. 169 (*CELM*, StW 155); 184 (*CELM*, StW 1289.5). For other Strode poems in this manuscript see pp. 169 (*CELM*, StW 84, StW 262); 181 (*CELM*, StW 1333), 187(*CELM*, StW 334), 188 (*CELM*, StW 663). For an edition of this manuscript, see Howard H. Thompson, ‘An Edition of Two Seventeenth-Century Poetical Miscellanies’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1959).

Strode's poetry, they agree with each other in their copies for other texts. Tom Cain and Ruth Connolly note this occurrence for both manuscripts' witnesses of Herrick's 'The Admonition' (*CELM*, HeR 1-23), while Mark Bland notes the same relationship for the pseudo-Donne poem 'A Paradox'.[75] Three poems by John Cruso (*fl.*1595-1655), an elegiac sequence concerning the death of Laurence Howlet, rector of St Andrew's Church, Norwich (*d.*1626),[76] occur in only the Dobell MS II and Rosenbach MS 239/27. This indicates a strong point of contact between the two manuscripts.[77] These connections help us to connect the Dobell MS II with the Crum archetype not just through its scribal connection to the Huntington MS, but also through its shared poems with Rosenbach MS 239/23.

4.6 The Dobell MS II and John Champernoune

One further piece of evidence about this manuscript's provenance, which has not before been noted by scholars, lies in its first poem, a verse letter addressed 'To Thomas Lord Winsore' and ascribed John Champernoune.[78] Winsore, or Windsor (*d.*1642) was a Catholic peer who was amongst the party who brought Prince Charles back from his failed attempts to woo the Spanish Infanta in 1623, a giver of literary patronage and the recipient of many dedicatory poems throughout the seventeenth century.[79] Champernoune, a variant spelling of Champernowne was probably the son of Sir Philip Champernowne of Modbury Castle in Devon. A student of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge in 1608, John Champernoune moved to the Inner Temple in the following year.[80]

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[75] Herrick., II: p. 246; Bland, 'Stemmatics and Society', p. 35. Bland notes that the pairing recurs in other stemmas and may 'help us establish with greater clarity the social networks that they represent'.

[76] 'Howlet, Laurence (CCEd Person ID 143130)' *The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835* http://www.theclergydatabse.org.uk [accessed 3 February 2016].

[77] The same John Cruso compiled a verse miscellany, which is deposited at St John's College, Cambridge (MS U.26). Cruso's manuscript contains the same group of elegies (pp. 162-63). The *CELM* states that this was the same Cruso who matriculated at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, in 1632. http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/repositories/st-johns-college-cambridge.html [accessed 3 February 2016]. However, the same Cruso would have been eight years old at the time of Howlet's death, since he matriculated at Gonville and Caius aged fourteen. Ole Peter Grell identifies the author of the poems as the boy's father, a military writer and merchant based in Norwich. See Grell, 'Cruso, John (*fl.*1595-1655)', *ODNB*.

[78] Folger MS V.a.245, fols 1^r-3^v.

Champernoune's verse letter to Windsor should command critical attention for several reasons. It is an unrecorded example of early modern literary criticism in verse, in which Windsor is constructed as a fit judge to adjudicate a discourse on the state of English poetry in relation to classical literature. Champernoune defends English poetry against that produced by '[t]he Greeke and Latine Ethnick*es*' by praising the poetry of a selection of English poets. '[H]ee deserves to weare the Christian bayes', Champernoune writes,

> That in worde*s* cleare and sweete the truth of thinge*s*
> As Nature and Religion teach him singe*s*.
> So with his holy verse the crowne of thornes
> That his Redeemer wore Beaumont adornes
> So noble Nevill sung, so th'happie lynes
> Of our Iudicious Clayton speake, so shines
> Ingenious and dilucid Carey, so
> His learned mothers polish verses flowe[.][81]

'Beaumont' refers to John Beaumont (*c*.1584-1627), an Inner Templar whose verse meditation on Christ's passion in *The Crowne of Thornes* (*c*.1620-1625) now survives in BL Add. MS 33992. One Thomas Neville, possibly the 'noble Nevill' mentioned by Champernoune, contributed an elegy on the death of Sir John Beaumont to the 1629 posthumous edition of his collection *Bosworth-field* along with one 'Ia. Cl:'.[82] This was possibly the 'Iudicious Clayton' alluded to in these lines. Neville, who was commemorated in an elegy by the Inns of Court poet James Shirley (*CELM*, ShJ 103) authored a poem found in the Dobell MS II and Rosenbach MS 239/23, 'Upon that old English proverb out of sight out of mind'.[83] Finally, 'Carey' could be an unrecorded reference to Thomas Carew, represented in the miscellany by three poems (the scribe spells his name 'Carey').[84] It is therefore possible to read Champernoune's verse letter as a commentary on English poetry written from a distinctly Inns of Court perspective. The fact that Champernoune's epistle appears first in the manuscript raises the possibility that it was intended as a paratext to the manuscript itself, gifted to Windsor.

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[79] See, for example, William Habington, '*Perdam Sapientiam Sapientum* To the Right Honorable the Lord *Windsor*', *Castara: the third edition corrected and augmented* (London: T. Cotes for Will. Cooke, 1640), pp. 180-81. For Habington's connections to Inns of Court culture, see de Groot, 'Coteries, Complications, and the Question of Female Agency', p. 193. For another example of Windsor as patron, see John Benson's epistle to Windsor in Ben Jonson, *Ben: Ionson's Execration against Vulcan* (London: Printed by J.O for John Benson, 1640), sig. A3^{r-v}.

[80] *ACAD - A Cambridge Alumni Database* <http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2015.pl?sur=Champernowne&suro=w&fir=John&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&tex=&sye=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=50> [accessed 14 January 2016].

[81] Folger MS V.a.245, fols 1^{r}-3^{v}, 3^{r}.

These findings help us to consolidate the *CELM*'s suggestion that the Dobell MS II has affiliations with both Oxford and the Inns. It is possible that a compiler from this environment acquired a substantial and authoritative collection of Strode's poems, and by copying them into his miscellany effectively fused together previously unconnected and distinct textual traditions. These findings also demonstrate the benefit of examining the kinds of material that is not recorded in the *CELM*, such as rare or unique poems, which have not yet been catalogued.

4.7 Strode's poems move further afield: the Chute MS and the Hyde MS

The Dobell MS II is atypical of the major manuscript witnesses to Strode's verse, representing a fusion of Christ Church manuscript sources, into a verse miscellany which otherwise suggests affiliations with the Inns of Court. By this token, it is important not to overstate its implications for assessing Strode's readership beyond Oxford, because my research suggests that it is indeed an atypical outlier in Strode's textual record, resisting an overall trend towards limited interest in Strode's poems as they circulated further afield.

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[82] John Beaumont, *Bosworth-field* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1629), sig. A4^{r-v}, (a) 4^{r}.

[83] Folger MS V.a.245, fol. 19^{r}; Rosenbach MS 239/23, p. 146.

[84] Folger MS V.a.245, fols 11^{r} (*CELM*, CwT 327); 18^{v} (*CELM*, CwT 1175.5); 56^{v} (*CELM*, CwT 285).

Having tentatively questioned the provenance of the Holgate MS and Rosenbach MS II, the amount of principal manuscript collections of Strode's verse lacking clear associations with Oxford is significantly reduced. The *CELM*'s list of 'principal manuscript collections', containing upwards of ten poems by Strode, suggests that sustained interest in Strode's poetry outside of Oxford was relatively rare. Within this group of manuscripts, CUL MS Add. 8470 (Hyde MS; *CELM*, StW Δ 15) is conspicuous as a clear example of Strode's poems circulating beyond Oxford. This is a quarto miscellany compiled by Edward Hyde (1607-59), student and later fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.[85] .[86] Hyde later moved to Oxford University when he was created Doctor of Divinity in 1643, but his miscellany dates to the previous decade, during which he would have been based at Cambridge.[87] As evidence of Strode's readership, the Hyde MS gives us conflicting information. On the one hand, it indicates that Hyde was able to source copies of Strode's poems close to the authorial archetype, demonstrated by its position in the transmission histories of the poems 'To a Gentlewoman for a Frinde, with Black Eyes', 'To the Lady Knighton', and 'With Pen, Inke and paper these to a distressed &c'.[88] Hyde ascribes seventeen out of twenty-four poems to Strode.[89] This includes a selection of love lyrics, posies, elegies, epitaphs and verse letters, suggesting that Hyde was well acquainted with a broad range of Strode's poetic output.[90] Yet the Hyde MS also ascribes four poems to Strode that he most probably did not write. Two are possibly the work of Thomas Carew; 'Lips and Eyes', 'Secresie protested', and 'To T.H. a Lady resembling my Mistresse' (titled 'Of one like his M^{rs}').[91] Also ascribed to Strode is a poem titled 'To his paper', beginning 'ffly paper kisse those hands', an imitation of Strode's 'A Letter impos'd'.[92] These incorrect ascriptions may indicate that knowledge of Strode's canon was not so firmly established within the Cambridge scribal community.

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[85] The manuscript is signed 'Edwardus Hyde' on its end pastedowns, as well as 'Edward Hyde is a knave' on fol. [i^{r}]. It also seems to contain compiler verse written by Hyde, including 'To his Wife' ascribed to 'E.H.' (fol. 34^{r}), as well as an epitaph on one 'Ned Hide' (fol. 18^{r} rev.).

[86] The manuscript is signed 'Edwardus Hyde' on its end pastedowns, as well as 'Edward Hyde is a knave' on fol. [ir]. It also seems to contain compiler verse written by Hyde, including 'To his Wife' ascribed to 'E.H.' (fol. 34^{r}), as well as an epitaph on one 'Ned Hide' (fol. 18^{r} rev.).

[87] For Hyde's life, see J. Sears McGee, 'Hyde, Edward (1607-59)', *ODNB*.

[88] CUL Add. MS 8470, fols 9^{r-v} (*CELM*, StW 1091); 10^{r}-^{v} (*CELM*, StW 1173); 16^{r} (*CELM*, StW 1248).

Beyond the Hyde MS the only other non-Oxford miscellany that contains a substantial concentration of Strode's poems is BL Add. MS 33998 (Chute MS; *CELM*, StW Δ 11). This miscellany has been identified as belonging to Chaloner Chute, a member of the Middle Temple and a barrister who went on to become Member of Parliament for Middlesex and later Speaker of the House of Commons during the 1650s.[93] Chute's miscellany, dated to the mid-1630s, would have been compiled during a period of his life when he resided between his chambers in the Middle Temple and a residence at Holborn, geographical and institutional coordinates which place him in the midst of a major scribal community fostered by London's legal culture. It is unclear whether or not Chute compiled the manuscript himself, because it is in the hand of a professional scribe associated with the playhouse and possibly the Inns of Court.[94] It is thus possible that Chute collected the texts himself and commissioned this scribe to copy out the miscellany for him. As Joshua Eckhardt suggests, ‘it is also possible (although impossible to prove) that this scribe provided or even chose texts for his client’.[95]

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[89] Hyde leaves the following poems unascribed; 'A Sonnet' ('My Love and I for kisses played'; *CELM*, StW 999; fol. 5^{v}); 'On a Butcher marrying a Tanners daughter' (*CELM*, StW 309; fol. 17^{v}); 'Justification' (*CELM*, StW 200; fol. 20^{r}); 'Song of death and the Resurrection' (*CELM*, StW 972; fol. 20^{r}); 'In commendation of Musique' (*CELM*, StW 165; fol. 29^{r-v}); 'A song on the Baths' (*CELM*, StW 990; fols 29^{v}-30^{v}); 'A watchstring' (*CELM*, StW 1221; fol. 33^{r}).

[90] For the poems that Hyde leaves without ascription, see CUL Add. MS 8470, fol 5^{v}

[91] CUL Add. MS 8470, fols 10^{r} (*CELM*, CwT 417); 12^{r-v} (*CELM*, CwT 712), 13^{v} (*CELM*, 1151).

[92] CUL MS Add. 8470, fols 13^{v} ('Of one like his mrs'), 14^{r} ('To his paper').

[93] The manuscript is signed 'My cousin chute gaue me this book out of his father[s] study at the vine Hampshire'. The Vyne, near Basingstoke, Hampshire, was Chute's residence from 1653. For Chute's life, see Christopher W. Brooks, 'Chute, Chaloner (*c*.1595-1659)', *ODNB*.

Judging from the specific correspondences between Chute’s own institutional and geographical associations, it is most likely that he personally acquired and selected the texts for his miscellany. As Arthur Marotti has argued, this manuscript may be described as a ‘cosmopolitan’ and ‘very much a London collection’.[96] This does not mean that the manuscript contains no poetry written by authors from outside of London’s poetic coteries, because as Marotti also notes, the presence of poetry by Strode and Corbett in the Chute MS attests ‘to the process by which university poetry reached a wider social circulation’.[97] But it does mean that Chute read such poetry alongside authors who did not circulate as commonly within the scribal communities of Oxford. There is a high concentration of verse by authors who are contained in the ‘Crum archetype’, such as Robert Herrick, Thomas Carew and James Shirley, although it is clear that Chute acquired his poetry from a different source to other copyists within that group of miscellanies. For example, the Chute MS contains a sequence of fourteen poems by James Shirley, an exceptionally high number given that no other surviving miscellany contains more than five of his poems.[98] Philip West, Shirley's current editor, explains that Chute's collection of Shirley's poems is 'strikingly unlike that of any other manuscript, and this seems to reflect its status as an early anthology of Shirley's lyric output'.[99] Chute could have sourced his poems either from access to Inns of Court scribal communities, or even from the proximity between his own residence in Holborn, an area of London close to Gray's Inn where Shirley was based. The Shirley connection helps us to localize the kinds of scribal networks with which Chute interacted, and in which by the mid-1630s, Strode's poems now found themselves.

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[94] The same scribe was responsible for Worcester College, Oxford, Plays 2.5 (ChG 12.5), an exemplum of George Chapman’s 1611 play *May Day*, with missing leaves supplied by this anonymous scribe. In BL Egerton MS 1994, fols 30^r-51^r, the same scribe copies *Dick of Devonshire*, a play possibly written or revised by Thomas Heywood. A printed exemplum of Thomas Middleton’s *Blurt, Master-Constable* (*CELM*, MiT 6) in the Folger Shakespeare Library (Folger STC 17876) also contains this scribe’s hand.

[95] Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors*, p. 17.

[96] Marotti, ‘Chaloner Chute’s Poetical Anthology’, p. 130).

[97] Ibid, p. 117.

The Chute MS contains twelve poems by Strode, making him the second most highly represented poet within this manuscript after Shirley. However, it is important not to overestimate the extent to which a reader like Chute was actually aware of whose poems he was reading. Of the twelve poems by Strode, less than half are actually ascribed to him: 'On Faireford windores', 'Song' ('I saw faire Cloris walke alone'), 'To Sir John Ferrers' ('If empty Vessells can resounde'), 'Upon the blush of a faire Ladie', and 'Justification'.[100] The remaining Strode poems do not have any ascriptions, apart from 'A Letter Impos'd', which is instead ascribed to Nicholas Oldisworth.[101] So, although Chute may have read twelve poems that were written by Strode, it is unlikely that he actually recognized every one of these poems as part of Strode's canon.

Indeed, a reader like Chute is representative of how the majority of verse collectors situated outside of Oxford encountered Strode's verse. This thesis has identified a further three verse miscellanies which, according to the *CELM*'s standards would qualify as 'principal manuscript collections' of Strode's verse and as miscellanies which can demonstrably be shown to have no clear connections with Oxford University. BL Egerton MS 2421 is a 1630s miscellany compiled by one 'Fra: Norreys', suggested by Beal to be Sir Francis Norris (1609-1669), High Sheriff of Oxfordshire between 1635 and 1636. Norris recognized only two of his eleven poems by Strode, as Strode's work.[102] Rosenbach MS 240/7 is a miscellany from the library of the Mostyn family in Mostyn Hall, Flintshire, possibly compiled by Sir Roger Mostyn (1567/8-1642). Mostyn's miscellany, which is otherwise dominated by the poetry of Randolph, contains eleven poems by Strode, only six of which are attributed to him.[103] Finally, Sir Thomas Finch, Viscount Maidstone and the Earl of Winchelsea, the compiler of Rosenbach MS 243/4 (Rosenbach MS I; *CELM*, StW Δ 25; Winchelsea MS) compiled a verse miscellany no later than 1634, including twelve poems by Strode, as well as verse by Herrick, Carew, Donne and William Browne.[104] Finch shows a surprising degree of familiarity with Strode's canon by ascribing eight of these poems to him correctly.[105]

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[98] Philip West, 'Editing James Shirley's Poems', p. 103.

[99] Ibid., pp. 103-04.

[100] BL Add. MS 33998, fols 12^{v}-13^{v} (*CELM*, StW 486); 62^{r} (*CELM*, StW 754); 68^{v}-69^{v} (*CELM*, StW 1175); 80^{v} (*CELM*, StW 1365); 80^{v}-81^{r} (*CELM*, StW 198).

[101] BL Add. MS 33998, fols 77^{v}-78^{r} (*CELM*, StW 212).

Strode's poems may have circulated far beyond Oxford, but there was by no means a clear association between the texts that did circulate and a recognition of his authorship. The verse miscellany of the royalist Sir John Reresby, first Baronet (1611-46) of Thrybergh Hall, Yorkshire is a good illustration of this.[106] Gifted by an unnamed 'Cosen' of Reresby, the compiler of this miscellany copied from some of the same sources available to the Inns of Court scribes responsible for the Rosenbach I and Dobell II manuscripts discussed above, and included eleven poems by Strode.[107] However, the compiler of the manuscript does not seem to have been aware that all of these poems were actually by him. One is the apocryphal epitaph beginning ‘Lett none repine if once a yeare’, which is also ascribed to Strode in Rosenbach MS 239/23.[108] The others are ‘A Song of Capps’ and ‘In commendation of Musique’.[109] The remaining poems are unattributed, apart from ‘A Sigh’, which is ascribed to Donne.[110] The manuscript collections of Sir John Hopkinson (1610-1680) an antiquary of Lofthouse, Yorkshire show that by the mid-1640s he had acquired twelve poems by Strode in his voluminous manuscript collections, but he recognizes none of these as Strode’s work.[111]

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[102] BL MS Egerton 2421, fols 3^{v} (*CELM*, StW 327), 34^{r} (*CELM*, StW 183).

[103] Rosenbach MS 240/7, pp. 31-32 (*CELM*, CoR 496); 36-37 (*CELM*, StW 297); 41-43 (*CELM*, StW 501); 44 (*CELM*, StW 429); 54-56 (*CELM*, StW 590); 97-98 (*CELM*, StW 224).

[104] The miscellany's binding is stamped with the initials 'M W', an abbreviation for Maidstone and Winchilsea. A printed exemplum of William Wishcart's *An Exposition of the Lord's Prayer* (1633) came to the Rosenbach at the same time as the Winchelsea MS with the same binding. See Beal, *CELM* http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/repositories/rosenbach-240.html#rosenbach-240_id404676 [accessed 3 February 2016].

[105] Rosenbach MS 243/4, pp. 82-83 (*CELM*, StW 1098); 86-87 (*CELM*, StW 493); 105 (*CELM*, StW 388); 114-16 (*CELM*, StW 353); 123 (*CELM*, StW 372); 133 (*CELM*, StW 765); 136-39 (*CELM*, StW 1241); 157 (*CELM*, StW 280).

[106] Leeds Archives, WYL 156/237. For a description, see Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors*, pp. 266-68. A slip tipped into the front of the miscellany bears the inscription 'To my euer fauoured good Cosen S*ir* John Reresby Baronett these p*re*sent'.

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Crucially, the manuscripts discussed in this chapter demonstrate the importance of contextualizing and interrogating the data collected by the *CELM*. A high number of manuscript witnesses may indicate that certain poems of exceptional popularity were frequently transcribed, but it does not necessarily follow that Strode’s poems sustained their appeal for audiences beyond Oxford. Indeed, a collection like the Dobell MS II may indicate one instance of a large, and textually authoritative collection of Strode’s poems circulating at the Inns of Court, but judging from the rest of Strode’s textual record, it appears to be an outlier, atypical of how most collectors beyond Oxford encountered his poetry.

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[107] For example, the Reresby MS copies a verse by Sir Thomas Neville unique to this group of manuscripts, ‘Vppon the ould prouerbe out of sight out of mind’ (fol. 40^{v}), as well as a poem by Thomas Lord Windsor (the dedicatee of the Dobell MS II), ‘On the birth of Prince Charles 29 May 1630’ (fol. 92^{v}).

[108] Leeds Archives, MS WYL 156/237, fol. 92^{v} (no *CELM* reference); Rosenbach MS 239/23, p. 289 (no *CELM* reference).

[109] Leeds Archives, MS WYL 156/237, fols 79^{v}-80^{r} (*CELM*, StW 961), 55^{v} (*CELM*, StW 187).

[110] Leeds Archives, MS WYL 156/237, fol. 61^{r}-^{v} (*CELM*, StW 722).

[111] For Strode’s poems in Hopkinson’s manuscripts, see Bod. MS Don. d.58, fols 12^{v}-13^{r} (*CELM*, StW 604), 18^{r} (*CELM*, CoR 482), 30^{v} (*CELM*, CwT 741), 44a^{v} (*CELM*, StW 1310), 44b^{r} (*CELM*, StW 392), 46b^{v} (*CELM*, StW 1149). Bradford, West Yorkshire Archives Service, 32D86/17, fols 9^{r} (*CELM*, StW 1233; StW 324), 39^{r}-40^{r} (*CELM*, StW 958); 32D86/34, fols 117^{r}-119^{r} (*CELM*, StW 524). For more on Hopkinson, see Jan Broadway, ‘Hopkinson, John (1610-1680)’, *ODNB*.

That is not to say that these manuscripts should not command critical or editorial attention. Collating these witnesses will yield insights into the transmission histories of Strode’s poems, possibly, as was the case with the Holgate MS and Rosenbach MS II, helping to complicate and revise assumptions about how and where those texts circulated. But paying attention to these collections is also important, because it demonstrates how we need to distinguish between the verifiable canon of Strode’s works, that is, poems we know he definitely wrote, and the socialized canon of Strode’s works, that is, the canon of poems recognized and constructed by Strode’s seventeenth-century collectors. This chapter does not argue that Strode’s poetry was insignificant in early seventeenth-century manuscript culture, but that we need to fully contextualize what it meant to identify a poem as Strode’s work within that culture.

Chapter 5

Reading the Rewritings

The previous chapters have described the extent of Strode's circulation in manuscript, and identified the socio-textual associations of his verse collectors. It should now be clear that Strode was a poet of the verse miscellany, rather than the printed book. Consequently, no two collectors of Strode's work encountered his poetry in precisely the same manuscript contexts, in precisely the same arrangement, or transcribed with substantively the same textual readings. In the final chapter of this thesis, I explore the significance of these bibliographic circumstances for understanding Strode's reception in manuscript. The chapter focuses particularly on the question of how Strode's collectors transcribed his poems, and to what extent those texts were adapted or rewritten in the process. At stake are well-established but sometimes problematic critical assumptions; that manuscript is an inherently malleable medium, in which the agency of an author is negligible when considered next to that of his or her readers.

The reception of Strode commands interest in its own right. Strode has long been recognized as a prominent figure within the culture of seventeenth-century manuscript verse circulation and collection, but there has yet to be an account of how this culture received his verse. But the study of Strode's reception in verse should have a broader appeal to scholars and editors of manuscript verse more generally. As this chapter will argue, reading the rewritings of Strode's poetry offers the potential to complicate, as well as consolidate and illustrate our knowledge of textual production, transmission and reception in the scribal medium. This is because of the nature of Strode's textual record, which, with its extensive evidence of autograph manuscripts, enables unique research opportunities not usually possible for researchers of other miscellany poets. Just as in the previous two chapters, in which the survival of autograph evidence was crucial in establishing a thorough picture of Strode's circulation in manuscript, this chapter uses the same evidence to provide a detailed account of the textual lives of Strode's poems, as they passed from author to reader.

This is important, because there is at present an imbalance in the way scholarship accounts for the relative roles of authors and readers in miscellany culture. Arthur Marotti's work, which I will return to in the next section, has proved particularly enduring in this regard, by presenting a definition of manuscript culture in which 'it was normal for lyrics to elicit revisions, corrections, supplements, and answers, for they were part of an ongoing social discourse. In this environment texts were inherently malleable, escaping authorial control to enter a social world in which recipients both consciously and unconsciously altered what they received'.[1] Marotti is describing what has come to be known as 'social editing', which is sometimes confusingly used to describe two very different kinds of activity. It can be used to describe the act of producing a critical edition on the socialized theories of textuality espoused by McGann and McKenzie, such as Michael Rudick's edition of Ralegh.[2] But it can also describe early modern acts of reception, such as when Steven W. May describes all verse collectors as potential 'social editors' when they copied poems into their miscellanies.[3]

Although this chapter may at times read as a critique of social editing, it should be better understood as a call for refinement in the way that socio-centric theories of textuality have been used to establish some entrenched assumptions about the relative roles of authors and readers in miscellany culture. My central argument is that the extent to which verse collectors sought to rewrite the poems they copied into their verse miscellanies has been overstated. While it is true that authors did have little control over the linguistic or bibliographic codes of a poem once it was released into circulation, the idea that verse collectors had no interest in reproducing what they copied with accuracy, and an attitude of care towards their sources, has been exaggerated, at least from the perspective of Strode as a case study. The key to my argument lies in a call for greater precision with the vocabulary we use to describe reception in the verse miscellany, with a particular emphasis on the important differences between ‘textual instability’ and ‘textual malleability’, between accidental errors in copying and deliberate, creative adaptations, and between creative adaption and entirely separate acts of creativity, such as imitation, parody and answer-poetry. I do not argue that rewriting did not occur, and in fact discuss some key case studies from Strode’s textual record that show it did. However, on such occasions the reasons why rewriting took place can be read as a predictable response to particular qualities in the original poem. A funerary elegy, for example, may invite extraction because the genre itself requires a fusion of familiar, gnomic statements with tightly occasional references. Alternatively, the form of a strophic poem like Strode’s ‘Aske me noe more’ encourages continuation through a combination of its rhetorical cues, form and structure. Above all, this chapter seeks to place evidence at the centre of how we deal with understanding the reception of poetry in the verse miscellanies, and it ends by examining the role this should play in the way we too, receive that poetry in contemporary critical editions. The final section of the chapter builds on my analysis in order to provide recommendations for a long overdue edition of Strode's English verse.

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[1] Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, p. xii.

[2] Sir Walter Ralegh, *The Poems of Sir Walter Ralegh: A Historical Edition,* ed. by Michael Rudick (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies in conjunction with Renaissance English Text Society, 1999).

[3] Steven W. May, 'Renaissance Manuscript Anthologies: Editing the Social Editors', *English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700*, 11 (2002), 203-16 (pp. 204, 206).

5.1 Malleability and instability in the manuscript medium

Manuscript poems are unstable texts. Any two copies of the same poem will inevitably differ in a number of respects. Taking some variant readings at random of a line from Strode's lyric 'On a freind's absence' (*CELM*, StW 364-77), for example, I found the following differences:

> if liuing thus I liue, or dead I lie[.][4]
> Where liveing thus alive or dead ~~are~~ \I/ bee.[5]
> If loving thus I live or dead I bee.[6]
> If liuing, dying, liue or dead I bee./[7]

Strode's draft of the line in his Corpus MS reveals that the original reading was 'If liuing thus I liue or dead I bee'.[8] But as the four examples above show, different verse collectors construed the line in different ways; 'living' becomes 'loving', 'lie' becomes 'be', while one copyist introduced the word 'dying' where Strode did not. So far, these observations are unremarkable. That multiple witnesses to the same text differ from each other markedly is made abundantly clear by collating the multiple sources of any handwritten text. Since the ground-breaking works on manuscript studies in the 1990s and in particular those by Harold Love and Arthur Marotti, it has become common to think of manuscript verse collectors as active readers, seeking to transform what they copied out into their verse miscellanies according to their own tastes and requirements. They were often not interested in authorial origins, or in the formal integrity of texts.

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[4] Bangor MS 422, p. 44 (*CELM*, StW 377.5).
[5] Bod. MS Malone 21, fol. 84^{v} (*CELM*, StW 376).
[6] Folger MS V.a.245, fol. 39^{v} (*CELM*, StW 371).
[7] St John's College, Cambridge, MS S.23, fol. 57^{v} (no *CELM* reference).
[8] CCC MS 325, fol. 129^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 364).

The origins of these attitudes lie in Arthur Marotti's theorization of the manuscript lyric, and the differences between publication in manuscript and print. He did so, by applying the socialized theories of textual production and publication of Jerome McGann and D.F. McKenzie, to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century verse. McGann had proposed that '[a]uthority is a social nexus, not a personal possession' and that 'the fully authoritative text is [...] always one which has been socially produced.'[9] Similarly, McKenzie had argued that in a more 'sociological' understanding of textual scholarship, 'an author disperses into his collaborators, those who produced his texts and their meanings'.[10] Marotti argued that scholars attend to '[t]he various manuscript and print forms in which texts were recorded and transmitted', so as to form 'the basis of a socio-literary history that unlike traditional literary history considers texts in their material specificity (rather than in their edited "ideal" forms)'.[11] For Marotti, authorial agency cannot, and should not be recovered.

This argument has proved enduring in both literary-critical and editorial approaches to early modern verse. Michael Rudick, whose 'Historical Edition' of Ralegh was discussed in the first section of this chapter, even revised his own thoroughly collated, genealogically-reasoned edition of Ralegh, in order to produce a more inclusive edition, based on principles of social editing.[12] Instead of seeking to recover Ralegh's authorial intentions, Rudick focuses only on recovering how Ralegh's texts were received in miscellany culture, presenting for example, three texts of Ralegh's 'On the Life of Man' based on the diversity of states in which sixteenth- and seventeenth-century readers experienced that lyric.[13] It is also possible to see the influence of Marotti's conception of textuality in the recent edition of Robert Herrick, as well as in the early stages of forthcoming editions of James Shirley and Richard Corbett's poetry.[14] For Ruth Connolly, one of Herrick's editors, her approach 'reflects the now well-established critical understanding of manuscript circulation as a mode of transmission structured on principles of textual fluidity, occasionality, and sociability, not necessarily amenable to author-centered concepts of meaning'.[15] This results in a textually plural Herrick in manuscript, print and music, counteracting the Jonsonian model of possessive print authorship represented in *Hesperides* (1648). Multiple copy-texts are presented for individual texts (notably, 'The Admonition'), to demonstrate that the 'authority of poet, copyist, occasion, and medium all meet in every inscription of every poem'.[16] Joshua Eckhardt's compiler-centric study of 'anti-courtly love poetry' and the collection of verse libels meanwhile, shows Marotti's methodology taken to the extreme, by abandoning the author as a category of analysis entirely, in favour of examining the agency practiced by verse collectors. A succinct summary of these approaches can be found in Chris Stamatakis's study of Sir Thomas Wyatt's poetry in manuscript, in which Stamatakis suggests that Wyatt's authorship may be understood ‘somewhere at the interface of “original producer” and (mere) “collaborator”’.[17] Even in the context of Stamatakis’s single author study, therefore, the agency of an author is downgraded from creation to collaboration.

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[9] Jerome McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*, pp. 48, 75. For Marotti's acknowledgement of McGann's theories, see *Manuscript, Print,* p. 137.

[10] D.F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, p. 27.

[11] Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, p. xii.

[12] For Marotti's critique of Rudick, see *Manuscript, Print*, p. 146. For further responses by Rudick and Marotti, see Rudick, 'Editing Ralegh's Poetry Historically' and Marotti, 'A Response to Michael Rudick' in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts, III: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1997-2001*, ed. by W. Speed Hill (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies in conjunction with Renaissance English Text Society, 2004), pp. 133-43, 144-47.

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[13] See 29A-C in Ralegh, *The Poems of Sir Walter Ralegh*, ed. by Michael Rudick, pp. 69-70. See also, Rudick, 'The Text of Ralegh's Lyric, "What Is Our Life?"', *Studies in Philology*, 83 (1986), 76-87 for Rudick's earlier approach.

[14] See Christopher Burlinson, 'Response and Accumulation: Textual Editors and Richard Corbett's "Oxford Ballad"', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 52 (2012), 35-50; Philip West, 'Editing James Shirley's Poems'. See also Herrick, II.

[15] Ruth Connolly, 'Editing Intention in the Manuscript Poetry of Robert Herrick', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 52 (2012), 69-84 (p. 70).

[16] Ibid., p. 71.

This collaborative, sociable model of authorship has not been without its critics. Steven W. May suggested that the inclusive approach to textual scholarship proposed by Marotti is impractical. In his flattening out of all kinds of textual agency as worthy of scholarly attention, Marotti leaves it unclear how scholars and editors can be both selective and inclusive in their research on manuscript verse.[18] More recently, Daniel Starza Smith declines to abandon the individual author as a locus of authority in his study of Donne’s manuscript circulation and reception by demonstrating the significance of authorial agency, especially when considering the early stages of a text’s publication in manuscript, and the workings of patronage.[19]

This chapter is also sceptical about such a model of scribal authorship and reception. It argues that the extent to which textual variants are evidence of increased readerly agency and reduced authorial agency has been overstated, and is certainly not the unwavering principle many take it to be. This is not a claim for a complete revision of the ways in which we read and edit manuscript texts, but an argument for more precision and sophistication when we discuss the plurality of textual agencies – authors, verse collectors, scribes – that were involved in manuscript circulation. An author provides an entry-point into a much broader network of textual agents, giving a shape and structure to a field of inquiry, which could easily descend into too many particularities and details. Admittedly, authors provide evidence of only one aspect of what verse collectors transcribed and read, but set workable parameters for a study of collectors' rewritings. Furthermore, Strode as a case study offers unique research opportunities not possible for some of his contemporaries. In his study of Donne's reception in the verse miscellany, Marotti explained that 'as far as the poetry is concerned, with the exception of an authorial holograph of one verse epistle, we have no documentary remains of Donne's Donne'.[20] By this, Marotti meant that we lack any 'authorially sanctioned texts' but instead have 'a massive amount of documentary evidence of the manuscript transmission of Donne's poems through the first two thirds of the seventeenth century'. The absence of autograph manuscript evidence, I argue, has significantly shaped Marotti's argument, and thereby much subsequent scholarship on the early seventeenth-century verse miscellany. It is not surprising that the author is largely absent from criticism in this field, when few autograph manuscripts survive for the case studies discussed. What would criticism on verse miscellany culture have looked like had more of Donne's autographs survived?[21] Strode's textual record, which includes a comprehensive range of different kinds of manuscript evidence, can help us think through and refine scholarship on miscellany transmission and reception.

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[17] Chris Stamatakis, *Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Rhetoric of Rewriting: ‘Turning the Worde’* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 12. Stamatakis borrows the terms of his argument from Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), p. 216.

[18] May, ‘Renaissance Manuscript Anthologies: Editing the Social Editors’, p. 204.

[19] Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers*, p. 11.

There is, at present, a problem with definitions in scholarship on reception of the verse miscellany. When a verse collector introduced changes to the text of a poem, do those changes always indicate the inherent malleability of verse in reception, or simply the circumstances in which poems were circulated and written down? From the outset of this section, I should clarify that I am not arguing for a dismissal of textual variants in the study of manuscript verse. If we want to understand the transmission history of a given text, it is necessary to collate every surviving witness. The crucial distinction that needs to be made clear is one of accidental alteration versus deliberate rewriting. When scholars describe the variant textuality that forms a crucial part of manuscript transmission, it is common to find these kinds of textual change mentioned, but without explaining in more detail the differences between them. Marotti for example states that John Donne's authorial agency was negligible in manuscript, because although he 'could control somewhat the form in which his poems were first received in manuscript by coterie readers [...] both before and after his death, others accidentally or deliberately altered those texts in an unfolding process of literary transmission'.[22] More recently, Chris Stamatakis describes this process as one of 'rescription', a phenomenon

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[20] Marotti, *Manuscript, Print,* p. 149.

[21] Hannah Sullivan makes a similar point in her *The Work of Revision* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013). 'If Shakespeare's manuscripts did survive, blotted lines and all, Renaissance textual criticism would have been completely different from the beginning', p. 25.

> that is both textual and literary. It is a recurrent (though by no means universal) condition of material texts themselves, which often undergo striking transformations over the course of their transmission, as a result of either inadvertent mistranscription or more deliberate rewriting.[23]

So far, there is nothing problematic about these accounts of manuscript transmission and reception: some variants were the result of intention, whereas others were the result of the vagaries of manuscript transmission. The problem lies instead, I suggest, in the failure to tease out the different implications of each kind of cause for a textual variant, and the argumentative leap from an acknowledgement that textual variants were introduced to manuscript texts to a fixed idea about the relative agencies of authors and readers in the manuscript system.

What appears to be a striking display of textual malleability may on closer inspection evidence the opposite: a copyist's desire for accuracy and precision. One copy of Strode's poem 'Loves Ætna', in a 1630s miscellany originating from Christ Church (Figure 5.1), presents a reading of the poem's first line, in which the line could be read in two possible ways:

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[22] Marotti, *Manuscript, Print,* p. 147.
[23] Stamatakis, *Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Rhetoric of Rewriting*, p. 29.

> {stearne
> In yo*wr* {faire beuty I can see[.][24]

Read in the context of the poem as a whole, the alternative adjectives 'faire' and 'stearne', could be read as an interpretative response to the text's linguistic and generic codes. As a poem that draws on the conventional Petrarchan binaries of hot and cold, fire and ice, the speaker's complaint that, '[t]he sparks that sett my heart on fire | Refuse to melt [his mistress's] desire', might suggest an interpretative context for the variant: the mistress can be seen by the speaker as inviting or threatening and unyielding, both of which might be described by 'faire' or 'stearne' respectively. In this way, the poem's variant first line could be seen as a creative response to the poem's content. The more prosaic explanation, however, is that the reader was enacting a kind of quality control on his verse miscellany. Having examined all eleven manuscript witnesses of the poem, I conclude that no surviving witnesses contain the reading 'faire'. All use instead, the adjective 'stern' (Strode's original autograph reading in the Corpus MS).[25] It looks most likely that this ostensible display of textual malleability was actually a result of having encountered other witnesses of the poem containing the authorial reading, and correcting the original transcription. This practice – described by Chris Stamatakis as 'collational reading' – was common in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscript culture, and could sometimes work in the opposite way: collectors introducing further mis-transcriptions, instead of the 'correct' reading.[26] The scribe of Folger MS V.a.345 recorded many such variant readings of 'I saw faire Cloris walke alone' (Figure 5.2). He deleted 'glistening' and replaced it with '~~glistening~~ \feathered/'.[27] He missed the point of Strode's metaphor by literalizing 'fether'd raine' as 'fether'd ~~raine~~ \snow/'.[28] And he emended his transcription of line eight, 'for sorrow turnd into a teare', by recording in the left margin, 'for greif dissolvd into a teare'.[29] Both of these case studies may indicate the fact that manuscript texts could quickly change in transmission, but neither necessarily points towards the reader as an agent with little interest in the form and substantive readings of their poems, or in the sources from which they transcribed them. Quite the contrary, they are evidence of readers who encountered different readings of the poems they had copied, and updated their transcriptions accordingly.

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[24] Bod. MS Eng. poet.e.97, p. 142 (*CELM*, StW 228). The brackets are retained from the original document (Cf. Figure 5.1).

[25] See CCC MS 325, fol. 74^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 226). For the other witnesses reading 'stern', see Bod. MS Eng. poet.c.50, fol. 128^{r} (*CELM*, StW 227); BL Add. MS 30982, fols 130^{v}-31^{r} rev. (*CELM*, StW 229); Add. MS 33998, fol. 69^{v} (*CELM*, StW 230); CUL Add. MS 8470, fols 12^{v}-13^{r} (*CELM*, StW 231); Folger MS V.a.170, pp. 229-30 (*CELM*, StW 232); MS V.a.245, fol. 59^{r} (*CELM*, StW 233); Harvard MS Eng 686, fol. 65^{r} (*CELM*, StW 234); Rosenbach MS 239/27, pp. 188-89 (*CELM*, StW 235); Yale Osborn MS b 205, fol. 75^{v} (*CELM*, StW 236); Huntington HM 198, Part I, p. 155 (*CELM*, StW 237).

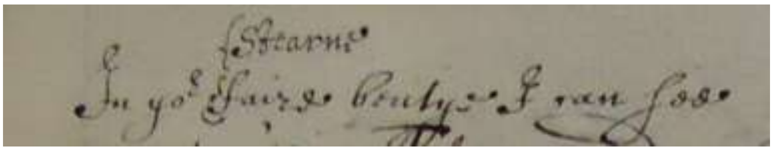

Figure 5.1 Detail, Bod. MS Eng. poet. e.97, p. 142 (*CELM*, StW 228)

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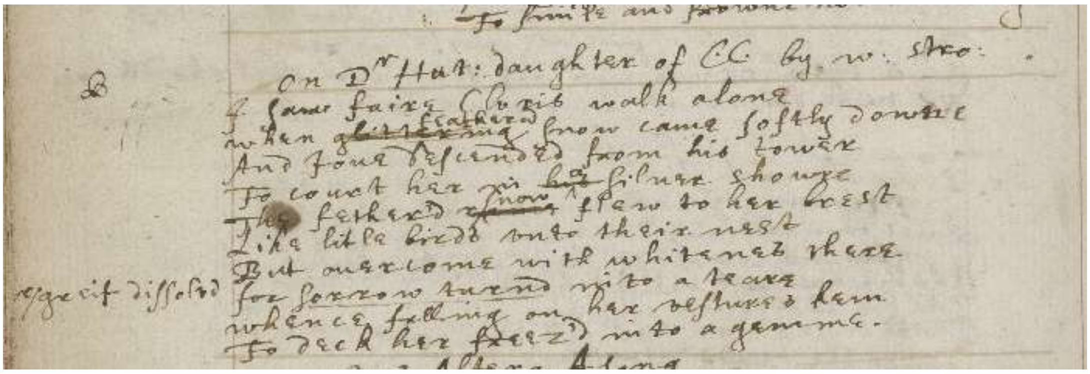
[26] Stamatakis, *Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Rhetoric of Rewriting*, p. 29.
[27] Folger MS V.a.345, p. 145 (*CELM*, StW 812).
[28] Folger MS V.a.345, p. 145 (*CELM*, StW 812).
[29] Folger MS V.a.345, p. 145 (*CELM*, StW 812).



To smile and

On Dr Hat: daughter of CC by W: Stro:
I sawe faire Cloris walk alone
When ~~glistering~~ feathered snow came softly downe
And Jove descended from his tower
To court her in ~~his~~ a silver showre
The fetherd ~~[illegible]~~ snow flew to her brest
Like litle birds unto their nest
But overcome with whitenes there
For sorrow turnd into a teare
Whence falling on her vestures hem
To deck her freez'd into a gemme.

For greif it dissolvd

Figure 5.2 Detail, Folger MS V.a.345, p. 145 (*CELM*, StW 812)

This chapter proposes a more specific treatment of what verse collectors actually did to poems when they copied them into their verse miscellanies, from the perspective of Strode's textual record. The specificity allowed by this case study offers a greater precision to a discussion that for some time has lacked an adequate grounding in textual evidence. In order to do so, the terms on which we might better define the activity of verse collectors as copyists and rewriters require greater clarification. What, exactly, counts as deliberate rewriting?

One method, proposed by May, is to look for evidence of 'creative, intentional changes'.[30] Alternatively, we should attend to variants 'of some demonstrable aesthetic or cultural value, preferably both'.[31] Ostensibly, May's suggestion appears problematic because it introduces ahistorical concepts like 'creativity' and 'cultural value'. Should we determine such values according the seventeenth-century's standards, or those of today? We might more simply define rewriting as one or more of the following:

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[30] May, 'Editing the Social Editors', p. 204.
[31] Ibid., p. 212.

1. Disruption to a poem's form. This could involve:

    a. The extraction of lines or stanzas.

    b. The addition of lines or stanzas.

    c. The combination of a transcription with material taken from other texts.

2. Altering a poem's referential capacities.

This is more difficult to define, because a poem's referential capacities are altered every time they are reproduced in another context. Even so, we can focus on examples where a compiler augments a poem by changing the situation it refers to. This could take the form of:

    a. Changing a poem's heading in order to re-contextualize the poem.

    b. Modifying details in the main body of the poem.

Another way of making this definition of rewriting more secure is to examine two key terms from the critical vocabulary of manuscript studies: malleability and instability. 'Instability' denotes 'the quality of being unstable' a 'lack of stability in regard to position, condition or moral qualities', the 'want of steadiness, fixity, or firmness of purpose or character'.[32] Early modern authors described the properties of manuscript texts in the same way. Herrick, for example, saw his printed collection *Hesperides* as a 'Firme and well fixt foundation' for his poetic reputation in his poem 'The Pillar of Fame'.[33] But malleability suggests quite different qualities, the 'capacity for being fashioned or adapted; adaptability, pliability'.[34] In other words, 'textual instability' describes a condition in which texts are unfixed, without implying a particular agent is responsible. 'Malleability' on the other hand, requires intention.

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[32] *OED*, 'instability', n.1.
[33] Herrick, I, p. 319.
[34] *OED*, 'malleability', n.1, n.2.

According to Marotti's account of the manuscript medium, these criteria are deficient by not accounting for imitations, answers and supplements.[35] However, as Steven W. May has rightly pointed out, this 'confuses two different practices'.[36] While answer-poems, imitations, supplements (and we can add, parodies) may be crucial details of a poem's reception history, they are not part of its transmission history. As May explains, they are 'separate acts of creativity rather than an editor's modification of an existing text'. That is, an answer-poem to or parody of Strode's 'I saw faire Cloris walke alone' (*CELM*, StW 747-834.5) is not a variant version of the poem, but an entirely new poem in its own right.[37] In fact, an answer-poem's linguistic codes function entirely on the basis of existing in a relationship of binary opposition to the original text. Alternatively, an imitation defines itself as a *response to* a particular text rather than a variant of that text.

The remaining sections of this chapter discuss these categories in relation to Strode's textual record. It is worth emphasizing from the outset that even across Strode's entire corpus, evidence of this kind of agency is extremely rare, and the verse collectors who did respond to Strode's poem in these ways are the exception rather than the norm. My observations are in keeping with Ruth Connolly and Tom Cain's recent edition of Herrick's manuscript poetry, one based on the 'socio-centric' principles of McKenzie, McGann and Marotti, in which the editors identify only one example of creative rewriting in the reception of Herrick's corpus, a single copy of his poem 'The Curse'. This is 'one of the relatively few examples of social editing in Herrick's work, where a copyist, deliberately or inadvertently, runs two poems together to shape a fresh one'.[38] This being the case, it has been possible in even the scope of a single chapter to discuss almost every extant instance in which Strode's poems were creatively re-written and adapted. The exceptional nature of these case studies in the context of the larger body of evidence will have important implications for establishing an editorial methodology for Strode's verse, a subject to which I turn in the final section of this chapter.

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[35] See Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, pp. 159-171. For more on answer-poetry, see E.F. Hart, 'The Answer Poem of the Early Seventeenth Century', *Review of English Studies*, o.s., 25 (1956), 19-29; Margaret Downs-Gamble, 'New Pleasures Prove: Evidence of Dialectical *Disputatio* in Early Modern Manuscript Culture', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 2 (1996), 1-33 http://purl.oclc.org/emls/02-2downdonn.html [accessed 3 February 2016]; S.K. Heninger Jr., *The Subtext of Form in the English Renaissance: Proportion Poetical* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), p. 120.

[36] May, 'Editing the Social Editors', p. 135.

[37] See, for example, an imitation in Bangor, MS 422, p. 42 (no *CELM* reference). The poem begins 'I saw faire flora ~~walke~~ take *the* ayre'.

5.2 Extracting and rearranging

When a verse collector extracted lines from part of a poem, they produced not just a contracted version of that poem, but a text with alternative referential capacities. Sometimes they could even enact a generic shift, transforming, for example, a longer love lyric into an epigram, or a funerary elegy written for a specific occasion, into a series of smaller, re-usable quotations. During the early modern period, extracting was considered an aspect of reading. Texts were mined for *sententiae*, and the products of this reading method can be identified in surviving commonplace books and annotated books.[39] More recently, extracts have also been discussed in relation to drama. Laura Estill argues that the dramatic extract is evidence that 'play-readers and playgoers viewed plays as malleable and modular texts to be altered, appropriated, and most importantly, used'.[40] Likewise, this chapter views the act of extracting from manuscript verse texts as vital evidence of how Strode's poems were read and used during the seventeenth century. They come to stand as clear moments when Strode's poems cease to function as they did according to the authorial version, and come under the authority of his readers.

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[38] Herrick, II, p. 267.

[39] Critical literature on commonplace books is large but key works include Peter Beal, 'Notions in Garrison: The Seventeenth-Century Commonplace Book', in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985-1991*, ed. by W. Speed Hill (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies in conjunction with the Renaissance English Text Society, 1993), pp. 131-147. See also Mary Thomas Crane, *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993). See also Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), esp. pp. 127-48; Adam Smyth, 'Commonplace Book Culture: A List of Sixteen Traits', in *Women and Writing, c. 1340-c.1650: The Domestication of Print Culture*, ed. by Anne Lawrence-Mathers and Phillipa Hardman (Cambridge: Boydell Brewer, 2010), pp. 90-110.

When is an extract not an extract? Collating texts, it is quite common to find verse collectors omitting certain words, lines or even stanzas, signalled in a critical apparatus by some form of the phrase 'does not copy'. This resulted in truncated forms of poems, and these need to be properly distinguished from extracts as examples of creative reception. For example, the scribe of two Christ Church-affiliated verse miscellanies - Folger MS V.a.103, Part I (Smyth MS) and Portland MS Pw V 37 (Welbeck MS) - copied in each of his miscellanies Strode's elegy on John Dawson the butler of Christ Church. In the Welbeck MS, he copied the poem in its original form, which consists of twenty lines.[41] But in the Smyth MS he includes only the first ten lines.[42] Rather than evidence of this scribe's specific interest in only these ten lines, the two forms of the poem he copied probably bear witness to the alternative sources from which the poem derived. It is most likely that the Welbeck MS derives from a source closer to the readings of Strode's authorial archetype.

Another explanation for truncated poems is scribal labour. As Marcy North explains, '[i]n general, only a few exceptionally fashionable poems of over 400 lines [...] were copied *within* the miscellaneous sections of manuscripts'.[43] The exceptional example used by North is Corbett's 'Iter Boreale' (*CELM*, CoR 279-315), a lengthy verse satire that comparatively dwarfs other popular miscellany texts in its length. Scribal labour – the effort exerted by compilers in producing their miscellanies – is therefore a useful indicator of which poems they particularly valued, and perhaps also explains why Strode's poems were so popular in miscellany culture. 'I saw faire Cloris walke alone' (*CELM*, StW 747-834.5) comprises only ten lines, and other poems, such as the eight-line 'Song' ('O when will Cupid shew such Art'; *CELM*, StW 874-91), and Strode's 'Poses for bracelets' (*CELM*, StW 664-74) are short, compact poetic texts that could have been copied with little effort. Scribal labour can therefore be used to identify poems that compilers saw little worth in transcribing in full. The same compiler of the Smyth MS and Welbeck MS discussed above, for example, began transcribing one of Strode's longer poems, 'To Mr Rives heal'd by a strange cure by Barnard Wright Chirugion in Oxon'. At sixty-six lines, this poem would have taken a considerable amount of time to transcribe, and the scribe suggests a hesitancy to exert such effort by abandoning the project after ten.[44]

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[40] Laura Estill, *Dramatic Extracts in Seventeenth-Century English Manuscripts: Watching, Reading, Changing Plays* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2015), p. xvii.
[41] Portland MS Pw V 37, p. 43 (*CELM*, CoR 479).
[42] Folger MS V.a.103, Part I, fol. 23^r (*CELM*, CoR 489).

The *CELM* classifies such texts as 'imperfect', but recognizing scribal labour as a factor affecting the length of poems challenges this category. There is a difference between a poem that is 'imperfect' because it derived from a copy-text missing material, or because it is found in a manuscript missing pages, from a copy that was not completed because of the effort required to do so.[45] The compiler of the

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[43] North, 'Amateur Compilers', p. 93.

[44] Portland MS Pw V 37, p. 117 (*CELM*, StW 1151).

[45] See for example, 'Verses on the cap by M^r Stroude', Bangor MS 422, pp. 37-38 (*CELM*, StW 952). The *CELM* describes this version as an 'eleven-stanza version' but as Joshua Eckhardt observes, the missing material is a consequence of the third gathering being split into three parts,

Dobell MS I, a collection in part based on autograph manuscripts, copied only the first stanza of ‘On a freind’s absence’ (*CELM*, StW 364-77), yet his version is far from ‘imperfect’. Instead, it agrees closely with the likely authorial readings and was used as the basis for Forey’s edition of the poem.[46]

The Dobell MS I’s truncated form of ‘On a freind’s absence’ in fact takes us closer towards defining what verse extracts are, and how they work. By adding ‘&c.//.’, next to the end of the poem, this copyist signalled that his copy derived from a longer version.[47] By contrast, verse extracts as an act of a more creative reception imply a closer and deliberate engagement with the text, a rearrangement of multiple aspects from it, in order to produce a shorter poem, formally distinct from the larger whole to which it is related. A unique copy of ‘On a blisterd Lippe’ (*CELM*, StW 268-99) in another Christ Church manuscript (Bod. MS Eng. poet. e.14; Lawson MS) offers a striking example of such engagement. One of the several compilers of this miscellany copied a ten-line version of a poem that originally consisted of thirty lines:[48]

23
[1] Chid not thy sprouting lipe not kill
[2] That Ivory plain with basfull skill
[3] Know it is an amorous ~~d~~< >dew,
[4] Which swells to court thy Corall hew
[21] the nectar which men striues to sipp
[22] Springs like a well upon thy lipp
[9] And doth soe well, become that part
[10] That change may seeme a fertill art
[29] If louly buds ascend soe high

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each of which was placed in a new position before foliation. The last stanza can be found on what is now page 95. See Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors*, pp. 273-74.
[46] Folger MS V.a.170, p. 28 (*CELM*, StW 370). See Forey, pp. 95-96.
[47] Folger MS V.a.170, p. 28 (*CELM*, StW 370).
[48] Two autograph copies exist to confirm this original length. See CCC MS 325, fol. 78^{r}-^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 268) and Portland MS Pw V 397, fol. 1^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 269).

[30] the parts below can not be dry.[49]

Where Strode's original poem digressed from the blistered lip of a mistress to discuss other kinds of blemishes in nature (moles, apples, diamonds), this collector has produced a terser, more tightly focused poem. It reads not just as a summary of the longer text from which the extract derives, but also as a text intelligible on its own terms. The position of these lines in the original version of the poem (shown in square brackets), draws attention to how much the producer of this extract engaged with the received text. Unlike the copyists who transcribed only the first lines of a poem and then abandoned the project, this scribe has taken several cuttings, and then grafted the pieces together in a unique combination. The cuttings have not simply been positioned in the order in which they originally occurred, but strikingly out of sequence. Even so, the resulting text still possesses a sense of continuity. This is particularly apparent in the relationship between the lines

> the nectar which men striues to sipp
> Springs like a well upon thy lipp
> And doth soe well, become that part
> That change may seeme a fertill art[.][50]

The conjunction 'And' originally functioned in Strode's version in relation to a completely different couplet: 'Whose wary growth is not aboue | The thrifty size which Pearles doe loue'.[51] Yet the connection functions seamlessly in the extracted version, and even suggests an artful arrangement and its producer's care to produce a text that does not simply read as an assembly of rearranged couplets. That is, the scribe of the Lawson MS has thought carefully about where to reposition ‘And’ in his own, shortened version of the poem. Continuity and closure is also present in the extractor’s positioning of the final couplet of Strode’s poem as the final couplet of his extract. The conditional clause in fact suggests a ‘turn’, a final, closing statement to round off the argument of the poem. Other copies of ‘On a blisterd Lippe’ suggest that, during the course of its transmission it lost the occasional couplet.[52] But what differs between these versions and the extract I have discussed is agency. Lines have been cut, rearranged and a new poem reformed rather than lost through the vagaries of manuscript transmission. Even if the intention behind this cutting may itself be ambiguous – the compiler may have been especially drawn to these images, or wanted to form a condensed summary of Strode’s longer text – it is possible to at least identify deliberation and care in the act of extracting and rearranging.

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[49] Bod. MS Eng. poet.e.14, fol. 14^{r} (*CELM*, StW 286). The *CELM* does not record this as a truncated version.

[50] Bod. MS Eng. poet.e.14, fol. 14^{r} (*CELM*, StW 286).

[51] CCC MS 325 fols 78^{r}-79^{v}, fol. 78^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 268).

The Lawson MS’s cutting from ‘On a blisterd Lippe’ is not an isolated example in Strode’s textual record. ‘To a Gentlewoman for a Frinde, with Black Eyes’ (*CELM*, StW 1084-1112), a poem that also takes unconventional beauty as its subject, exists in such a variety of shortened forms, that one could view extraction and rearrangement as a defining feature of its reception. In the earliest versions (there are two subtly different authorial versions, each consisting of forty-eight lines), the poem presented itself as a communication between a gentleman and his dark-eyed mistress, comparable to Walton Poole’s popular miscellany text, ‘If shadows be a picture’s excellence’ (*CELM*, PoW 1-77). Its speaker, described as a ‘Frinde’ of the poet in the Corpus MS and a number of other copies, praises his mistress's beauty.[53] He begins with her dark eyes, developing this into a more comprehensive *blazon* and then rebutting her anticipated objection to their match. He will not 'despise | The parentage from whence [she] rise[s]', knowing full well that he owes his own social privileges to his college: 'Wolseys roofe'.[54] By identifying the speaker as a member of Christ Church, Strode's poem becomes coterminous with the cultural world in which it first circulated: the scribal community of Christ Church.

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[52] The Dobell MS II copies a twenty-six line version, omitting lines 9-10 and 17-18. See Folger MS V.a.245, fol.54^r (*CELM*, StW 275). The Holgate MS copies a twenty-four line version, omitting lines 9-10, 17-18, 23-24, and 29-30. See Morgan MA 1057, p. 207 (*CELM*, StW 278).

But because of this fact, this aspect of the poem may have had limited appeal for audiences outside of the university. Strode himself may have been sensitive to this possibility, because the Corpus MS shows him drastically revising the poem not just through individual word changes ('I' for 'wee' (l. 3); 'attract' for 'invite' (l.11)), but by cutting the entirety of the poem's final section, which identifies the speaker as an Oxford student. The extent of Strode's revisions means that it is difficult to understand with certainty where he intended the poem in this revised form to finish, but it could have been with the final, un-deleted couplet: 'Though I like Cupid blind should goe | Might feele a dart by touching you'.[55] Strode's authorial cutting has the effect stripping the poem of the local references that must have made it appealing to Christ Church verse collectors.

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[53] CCC MS 325, fols 71^{v}-72^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 1084). The following manuscripts identify the speaker as a 'friend' of the poet: BL Add. MS 30982, fols 132^{v-r} rev. (*CELM*, StW 1088); CUL Add. MS 8470, fol. 9^{r-v} (*CELM*, StW 1091); Folger MS V.a.170, pp. 76-78 (*CELM*, StW 1094); MS V.a.245 (fol. 59^{r-v} (*CELM*, StW 1095); Harvard MS Eng 686, fol. 65^{v} (*CELM*, 1096); Rosenbach MS 239/27, pp. 191-92 (*CELM*, StW 1097); Bangor MS 422, pp. 64-65 (*CELM*, StW 1100). AUL, MS 29, pp. 207-09 (*CELM*, StW 1085) attributes the words to 'a Louer' (p. 207). In BL Add. MS 19268, fols 25^{r-v} (*CELM*, StW 1086) adds 'for a friend W.S.' in a different ink, most probably some considerable time after the original transcription.

[54] AUL, MS 29, pp. 207-09, p. 209 (*CELM*, StW 1085). I cite from the Elizabeth Lane MS, because the Corpus MS has been so heavily revised.

[55] CCC MS 325, fols 71^{v}-72^{r}, 72^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 1084).
This couplet is added to the Corpus MS as a marginal annotation:

Although like Cupid blind I goe,
May feele a Sting by touching you.
Though I like Cupid blind should goe
Would Might feele a dart by touching you.

'Would' is written in William Fulman's hand

However, despite Strode's intentions for this revised version, there is no evidence that any other verse collectors ever had access to this form of the poem. Only the subtle changes made by Strode and described above appear to have influenced the transmission history of this lyric. A collation of the surviving witnesses instead points to a situation in which collectors enacted a comparable kind of extracting during the course of the poem's transmission and reception. The textual evidence indicates that for some verse collectors, certain aspects of the poem may have been lost simply through the vagaries of transmission. A miscellany compiled by a member of the Griffiths family of Llanddyfnan, North Wales (Bangor MS 422; Griffiths MS; *CELM*, StW Δ 26), who appears to have spent time at Oxford, copies a version in which the references to 'Wolseys roofe' are present, but the blazon section is not. Similarly, Strode's couplet 'If to such powrefull shafts I yeild | If with soe many wounds I bleede', is rendered 'if at soe stronge a charge I yeelde, | if wounded thus I graunt the field'.[56] The addition of this couplet, not found in Strode's extensive autograph revisions is almost certainly a result of scribal emendation. In other copies, the references to 'Wolseys roofe' are missing, although the wider discussion of the social ranks of gentleman and mistress remains extant.[57] While it is difficult to identify how intentional such changes were, a version represented by four manuscripts, all of which date to the late 1630s, witnesses a coherent text in which the Oxford-specific references are absent, but the '*blazon* section' is still present. A defining feature of this version is its heading, which re-contextualizes the poem as general praise of black eyes, instead of presenting the situation of earlier versions, in which a gentleman uses praise to persuade the mistress of the suitability of their match.[58] This version contains both the scribal emendation found in the Griffiths MS ‘yf at soe strange a charge I yeeld | yf wounded soe I grant *th*e field’, as well as a further addition, ‘one w*i*th a thousand arrowes filled | cannot say this or *tha*t hath killd’.[59] Again, since neither addition is found in the Corpus MS, it is almost certain that these changes were introduced by a scribe. This being the case, it is striking to note how Strode’s revisions and such alterations brought about through miscellany reception tended towards the same endpoint: generality, rather than specificity.

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[56] Bangor, MS 422, pp. 55-56 (*CELM*, StW 1099). The same scribe copies the same version of the poem again on pp. 64-65 (*CELM*, StW 1100).

[57] BL Add. MS 22118, fols 23^{v}-24^{r} (*CELM*, StW 1087); Folger MS V.a.97, pp. 106-07 (*CELM*, StW 1094).

It was in this decontextualized form that the poem continued to circulate. A text derived from this tradition, but omitting the ‘*blazon* section’, is found in another late 1630s verse miscellany, and it was in this form that the poem was printed as Donne’s work in the 1654 printed miscellany *The Harmony of the Muses*.[60] Coinciding with this gradual process of extraction and rearrangement, however, was the more drastic cut made by a number of collectors, who took lines fifteen to twenty and re-contextualized them as a poem in its own right:

To his Mrs

Oft when I look, I may descry
a little face peepe throughe that eye
Sure thats the boy who wiselie chose
his throne among such beames as those
w*hi*ch if his quiuer chance to faile
may serue w*i*th darts to kill w*i*thall.

W:S:[61]

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[58] BL Egerton MS 2421, fols 22^{v}-23^{r} (*CELM*, StW 1105); CCC, MS 328, fols 78^{v}-79^{r} (*CELM*, StW 1092); Huntington HM 116, pp. 90-1 (*CELM*, StW 1110); Rosenbach MS 243/4, pp. 82-83 (*CELM*, StW 1098).

[59] CCC, MS 328, fols 78^{v}-79^{r}, 79^{r} (*CELM*, StW 1092). .

[60] CCC, MS 176, fol. 28^{r} (*CELM*, StW 1107); *The Harmony of the Muses*, ed. by Robert Chamberlain (London: Printed for William Gilbertson, 1654), sig. C4$^{r\text{-}v}$.

[61] BL Sloane MS 1446, fol. 23^{v} (*CELM*, StW 1089).

This version, copied in a miscellany with ties to Oxford and the Inns of Court, was also copied by five other verse collectors. In each of these other versions, the extract is titled 'The dart', and it was in this form that the poem was printed as Carew's in his posthumous *Poems* (1640).[62] The result of the cut is to transform the once longer lyric into a shorter, almost epigrammatic text, with its own distinct form and referential capacities, intelligible on its own terms. The intention that lies behind this particular act may itself be unclear, or suggest nothing more than that one collector at one juncture in the text's transmission and reception history was drawn to this particular image. If this is the case, it again conforms to the model of extraction found in earlier stages of the poem's reception, in which its referential capacities tended towards generality, at the expense of its larger argument.

Particular kinds of poems invited extraction more so than others, poems in which a collector may have seen little worth in transcribing the whole, because the entirety of the poem's content was not deemed relevant to their own requirements. Funerary elegies, for example, are highly specific, occasional texts. Written in order to be pinned to a coffin, to be read, passed around and transcribed at the funeral, they were produced for an audience of individuals who were united by a shared knowledge of the person commemorated by the text. And yet funerary elegies also contain within them a host of conventional generic tropes (Andrea Brady terms them 'ritualized utterances'. [63] This very conventionality is itself an essential quality of the genre's purpose to console. As Brady notes, 'the rhetorical corollary to these repeated formal behaviours is the topos or commonplace, which offers the reassurance of shared and repeated language'. Consequently, elegies and epitaphs will often give a reader the impression that they have read similar lines before. Strode's 'On the death of Sir Thomas Pelham' (*CELM*, StW 573-91) for example, begins with the observation that 'Meerely for death [that is, on account of death happening] to greiue and mourne | Were to repine that Man was borne'.[64] And these lines, urging consolation, are familiar in other funerary elegies, such as a widely circulated elegy on the death of Francis Lancaster, a Christ Church student killed in a duel with a captain: 'to shed a teare at their Decease | Were, to repine or grudge their peace.'[65] This being the case, elegies also contain within them a tension between the particular circumstances of an individual's death, and the generic expectations that the text will offer familiar, comforting consolation for the living and praise for the deceased. It is not surprising therefore, that this genre invited extraction amongst Strode's verse collectors. The compiler of Bod. MS Ashmole 47 (Ashmole MS) in particular showed great interest in reading for the gnomic, conventional discourse found in funerary elegies. In total, he extracted from two Strode elegies in two instances, and in each case, took elements from the poems in which any topical specificity is effaced by generality. One poem ascribed to Strode in Bod. MS Eng. poet.e.97, but most probably by one Peter Bradshaw, was originally intended to commemorate the death of Francis Lancaster, the Christ Church student named above.[66] Yet the poem's occasionality is transformed into more general terms through the collector's ten-line extract, titled simply, '=20 An

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[62] Bod. MS Rawl. poet.142, fol. 15^v (*CELM*, StW 1103); BL Add. MS 25707, fol. 45^v (*CELM*, StW 1104); Harley MS 3511, fol. 57^v (*CELM*, StW 1106); EUL MS La.III, 468, fols 4^r (*CELM*, StW 1108) 63^r (*CELM*, StW 1109). See also Carew, *Poems by Thomas Carew esquire*, sig. O6^v.

[63] Andrea Brady, *English Funerary Elegy in the Seventeenth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 1.

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[64] CCC MS 325, fols 82^{v}-83^{r}, 82^{v} (*CELM*, *StW 592).

[65] BL Add. MS 33998, fols 89^{v}-90^{r}, 89^{v} (*CELM*, StW 1253).

[66] Bod. MS Eng. poet.e.97, pp. 115-16 (*CELM*, StW 1252). The same copyist ascribes another elegy on the same subject to Strode, which is found only in this manuscript (p. 116; *CELM*, StW 553). The poem is ascribed to Bradshaw in BL Harley MS 6917, fols 91^{v}-92^{r} (*CELM*, StW 1258), Harley MS 6931, fol. 1$^{r\text{-}v}$ (*CELM*, StW 1254), and Sloane MS 1446, fols 36^{v}-37^{r} (*CELM*, StW 1255).

Epitaph'. In its fullest version, the poem runs to thirty lines; the poem opens with the universally applicable statement:

> To dye is natures Debt, and when
> death rock*es* asleepe feeble old men,
> we are not grievd, for why? they have
> an vndisturbd rest in their grave.[67]

The argument made by the poem is that Lancaster's specific circumstances cannot be interpreted in this way. Young deaths can, the poet concedes, be accepted as inevitabilities if the youth in question is 'worne out | with ffeavers, Agues, Aches, Gout'.[68] But Lancaster's was an 'untimely death', preventing him from living 'past his youth, enioy his Age, | and so become ripe.'[69] So far, so conventional, but Bradshaw or Strode – or whoever wrote the poem – adds specifics, for example, noting in the final lines the circumstances of Lancaster's death:

> It were Ingratitude not to moane,
> nor to bestow a sigh or groane.
> Nay & some spill too on his skill
> whose surgery it is to kill,
> Who onely vnderstand *th*e state
> of a Cutt finger, or a Pate
> broaken at Wasters; who, where they come,
> make *th*e Itch mortall vnto some;
> who when *th*e skin is only rar'd
> say the Veyne's cutt, or Bone displac'd,
> When by the Care more bloud is spilt;
> I hardly Juge where lyes *th*e guilt,
> who hath perform'd *th*e deadlyer part,
> the Captaynes Rapyer, or their Art.[70]

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[67] BL Add. MS 33998, fols 89^{v}-90^{r} (*CELM*, StW 1253).

[68] BL Add. MS 33998, fols 89^{v}-90^{r}, 89^{v} (*CELM*, StW 1253).

[69] BL Add. MS 33998, fols 89^{v}-90^{r}, 89^{v} (*CELM*, StW 1253).

[70] 'On *th*e Death of M^{r} ffrancis Lancaster', BL MS Add. 33998, fols 89^{v}-90^{r}.

These lines criticize the ineptitude of the surgeons who were unable to successfully treat Lancaster's wounds, inflicted by 'the Captaynes Rapyer'. Presumably, for those Christ Church students attending the funeral, these were important details, because they asked an important question about the cause of their friend's death: was the captain who struck Lancaster to blame, or could the Oxford surgeons have saved him on another day? But read from the perspective of an individual outside this interpretative community, such details would not have carried as much significance. So it was that the compiler of the Ashmole MS saw it fit to extract only the lines deemed to meet his own requirements. And he did not simply extract the first few lines. Instead, he takes lines 1-4, and then skips to lines 11-13. He fused line 13, which usually reads 'him past his youth, enioy his age', with the end of line 15 ('of Sicknesse torture him, when man'), and then continues to line 18:

=20 An Epitaph
[1] To dye is natures debt and when
[2] death rocks a sleepe feeble old men,
[3] wee are not greiv'd fro why? they have
[4] An undisturbed rest in their grave
[11] But when vntimely death besetts
[12 man in his Lustyer dayes nor letts
[13] him passe his youth; noe not when man
[18] Lives not his litle time his spaune;
[19] t'were vngratefull not to morne
[20] Not to bestow a sigh or Groane./[71]

Everything about this copy of the poem reveals just how much has changed in the process whereby the thirty-line elegy becomes the ten-line 'An Epitaph'. To begin with, that numerical label, '=20', a system used throughout the Ashmole MS is indicative of the compiler's requirements to store poetic texts in a system whereby they can be readily looked up and read again. The numerical heading transforms the occasional specificity of the funerary elegy into the universal. That is, the poem would now be applicable in any context where a youth had died.

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[71] Bod. MS Ashmole 47, fol. 34^{r} (*CELM*, StW 1257).

The Ashmole MS's compiler may have intended to use these lines in potentially real-life scenarios, a possibility suggested by other extracts from funerary elegies in his manuscript. For example, Strode's funerary elegy 'On the death of Sir Thomas Pelham', a text of thirty-six lines, becomes twelve, with the generalized heading, '=49 Vppon an old man'.[72] As if to confirm that he saw these lines as recyclable text, rather than a specific piece of literary property, he then repeats an extraction of six lines (the first six of the twelve-line version) later in his miscellany as '= On sorrow for *th*e dead', but copying only the first four lines.[73] While it is impossible to know for certain whether the copyist did reuse his extracts, their presence in his manuscript is indicative of a way of reading verse that identified the gnomic and the potentially reusable, sentiments that could have relevance in another future context.

Extracts constitute an overt intervention within a text through a disruption of its form. In each of these case studies, collectors saw the value of Strode's verse not in terms of its larger-scale forms and rhetorical structures, but in smaller areas of imagery, and self-contained arguments. The extracts – especially from funerary elegies – are suggestive of a tendency towards universality and generality in reception, rather than particularity. Furthermore, both exhibit a clear moment in which texts originally associated with Strode lose that association, as well as their formal integrity as they were received. Extracting poems was a way of using, as well as receiving them.

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[72] Bod. MS Ashmole 47, fol. 41^{r} (*CELM*, StW 586).

[73] Bod. MS Ashmole 47, fol. 51^{r} (*CELM*, StW 587). A similar practice occurs (although without extraction taking place) in Harvard MS Eng 686 (Wood MS). The scribe copies Strode's epitaph 'On a Gentlewoman who escapd the marks of Pox' (*CELM*, StW 410-31.5) as 'On a Gentlewoman disfigured by the Pox' (fol. 65^{r}; *CELM*, StW 418). Later in the Wood MS, the same scribe copies the poem again, although this time under the heading 'Of M^{rs} Bettie Lambert' (fol. 72^{v}; *CELM*, StW 419). Since Strode's autograph copy of the poem does not include the reference to Lambert, it is likely that the compiler of Wood MS appropriated Strode's epitaph for his own needs, in a manner comparable to the compiler of the Ashmole MS.

5.3 Recombining

The only example of Strode's readers recombining his verse with other poems is in the 1656 printed miscellany *Parnassus Biceps*, a collection almost certainly based on the manuscript collections of its compiler, Abraham Wright who was a member of St John's College, Oxford during the early seventeenth century.[74]

Wright included a copy of Strode's 'Song' ('Keepe on your maske, yea hide your Eye'; *CELM*, StW 835-67.5) that differs from any of the poem's other witnesses. Usually, Strode's poem consists of three stanzas in which the speaker complains to a mistress in conventional Petrarchan discourse. Stanza one addresses her eyes, which '[a]re worse then Basiliskes' to the speaker, followed by a stanza on her breasts 'hills of snow', whose 'azure paths leade to dispayre'.[75] Finally, the speaker shifts focus to her 'dainty voice & warbling breath', which '[s]ounds like a Sentence past for death'.[76] Wright – or whoever produced the version found in his miscellany – read the poem in a way that involved reception as extraction and expansion; the poem's final sestet is missing, and the remaining cutting is grafted on to 'A Song' ('In her faire cheekes two pits doe lye'; *CELM*, CwT 764.5-90) by Thomas Carew:

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[74] See Steven Wright, 'Wright, Abraham (1611-1690)', *ODNB*.
[75] CCC MS 325, fol. 70^r (*CELM*, *StW 835).
[76] CCC MS 325, fol. 70^r (*CELM*, *StW 835).

To his Mistresse.

Keepe on your mask and hide your eye,
For in beholding you I dye.
Your fatall beauty Gorgon-like
Dead with astonishment doth strike.
Your piercing eyes that now I see
Are worse then Basilisks to me.
Shut from mine eyes those hills of snow,
Their melting vally doe not shew:
Those azure pathes lead to dispaire,
Oh vex me not, forbear, forbear;
For while I thus in torments dwell,
The sight of Heaven is worse then Hell.
In those faire cheeks two pits doe lye
To bury those slaine by your eye:
So this at length doth comfort me,
That fairely buried I shall be:
My grave with Roses, Lillies, spread,
Methinks tis life for to be dead:
Come then and kill me with your eye,
For if you let me live, I dye.
When I perceive your lips againe
Recover those your eyes have slaine,
With kisses that (like balsome pure)
Deep wounds as soon as made doe cure;
Methinks tis sicknesse to be sound,
And theres no health to such a wound.
When in your bosome I behold
Two hills of snow yet never cold:
Which lovers, whom your beauty kills,
Revive by climing those your hills.
Methinks theres life in such a death
That gives a hope of sweeter breath.
Then since one death prevailes not where
So many Antidotes are nere:
And your bright eyes doe but in vaine
Kill those who live as fast as slaine;
That I no more such death survive,
Your way's to bury me alive
In place unknown, and so that I
Being dead may live and living dye.[77]

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[77] *Parnassus biceps*, sigs F2^{v}-F3^{v}.

What is most striking about this version is how difficult it is to discern the fusion between the two poems. This is partly because Carew's song not only shares the same metre, but also the same rhyme scheme, rhetorical structures and imagery as Strode's. Carew's poem makes essentially the same kind of complaint, namely, that in the mistress's beauty is also the potential for death:

A Song

In your faire cheekes 2 pitts doe ly
To bury those slaine by your ey
Then this at last doth comfort mee
That fairely buried I shal bee
My graue with lillyes, roses spred
Mee thinks tis life for to bee dead
Come quick and kil me with your eye
ffor if you let me liue, I dy.

2 when I perceiue your lips, againe
Reuiue those whom your ey hath slaine
with kisses, which like balsom pure
Deep wounds as soone as made can cure
Mee thinks tis sicknes, to be found
And there's no health to such a wound.
    Come then and kill mee with your ey
    ffor if you let me liue I dy

3 when in your bosom I behold
Two hils of snow, yet neuer cold
And louers whom your beuty kills
Reuiu'd by climbing up those hils
Me thinks theres life in such a death
That giues a hope of sweeter breath
    Come then and kil mee &c

4 But since there is no dying where
So many Antidotes are neare
And your brighte eyes haue kild in vaine
Those that are sau'd so soone as slaine
That I no more lack deaths suruiue
your way'es to bury me aliue
    In place unknowne, unseen, where I
    Can dying liue, and liuing dy[.][78]

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[78] Folger MS V.a.345, pp. 293-94 (*CELM*, CwT 785).

Its only formal difference is that it usually includes a refrain, ‘Come quick and kil me with your eye | ffor if you let me liue, I dy’, a feature missing from ‘Keepe on your maske’.[79] Wright’s conflation of the two texts solves this potential continuity error by omitting the refrain from all but two occurrences: once, after the stanza beginning ‘In youre faire cheekes 2 pits doe lye’, and as a final couplet to close off the poem. However, since he displays the poem as unbroken verse, rather than as a song arranged in stanzas, it is difficult to identify the origins of both poems as words to be set to music. The resulting poem comes to resemble instead, a coherent text in its own right. One reason for this is that Wright’s version splices together both texts at a suitable moment. Strode’s poem usually ends with the passive, despairing question, ‘O if an Angell torture soe | When life is donne where shall I goe?’, a question that implies finality and closure, because there is no clear answer to the speaker’s question.[80] In Wright’s version, there is instead a seamless fusion from Strode’s ‘For while I thus in torments dwell, the sight of Heaven is worse then Hell’.[81] Rather than retreat from the dangerous beauty of the mistress, Wright’s speaker continues to catalogue her fatal attractions, apparently with a certain degree of reflexivity as he states, ‘[w]hen I perceive your lips againe | Recover those your eyes have slaine’.[82] The only hint that we are actually reading what was previously two distinct speakers is the repetition of the image ‘hills of snow’, when Strode’s speaker implores the mistress to ‘Shut from mine eyes those hills of snow’, and Carew’s speaker alludes to those ‘hills of snow yet never cold’. [83]

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[79] Folger MS V.a.345, pp. 293-94.

[80] CCC MS 325, fol. 70^r (*CELM*, *StW 835).

[81] *Parnassus biceps*, sig. F2^r.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid.

This repetition is suggestive of a shared poetic vocabulary from which both poets were drawing, and it lays bare the likely explanation for Wright's fusion of these poems: their similarities. Wright's version involved the related processes of extraction and fusion in order to construct a new text, formally distinct from its predecessors. It is indicative of a way of reading that was motivated by recombination.

5.4 Continuing

Examples of verse collectors directly intervening in the linguistic codes of Strode's poems through creative additions of their own (rather than extracting from or recombining a poem with another text) are rare. Apart from some witnesses to 'Song' ('I saw faire Cloris walke alone'; *CELM*, 747-834.5), the only poem which was commonly received in this way is Strode's 'A Song' ('Aske me noe more whether doth stray'; *CELM*, 722-64). This poem was received by verse collectors in a way that disrupted the form of the poem, generating versions of the text distinct from the authorial original.

Scott Nixon has already discussed this aspect of the poem's reception in great detail, concluding that reading the poem from the perspective of its manuscript reception enables a radically different view of the poem from its earlier critics, who had approached it only through the lens of print. Where previous readers had noted a static and imitative quality in what they assumed to be Carew's fusion of metaphysical and cavalier modes, Nixon instead showed the poem to be 'far from […] an artistic dead end' and instead 'a poem whose form and structure are constantly changing, and which provokes a range of argumentative and artistic responses'.[84] The poem is framed as if it were a series of answers (or refusals to answer) to an unidentified interlocutor. In Strode's initiating poem, the responses begin with the phrase 'Aske me noe more' at the beginning of each stanza, which use the response as a means to praise the beauty of a mistress, for example:

> Aske me noe more whether doe stray
> The Golden Atomes of the Day
> For in ~~your~~ pure Loue heavn did prepare
> Those powders to enrich your hayre.[85]

As Nixon explains, this form is 'strophic in both its formal and thematic structure […] each stanza not only consists of the same number of lines, with regular rhythm and rhyme, but also furnishes a statement which is both self-contained and related to the central theme of the poem'.[86] In other words, the poem is comprised of discrete units of verse, much like the extracts I discussed earlier in this chapter. And in the autograph text, there is only the slightest hint of a progression between each stanza, because the fifth and final stanza, introduces the conjunction 'nor':

> Nor aske me more if East or West
> The Phoenix build her spiced Nest
> For unto you at last She flies
> And in your fragrant bosome dies.[87]

This conjunction implies a sense of finality to the repetitive sequence of stanzas, as does the image of the phoenix who 'at last' flies to the mistress' 'fragrant bosome' and dies. This image could also, however, be read as one with the potential for renewal and continuation, since phoenixes are traditionally understood to be capable of rebirth.

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[84] Nixon, '"Aske me no more"', pp. 98-99.
[85] CCC MS 325, fol. 100^{v} (*CELM*, CwT 722).
[86] Nixon, '"Aske me no more"', p. 106.
[87] CCC MS 325, fol. 100^{v} (*CELM*, CwT 722).

The significance of this image, not noted in Nixon's study, is fitting, because the poem did not end with these lines once released into manuscript circulation. As it was transcribed, some readers added material to it, rearranged its stanzas or 'renewed' the poem by composing answers and parodies. Some variants are undoubtedly the product of mis-transcription, of copying from an incomplete copy-text and/or collectors supplying half-, or mis-remembered information. A copy of the poem in the Conway Papers, for example, is the only witness not to include the stanza referring to 'the Golden Atomes of the day'. Its four stanzas do not look, as Carew's editor Rhodes Dunlap suggested, like an 'early draft', but like a copy of the text from a source at several removes from the authorial archetype:[88]

> Aske mee no more where Joue bestowes
> When June is past, the damaske Rose
> For on yo*u*r Cheekes and lips they bee
> Fresher then on anie tree./
>
> Aske mee no more where those starres light
> That downewards fall in darke of night,
> For in yo*u*r Eyes they sitt and theare
> Fixed become, as in their spheare.
>
> Aske mee no more where Nightingale
> When June is past puts forth her tale,
> For in yo*u*r sweete deuidinge throate
> Shee winters and keepes warme her note.
>
> Nor aske mee whether East or West,
> The Phoenix builds her spiced nest
> For vnto you shee allwaies flies
> And in yo*u*r fragrant bosome lies./[89]

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[88] Thomas Carew, *The Poems of Thomas Carew; with his masque Coelum Britannicum*, ed. by Rhodes Dunlap (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), pp. 102-03.

[89] BL Add. MS 23229, fol. 36^{r} (*CELM*, CwT 746).

This witness exemplifies an attempt to supply missing information. The 'damaske Rose', and the couplet 'For on yo*u*r Cheekes and lips they bee | Fresher then on anie tree', either derive from the scribe's own invention, or the source from which he copied the poem. Such variants differ from a more deliberate kind of rewriting found in other copies of the poem, in which scribes added material ranging from additional couplets, to entirely new stanzas, rather than alternative readings of individual words. These interventions suggest a resistance to closure, a resistance exemplified by a copy of the poem in a folio manuscript miscellany belonging to the Yorkshire antiquary Sir John Hopkinson (1610-1680). For the final stanza, Hopkinson's copy resists closure by resisting and disrupting the poem's stanzaic structure:

> Aske me noe more where East or West
> the Phenix builds her spicie nest
> for now to aged ashes growne
> she to thy haires is lately flowne
> And to p*res*erve her care now runne
> craues there a shadow from the sunne./[90]

It is difficult to tell precisely when such variants began, but it is safe to argue that it was not confined to verse collectors late in the poem's transmission, such as Hopkinson, who appears to have put his collections of verse together between the late 1640s and early 1670s. 'A Song on the prayse of his Mrs' in the Osborn MS I introduced a stanza immediately after what in Strode's autograph text is the fifth and final stanza:

> Nor aske me more, whither North or South,
> The vapours came from out yo*u*r mouth,

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[90] Bod. MS Don. d.58, fol. 30^v (*CELM*, CwT 741).

ffor unto Heaven they're sent fro*m* thence,
And there are made Ioves frankin~~sen~~cense.[91]

The Codrington MS introduces yet another stanza:

Aske mee no more, wither north or south
The vapours fly come from your mouth:
For vnto Ioue they fly from hence
And there become his frankincense.

Aske mee no more, wither doth run
When day is past the poasting sun
For in your bright and sparkling eyes
The sun doth daily sett and rise.[92]

As Nixon argues, there is little reason to suspect that these variants are the result of authorial revision. Instead, their scattered presence in a few isolated manuscripts suggests that '[t]he vast majority of variant readings, if not all of them, must be attributable to those involved in the circulation of the poem and its transcription in miscellanies'.[93] Compilers like the anonymous Christ Church member behind the 'frankincense' stanza, and Robert Codrington, rewrote the poem by expanding it as they transcribed it. And, while these variants do not contribute greatly to the poem's effect other than by repetition and imitation, they are suggestive of a striking willingness to alter a text's form through reception. There is a clear sense of deliberate rewriting on the part of the reader, to impose significant variation on their received copy-text.

Another way in which this poem was received was not just through the accumulation of additional stanzas, but through the addition of answer-poems and mock songs. Indeed, Strode himself composed two of his own, 'Answere or Mock-song' and 'A Moderating Answere to Both'.[94] But the significance of the fact that Strode wrote the initiating poem and a series of answers has not yet been fully grasped. The model of answer-poetry usually involves a poet responding as if in dialogue with another poet, such as Christopher Marlowe and Sir Walter Ralegh in 'The Passionate Shepherd to his Love' (*CELM*, MrC 10-19) and 'The Nimphs reply to the Sheepheard' (*CELM*, RaW 189-99).[95] And until 'Aske me noe more' was securely attributed to Strode, the poem could still be understood in terms of this dialogic relationship. But this attribution indicates that Strode responded to himself, continued and rewrote his own poems as if in dialogue with another poet. His authorship of each text sees him take on the role of initiator in 'Aske me noe more', antagonist in the 'Answere or Mock-song', and moderator in the 'Moderating Answere to Both'. He adopts the persona of a lover praising his mistress using Petrarchan discourse in 'Aske me noe more', but presents a counter-voice in the 'Answere or Mock=song' by unpicking the former text's images of praise with blame and repulsion. Each argument is countered, for example:

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[91] Yale Osborn MS b 200, p. 110 (*CELM*, CwT 737). This stanza is also found in Bod. MS Ashmole 47, fol. 53^{r}-^{v} (*CELM*, CwT 741) and BL Egerton MS 2421, fol. 9^{r}-^{v} (*CELM*, StW 748).

[92] Bod. MS Eng. poet.f.27, pp. 192-93, p. 192 (*CELM*, CwT 726).

[93] Nixon, '"Aske me noe more"', p. 104.

> Aske me no more whether doth hast
> The Nightingale when May is past
> For in your sweete diuiding throate
> She winters and keepes warme her Note[.][96]

The answering, critical voice retorts:

> Ile tell you true where men may seeke
> The Sound which once the Owle did shreeke,
> For in your false diuiding throate
> It lies, and death ~~come with~~ \is in/ its Note.[97]

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[94] CCC MS 325, fols 101^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 21) 102^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 238).

[95] Mary Hobbs notes that 'a poem and its reply are rarely by the same author'. See her *Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, p. 33.

[96] CCC, Oxford, MS 325, fol. 100^{v} (*CELM*, CwT 722).

[97] CCC, Oxford, MS 325, fol. 101^{r} (*CELM*, *StW 21).

‘A Moderating Answere to Both’ sees Strode adopt the voice of the mistress, and nullify the previous two arguments: ‘You call mee Thistle, you a Rose: I neither am, yet Both of those’.[98]

That Strode wrote all of these poems is suggestive of how he viewed his role as an author. He was in dialogue with his own texts, and responded to his own creations much in the way that readers and verse collectors did by adding stanzas and composing new answer poems. What makes Strode’s composition of poem and answer-poem distinct from for example, Milton’s ‘L’Allegro’ and ‘Il Penseroso’ is their differing circumstances of publication and reception. Printed in an edition of Milton’s verse, the relationship between Milton’s poem and answer-poem suggests poetic virtuosity, and a clear association with Milton’s authorship. But when Strode released his poems into circulation, there would be no way of understanding their relationship to each other as the works of a single author. Their sequential ordering in the Leare MS, for example, copied from the Corpus MS, makes no indication that these poems are anything other than a trio of verses arranged according to a thesis-antithesis-synthesis structure. Leare transcribed them as ‘A song’, ‘The answeare’ and ‘A Moderating Answeare to both’, without giving any indication of Strode’s authorship, which he surely knew.[99]

Strode’s own textual practice here was characterized by a tendency towards continuation, a resistance to closure. It is not surprising then, that the poem itself attracted many more responses from its verse collectors. Apart from the Leare MS and the printed miscellany *Musarum Deliciae* , no manuscripts contain all three poems.[100] Matthew Day (*d.* 1661), five times Mayor of Windsor, copied ‘Aske me noe more’ and its ‘Answere or Mock=song’ in a binary relationship.[101] Other miscellanies, meanwhile, copy only the more cynical answer poetry from this tradition. Peter Calfe (1610-1667) son of a Dutch merchant based in London, but with ties to the Christ Church community transcribes Strode’s ‘Answere or Mock=song’ ‘A Songe’, together with a text ‘On Lesbia’, beginning:

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[98] CCC, Oxford, MS 325, fol. 100^r (*CELM*, *StW 238).

[99] BL Add. MS 30982, fols 119^r (*CELM*, CwT 727); 118^v (*CELM*, StW 22); 118^r rev. (*CELM*, StW 239).

> Aske me noe more whether doth stray
> the sooty night when it is day.
> it Cloathes my Lesbia, dyes her skinne
> as blacke without as shees within[.][102]

The poem prompted many other responses, which are traced in detail by Nixon. This aspect of its reception, which saw collectors contribute new lines, verses, and appropriate its form constitutes a particularly extreme example of rewriting in the process of verse miscellany reception. But it is crucial to emphasize just why such apparent textual malleability exists in the first place. Not because of the sole agency of a verse collector who appropriates or rewrites a poem for the sake of it, but because of of linguistic codes already present in the poem. As Nixon suggests, ‘the main reason that “Aske me no more” attracted various replies and imitations was probably that it is a lyric which itself anticipates and incorporates debate’.[103] In this respect, the textual malleability witnessed by the transcriptions of this poem can be interpreted as a predictable response by readers to this poem’s voice and argument.

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[100] *Musarum deliciae: or, the muses recreation*, ed. by Sir John Mennes and James Smith (London: printed by J.G. for Henry Herringman, 1655) sigs I3^{r}-I3^{v}.

[101] Folger MS V.a.160, pp. 14 (*CELM*, CwT 753); 14-15 (*CELM*, StW 25).

[102] BL Harley MS 6918, fol. 41^{r-v} (*CELM*, StW 24).

[103] Nixon, ‘“Aske me noe more”’, p. 110.

5.5 Reframing, renaming, and rewriting 'faire Cloris'

A final case study will serve to illustrate the relationship between all kinds of rewriting discussed so far in this chapter. Strode's most commonly transcribed lyric, 'Song' ('I saw faire Cloris walke alone'; *CELM*, StW 722-834.5) attracted a mode of reception which involved a wide variety of interventions with the original text. The poem was not just copied down into verse miscellanies and songbooks, but extracted from or extended, parodied and answered, echoed and imitated. By looking at this case study, we not only gain much needed insight into the reception history of the seventeenth-century's most popular manuscript text, but also raise some crucial methodological questions about the ways in which literary-critical and editorial scholarship can engage with this material. What is the relationship between the variant texts of 'faire Cloris', and when do variants become distinct versions?

As Peter Davidson notes, Cloris is a 'typical choice of name for a pastoral heroine', and one who reappears in a large number of early modern lyrics ranging from Edmund Waller's 'To Chloris' through to Rochester's obscene 'Faire Chloris in a Pigsty lay'.[104] Strode's autograph copy of the poem provides no indication that he intended Cloris to be interpreted as a particular individual, but in the poem's reception there is a tendency to either apply this pastoral naming convention to a particular context, or to rename Cloris entirely. This began early in the poem's circulation history, with some Oxford verse collectors contextualizing the poem within the social setting of the University. For Francis Atkins of Wadham College, the poem was titled 'On a gentlewoman walking in the snow a D^r^ courting her'.[105] Other Oxford collectors treated the poem as if it were a specific reference to Alice Hutten, the wife of Richard Corbett. The anonymous compiler of Folger MS

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[104] *Poetry and Revolution*, p. 562.

[105] Folger MS V.a.97, p. 5 (*CELM*, StW 806.5).

V.a.345 titled the poem ‘On D^{r} Hut: daughter of C. C. by W: Stro’ (Cf. Figure 5.2) while another verse collector titled the poem simply ‘On Mrs Allice Hutton’.[106] Two other verse collectors framed the poem specifically as a communication between Corbett and his mistress, titling the poem ‘Dr Corbet to his M^{rs}’ and ‘Dr Corbett on his mistresse’.[107] The same situation is implied by ascribing the poem to Corbett, rather than Strode, as William Sancroft (1617-1693) Archbishop of Canterbury did in his verse miscellany.[108] The Codrington MS meanwhile, identifies Cloris as the wife of Brian Duppa, then Dean of Christ Church, indicating the text’s sustained appeal to a later generation of Oxford readers.[109] Christopher Wase (1627-1690) interpreted the poem as a non-Oxford text by titling it ‘Vppon a Ladye walkinge in Grais Inn walkes when it snowed’.[110] Alternatively, in the hands of some verse collectors ‘Cloris’ mutated into other names. For three verse collectors who presumably copied from a similar source, she became ‘Clora’.[111] In the verse miscellany of Nicholas Burghe, a Royalist captain, Strode’s poem became implicitly linked with the canon of Thomas Carew by renaming her Celia, Carew’s poetic mistress.[112]

The renaming and reframing of Cloris is a kind of rewriting, a demonstration of the malleability of Strode’s poem, which had the potential to be appropriated by verse collectors according to their individual needs. This textual evidence also attests to the wider circulation of Strode’s lyric beyond Oxford. By the time Thomas Codrington, an English merchant, copied the poem into the *album amicorum* of an interpreter to the German legation of the Duke of Holstein in Persia, Cloris had become 'Flora'.[113] But despite the poem's extensive circulation and appropriation, the high number of transcriptions did not translate into a high number of witnesses containing evidence of creative engagement with the text. I have in fact, identified only two examples, which could be said to qualify as creative rewriting, rather than either accidental variation or the composition of an entirely new poem, inspired by Strode's original.

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[106] Folger MS V.a.345, p. 145 (*CELM*, StW 812) Worcester College, Oxford MS 123 (II), fol. 7^{r-v} (*CELM*, StW 832).

[107] Yale Osborn MS b 62, p. 24 (*CELM*, StW 833); CCC, MS 176, fol. 15^{v} (*CELM*, StW 803).

[108] Bod. MS Tanner 465, fol. 42^{v} (*CELM*, StW 785).

[109] ‘On Mrs Duppa walking in her garden when it snowed, by W.S.’, Bod. MS Eng. poet.f.27, p. 55 (*CELM*, StW 751).

[110] Bod. MS Rawl. poet.117, fol. 163^{r} rev. (*CELM*, StW 781).

[111] Folger MS V.a.162, fol. 81r (*CELM*, StW 809); Leeds Brotherton MS Lt.24, fol. 2^{v} (*CELM*, StW 427.5); London Metropolitan Archives ACC/1360/528, fol. [26^{v}] (*CELM*, StW 762.5).

[112] Bod. MS Ashmole 38, p. 9 (*CELM*, StW 770).

The first example is a twelve-line version found in BL Stowe MS 962, a miscellany dated to 1637 and identified by Lara Crowley as the work of Oxford students.[114]

On Cloris goinge in the snow

When feathered rayne cam softly downe
I saw fayre Cloris walke alone
An Ioue descendinge from his tower
Did Court her in a siluer shower

The wanton snow flew on her breast
Like little birds unto theire neast,
But ouercome w*i*th whitenesse there
*F*or greefe, dissolu'd into a teare

Then fallinge on her garments hem
To decke her, freezed into a gem.
O would her breast that melt this snow
Could w*i*th my flame be melted soe.[115]

This particular witness combines both the rearrangement and addition of lines, and constitutes a version found in only this verse miscellany. Lines one and two are inverted, and an entirely new couplet, not found in Strode's original, has been added as the poem's final lines. The effect of these alterations is to transform the poem's linguistic codes, and in particular, augment the way in which the text encodes the relationship between Cloris and her observer. Glyn Pursglove, in one of the few critical discussions of the poem, has argued that Strode's lyric is not so much erotic or amorous, as an appreciation of Cloris's beauty: '[t]he strategy of observation has given Strode the means to do this; [Cloris] is sexually desirable but the poem avoids the suggestion that the poet himself feels such desires'.[116] That is, Strode's lyric draws attention away from the presence of the poem's speaker as an observer. Although the poem begins with the first-person statement, 'I saw faire Cloris walke alone', this is the only reference to the presence of the speaker; it is ambiguous who they are, what their relationship to Cloris is, and what the precise nature of their intentions behind their gaze are. But in the Stowe manuscript, this situation changes. By placing the 'I saw' statement in the second line, the speaker's presence as an observer becomes more conspicuous. And this interpretation is not just enabled by the inversion of lines one and two, because the additional couplet emphasizes the speaker's sexual desire for Cloris: 'O would her breast that melt[s] this snow | Could w*i*th my flame be melted soe'.[117] Just as Cloris can freeze rain, the speaker wants to melt her breast, that is, to woo her. And with the introduction of fire and flame, the binary opposites of snow and ice, this version calls upon the linguistic codes of Petrarchism, a genre inextricably linked with sexual desire.

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[113] Tallinn, Ajaloo Museum, Fond 114, nim. 1, S/U, 7a (*CELM*, StW 768).

[114] Lara M. Crowley, 'Attribution and Anonymity: Donne, Ralegh, and Fletcher in British Library, Stowe MS 962', in Eckhardt and Smith (eds.), pp. 133-51 (p. 136).

[115] BL Stowe MS 962, fol. 179^r (*CELM*, StW 800).

A result of these alterations is to clarify the relationship between speaker and subject through the lens of Petrarchan binaries, and to emphasize the amorous desire of the poem's voice. In the one other example of a creative adaptation of Strode's lyric, we find a similar transformation, with Cloris rewritten as an archetypal indifferent, even cruel mistress. This version survives in the Chute MS and the miscellany parliamentarian turned royalist captain, Sir Horatio Carey (Rosenbach MS 1083/17; Carey MS):

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[116] Glyn Pursglove, 'William Strode's "Fair Chloris" and Her Metamorphoses', in *Trends in English and American Studies: Literature and the Imagination: Essays in Honour of James Lester Hogg*, ed. by Sabine Foisner et al (Lewiston, NY: Edward Mellen Press, 1996), pp. 111-28 (p. 114).

[117] BL Stowe MS 962, fol. 179^{r} (*CELM*, StW 800).

On Chloris walking.

I saw faire Chloris walke alone
When feather'd rayne came softly downe,
and Jove descending from his Tower
to Court her in a silver shower.
The wanton snow flew on her Breast,
as litle Birde*s* vnto their Nest,
but, overcome w*i*th whitenesse there,
for greife it thaw'd into a teare,
whence falling on her Garmente*s* hem,
to decke her, froze into a Jem;
so that each drop was as a glasse
to see *th*e features of her face
Shee & Narcissus differd but in this
teares was her mirrors, water his.[118]

This fourteen-line version is titled in Chute's manuscript, 'On Chloris walking', while Carey opts for the generic label 'A Sonnett'.[119] Carey seems to be using the term in its more inclusive, seventeenth-century meaning, because his fourteen-line text does not satisfy the criteria of a sonnet proper; all of its lines are written in iambic tetrameters apart from line 13, a pentameter line beginning with a trochaic inversion. However, by adding the four lines to the end of the poem, the copyist responsible for this version did structurally and rhetorically allow for more traditionally sonnet-like argumentative qualities than Strode's ten-line original. In the Corpus MS, the poem ends with the unequivocally solid, concrete image of the gem, the end-point of the transformation described by the poem, of snow into water into a gem. In the witness found Chute MS and the Carey MS, however, the image of the gem is seized upon by the anonymous scribe who introduced these changes, transforming the image further into a metaphor for a mirror, and an opportunity to expand on the poem's mythological allusions. And within these additional lines, Cloris is transformed from beauty, into a more ambiguous figure. This transformation is realized as in a sonnet, in lines 13 to 14, as the speaker parses the differences between Cloris and Narcissus. It is by no means a positive image; by the end of the poem, Cloris carries connotations of self-obsession and narcissism. Carey himself may well have read the poem in such a way, because he copied it around other poems concerned with stubborn, cruel and inconstant mistresses. On only the previous opening is the manuscript version of Shakespeare's Sonnet 2, titled 'The Benefitt of Mariage', and immediately following Strode's poem is a copy of Henry King's 'Sonnet' ('I prethee turne that face away').[120] Carey therefore signals an interpretation of the poem within the Petrarchan convention of cruel mistresses, a significant leap from the poem's implicit meanings in its original form.

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[118] BL Add. MS 33998, fol. 62^{r} (*CELM*, StW 754); Rosenbach MS 1083/17, fol. 134$^{r\text{-}v}$ (*CELM*, StW 825). Carey's copy differs substantively only in the following respects: Heading] A Sonnett. 3. descending] descended 5. her] his 14. was] were.

[119] BL Add. MS 33998, fol. 62^{r} (*CELM*, StW 754); Rosenbach MS 1083/17, fol. 134^{r}-^{v} (*CELM*, StW 825).

These two examples constitute creative engagements with Strode's poem, involving not just the alteration of specific words, and the variation of certain lines, but the addition of entirely new content. They signal a clear moment at which Strode's text is creatively adapted for a new purpose, through the alteration of its linguistic as well as bibliographic codes. It is important however, to recognize that these case studies are outliers, untypical of the way in which Strode's poem was received. On the basis of the extant evidence, they tell us how three verse collectors read the poem, rather than how the poem was generally encountered. As such, it would be misleading to suggest that the creative engagements with Strode's original lyric displayed in these witnesses were representative of the ways in which the poem was read during the seventeenth century.

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[120] Rosenbach MS 1083/17, fols 132^{v}-33^{r} (*CELM*, ShW 16); 134^{v} (*CELM*, KiH 583).

An extreme example of rewriting Cloris, and one that displays clearly the distinction between creatively adapting a poem and writing an entirely new poem, survives in a manuscript associated with St. John's College, Oxford:

To his M^{rs} walking in
*th*e snow

See faire Splendora what a lovely bed
Of candid snow the courteous heavens have spread
O're earths congealed face, to entertaine
Th'Impression of thy feet, *th*e downy Raine
O'recome with whitenes of thy purer foote
Melts into teares: *th*e beames of Phoebus shoote
A warmth into it, least its pierceing cold
Offend thy softer skin: so being controll'd
By Sols obsequious glances, it implies
A contradiction (warme snow) such as lyes
within *th*e curious Iland of thy palme
Softer then bruised spices, sweet as balme
Stand then but still, & here will seeme to grow
A stately Cedar on a bed of snow.
Should rare Apelles see thee walke, his Ghost
Would leave Elizium & review o*u*r coast
By whom as in a Landskip might be drawne
Observe Splendora how each amorous flaque
Hovers about thy bosome: how they'le make
By their mild confluence a pure milky way
To run through *tha*t sleeke valley w*hi*ch doth lay
Betweene *th*e two round hillockes, thy soft breasts
Whose native coloures purity contests
With snow in whitenes, & excells, for marke
How being compar'd with thine it waxes darke
And changes colour: being asham'd to lye
On earth so low & yet so neare *th*e Sky
But banisht thence with whitenes, melts w*i*th greife
Into a falling teare & seekes releife
Within *th*e closure of thy garements hemme

Where it to decke thee freezes to a Gemme./[121]

The poem is titled 'To his M^{rs} walking in *th*e snow', but this poem takes as its subject 'faire Splendora', rather than 'faire Cloris'. Because of this, the poem has been attributed to William Cartwright, but the evidence for this attribution is dubious. It rests only on the fact that lines from a poem included in Cartwright's 1651 folio are also found BL Harley MS 6917, unattributed, and titled 'To Splendora Weeping', with a series of other 'Splendora' poems.[122] Yet this St. John's verse collector understood the poem to be Strode's work, because he ascribed it to 'D^{r} Strode', together with a copy of his 'In commendation of Musique'.[123]

Whether or not Strode actually wrote the poem is impossible to ascertain without further evidence. Most likely is that this collector encountered a poem that shared some similarities with the 'faire Cloris' lyric and ascribed his text accordingly. In actual fact, the poem is strikingly unlike the original Cloris text. At 30 lines, 'faire Splendora' is twice the length of 'faire Cloris', and the poem's rhetorical features exploit this. Where Strode's original poem simply narrates the transformation of a snowflake to a gem, this adaptation amplifies images and lines from Strode's poem into a more playful, argumentative text. Instead of describing Splendora's/Cloris's beauty, the speaker attempts to engage her in argument, imploring her to

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[121] Bod. MS Malone 21, fols 78^{v}-79^{r} (*CELM*, CaW 67).

[122] Willa McClung Evans, 'To Splendora', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 54 (1939), 405-11. See also BL Harley MS 6917, fols 75^{r-v} (*CELM*, CaW 71); 75^{v} (*CELM*, CaW 70); 75^{v}-76^{v} (*CELM*, CaW 69); 76^{v}-77^{r} (*CELM*, CaW 68); 77^{r} (*CELM*, CaW 73); 77^{r-v} (*CELM*, CaW 72).

[123] Bod. MS Malone 21, fols 78^{v}-79^{r} (*CELM*, CaW 67); 79^{r} (*CELM*, StW 180).

> See faire Splendora what a lovely bed
> Of candid snow the courteous heavens have spread
> O're earths congealed face, to entertaine
> Th'Impression of thy feet[.][124]

So where Strode's 'faire Cloris' was a terse and measured song, 'faire Splendora' is reminiscent of Donne's 'Songs and Sonnets'. Its speaker is pleased by the intricacies of his own argument, drawing attention to moments of paradox. The snow receives '*th*e beames of Phoebus' and so 'implies | A contradiction (warme snow)'.[125] And where Strode's speaker does not necessarily suggest a sexual attraction to Cloris, the speaker of this poem clearly does, as he traces the movement of the snowflake down her chest:

> Observe Splendora how each amorous flaque
> Hovers about thy bosome: how they'le make
> By their mild confluence a pure milky way
> To run through *tha*t sleeke valley w*hi*ch doth lay
> Betweene *th*e two round hillockes, thy soft breasts
> Whose native coloures purity contests
> With snow in whitenes[.][126]

Consequently, it would be difficult to read this text as simply an act of reception. Instead, its departures from Strode's original constitute a distinct act of creativity. Even so, it is clear to see how reliant the text is on the basic structure and imagery of Strode's poem, featuring as it does a woman whose pale breast provokes a snowflake to metamorphose into a gem. The snow is 'downy Raine' which is 'O'recome with whitenes' from its contact with Splendora and

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[124] Bod. MS Malone 21, fol. 78^{v} (*CELM*, CaW 67).
[125] Bod. MS Malone 21, fol. 78^{v} (*CELM*, CaW 67).
[126] Bod. MS Malone 21, fol. 78^{v} (*CELM*, CaW 67).

> melts w*i*th greife
> Into a falling teare & seekes releife
> Within *th*e closure of thy garements hemme
> Where it to deck thee freezes to a Gemme./[127]

The poem titled 'To his M^{rs} walking in the snow' in MS Malone 21 is a striking example of how Strode's original, short lyric formed the raw material for subsequent, creative acts of rewriting. The collector used individual words, images, and even rhetorical constructions from Strode's poem to form an entirely new, longer text with alternative literary effects. Even so, it is important to recognize that this is not an example of 'social editing', but an imitation; the use of allusion and appropriation to form a poem that may be reminiscent of Strode's original, but comprises of a different form and structure. 'Faire Splendora' is useful example, because it raises the question of when 'socially editing' a lyric, by interrupting and altering its linguistic codes, becomes something quite different; the production of an entirely new poem which functions less as a variant version of the authorial archetype and should properly be considered an imitation. Although Cartwright – or whoever produced this poem – used specific words, phrases and imagery from Strode's poem, it would be wrong to view the poem as a 'socially edited' version of Strode's. Instead, it functions in its own right as an act of creativity quite separate from Strode's, related to the original text through a network of allusions, echoes and correspondences rather than textual variants.

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[127] Bod. MS Malone 21, fol. 79^{r} (*CELM*, CaW 67).

5.6 Towards an editorial methodology for Strode's English poems

The insights of this chapter have important implications for a future edition of Strode's poetry. This final, concluding section synthesizes these implications and uses them to make a series of recommendations about how a long-overdue editorial project would respond to the issues presented by Strode's textual record. The question of what an edition of Strode may look like has already been considered. Adam Smyth argues that editors ought to respond to the multiple manuscript and print witnesses by embracing variant textuality as a guiding methodology. He suggests that 'an edition of Strode's work that simply duplicates the authorial word – that uses these variants to reclaim their original – really misses the point'. [128] Instead, he proposes that an approach comparable to Michael Rudick's 'historical edition' of Ralegh, one which presents multiple copytexts for each poem in order to demonstrate the different ways in which they were received, should be applied to Strode. 'The application of Rudick's method – an attempt to edit the various Strodes that the mid-seventeenth century created – might be one way of capturing the significance of this poet'.[129] Elsewhere, Smyth argues that 'this edition needs to consider the importance of textual transmission and malleability, since much of the significance of Strode's verse lies in its wide circulation and in the great diversity of states of almost every extant poem – a diversity that [...] Strode recognized and indeed endorsed'.[130] For Smyth, Strode's poetry constitutes an opportunity to respond to 'pleas for a more "socialized" practice of editing which considers the circulation and transformation of texts' that 'few editions have answered'.[131] In other words, Smyth sees Strode's poetry as the perfect testing ground for the methods of social editing.

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[128] Smyth, 'Textual Transmission, Reception, and the Editing of Early Modern Texts', *Literature Compass,* 1 (2004), 1-8 (p. 6).
[129] Ibid.
[130] Smyth, '"Art Reflexive"', p. 463.
[131] Ibid., p. 464.

At the outset of this study, I had also anticipated that Strode's poetry would confirm the paradigms of social authorship and textuality, and that Smyth's proposals would indeed be an appropriate response to the particularities of Strode's textual record. Having examined the material in greater detail, I now recognize that there are good reasons to reject these proposals, and indeed to use the case study of Strode to help refine current editorial practice in the field of early modern manuscript miscellany studies. Strode's poetry might instead be allowed to determine its own methodology, rather than used as a means to demonstrate a set of entrenched ideas about manuscript culture. The application of one particular model to a case study will not necessarily yield results. Smyth was himself aware of this when he noted that Rudick 'is responding to the particular conditions facing an editor of Ralegh'.[132] He does not however, ask: what are the particular conditions facing an editor of Strode, and how might they best be approached? Colin Burrow has even gone as far as to argue that even the same author requires bespoke editorial treatments for their different works, based on his experience of editing the poetry of Ben Jonson. 'Perhaps', writes Burrow,

> only one thing is certain: that consistency of editorial method is likely to result in inconsistency of output. An editor of Jonson's poems must respond carefully to the individual histories of individual poems, and pragmatically adapt editorial principles to suit those histories.[133]

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[132] Smyth, 'Textual Transmission', p. 6.

[133] Burrow, 'The Poems: Textual Essay', *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson Online* http://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/k/essays/The_Poems_textual_essay/ [accessed 3 January 2016].

As far as Strode's textual record is concerned, we cannot simply advocate the random selection of strikingly different variant versions. The situation is more complicated, and involves one of the following situations for each poem.

(i) Single sources

The least problematic situation is when Strode's poems survive in only one source. This is true of all of the Group II (post-1633) poems, apart from 'On his Majesties Fleete' (*CELM*, StW 502-05), 'The Townes new teacher' (*CELM*, StW 1178-88) and 'A Dialogue on the Calott' (*CELM*, StW 70-72). In these cases, an editor has only the Corpus MS as the basis for an edition. In such cases, there is no editorial alternative but to provide a transcription of the individual source, making allowances for emendations and expansions where necessary.

(ii) Autograph manuscripts and non-autograph witnesses

Strode's pre-1633 poems (Group I) tended to circulate far and wide. The majority survive in at least one autograph copy in either the Corpus MS or Portland MS, an unusually high number compared to poets of comparable popularity. The autograph witnesses vary considerably in the extent to which Strode revised them. Some, such as 'Song' ('O when will Cupid shew such art'; *CELM*, StW 874-91) contain no evidence of authorial revision, whereas others, notably 'To a Gentlewoman with Black Eyes, for a Frinde' (*CELM*, StW 1084-112), attest to Strode's repeated reworking over a long period of time. Such cases include evidence of authorial revision ranging from changes to particular words and lines, through to the deletion and addition of multiple lines. In addition to this, we have to hand large numbers of non-authorial witnesses, ranging from fewer than ten to over one hundred.

In responding to this situation, it is important to recognize the value of both the autograph, and non-autograph evidence. This was not the case in Forey's edition, which presents only Strode's final intentions, based on the evidence of the Corpus MS and only a partial collation of the non-autograph evidence. But this is not satisfactory for two reasons. Firstly, as this thesis has demonstrated there is no evidence that Strode's final intentions were ever circulated much further than the autograph manuscript, meaning that Forey is editing a version of Strode's writings that we cannot be certain were ever actually read beyond the Corpus MS. It should be noted that the pre- and post-revised versions of Strode's texts do not simply differ in minute details but sometimes in much more significant ways. 'An Opposite to Melancholy' (*CELM*, StW 641-63), for example, includes an extra couplet that is not found in any of the non-authorial manuscripts. Secondly, as Chapter 2 demonstrated, it can sometimes be very difficult to discern precisely what Strode intended, based on the evidence of the Corpus MS, which is sometimes so heavily revised as to make it nearly illegible, a situation well illustrated by the autograph copy of 'On a Glass Falling on the Stones Without Breaking'.[134]

How can Strode's ongoing revisions best be edited? And given the survival of autograph evidence, are there any good reasons to collate the many non-authorial witnesses? My own proposal is that the variants produced by both Strode and his readers are significant for different reasons, and that an edition faced with this range of evidence should respond with a set of methodologies that cater for the agencies of author and reader. This is not a compromise, but the most textually secure method to enable an edition that is both thorough and inclusive, but also selective. It necessitates treating Strode as an entry-point into the transmission of his poems, but also recognizes that he or his readers could alter those poems at different stages in those poems' reception and transmission histories.

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[134] CCC MS 325, fol. 93^{r-v} (*CELM*, *StW 437).

A good example of a poem that benefits from this method is 'On Faireford windores' (*CELM*, StW 483-501). Editing this poem presents a number of challenges. First is the problem of establishing Strode's text, since it is one of the most significantly revised poems in the Corpus MS, where Strode heavily reworked certain lines, altering in places, not only the scansion, but the potency of imagery, clearly an issue of real pertinence in a poem that is itself about the effects of visual language. If these changes, some of which suggest changes for change's sake, how should they be represented? One option would be to simply present Strode's latest intentions, but this would obscure the gradual process of composition that the Corpus MS represents, as discussed in Chapter 2. Rather than encode the variant readings caused by authorial revisions within the main body of text (which would greatly inhibit comprehension), an apparatus displaying the genetic stages of the text's process of composition would be provided below the poem.

(iii) No autograph evidence

For a number of poems in Group I, we have to hand no autograph evidence, or fragmentary autograph evidence. In these cases, it is possible to imagine a situation in which we used 'the next best thing' to an autograph manuscript as the basis for a copy-text: a copy of a poem from a manuscript miscellany with demonstrably close connections to Strode. In Chapter 3, I outlined a group of manuscripts that demonstrate connections with Strode's autographs: the Leare MS, the Osborn MS

II, the Elizabeth Lane MS and the Dobell MS. Based on this knowledge, it would be reasonable to assume that any one of these manuscripts would contain copies of Strode's poems for which we lack an autograph witness, sourced directly from, or close to the lost authorial archetype. It is also true that in the majority of cases, these manuscripts tend to form a cluster of closely associated readings (along with other Christ Church miscellanies, such as the Morley MS and Killigrew MS), which are indicative of their derivation from a shared source.

However, I would still argue that it is necessary to carefully collate and classify all extant manuscripts. Without doing so, we risk overlooking vital clues about a poem's transmission and social history. Consider for example, the case of Strode's lyric 'On a freind's absence'. The second and third stanzas of this poem survive as fragments at the end of Strode's Corpus manuscript, and in her edition of the poem, Forey chose to conflate these with another fragmentary copy of the first stanza in the Dobell MS I. Since the Dobell manuscript I was compiled by an individual with good access to Strode's manuscripts, Forey's decision was in its own way reasonable, but a full collation of the manuscript evidence yields much more informative results. The results of my collation identified the Morley MS as the closest extant descendant of the lost authorial manuscript. It also uncovered a series of associations between Morley's copy and those found in the Leare MS and the Killigrew MS, which points towards the possibility that Morley shared poetry with those other Christ Church collectors. Therefore, collation helps to ascertain social, as well as textual connections.

Conclusion

This thesis presents, reviews, and in some instances, discovers for the first time, essential biographical, bibliographical and cultural contexts, all of which are necessary for Strode's re-introduction to early modern studies. Further discoveries about Strode's life and works will almost certainly come to light. At the very least, it is highly likely that future manuscript scholars will identify new witnesses to Strode's work, and we can hope that the manuscripts of Strodean texts known to be missing, such as *SOC* and the untraced fair copy of *The Floating Island*, will also be uncovered. As far as Strode is concerned, the archive remains only a lightly trodden path. Clearly, there is still a great need for a scholarly edition of Strode's poetry (an issue to which I attend below), as well as translations of his Neo-Latin and Greek verse, orations and letters. But on what terms should a study of Strode as a poet proceed?

The main aim of this thesis has been to reassess Strode's place in seventeenth-century scribal culture, and to make the case for his re-introduction to early modern studies. This research agenda has been approached from a variety of perspectives: biographical and literary-historical, bibliographical and material-textual. It should now be clear that Strode should be considered a crucial figure in the history of scribal publication in the seventeenth century. Strode's prominence can be grasped not only by looking at the numbers of witnesses presented by the *CELM*, but by witnessing how well represented Strode is in a large number of verse miscellanies.

And yet, I would not argue that it is now the task of scholarship to attend to Strode as if he were a major figure in seventeenth-century poetic culture. This is not to detract from Strode's prominence in manuscript verse culture, but to argue for the importance of qualitatively understanding what the remaining, material evidence tells us about Strode's position within that culture. For Strode's most socially (and at least in one case, familially) proximal collectors at Christ Church, Strode was indeed recognized as a major author. For collectors at Christ Church, the initials 'WS' carried associations of Strode as much as Shakespeare (and it is indeed worth asking whether or not Shakespeare's second sonnet, so widely circulated at Christ Church during the 1620s and 1630s, may itself have been received as much as a Strode text, as a Shakespearean one). Certainly, the canon of English lyric poetry presented by collectors like Daniel Leare, in which Strode significantly outnumbers all other poets, looks like one highly disconnected from contemporary academic reflections of that canon in literary studies. However, as I argued in Chapter Four, finding much evidence that Strode was widely acknowledged as an author beyond Oxford is difficult, save for in a small number of unrepresentative verse miscellanies. By the time Strode's verse had left Oxford, it is doubtful how aware miscellanists were, of whose poems they were reading. Indeed, one of the strange and frustrating questions raised by Strode's poetry is how little evidence there is that he was widely acknowledged as a poet at all during this period, despite the prodigious number of transcriptions made of his poems.

Another important next-step in approaching Strode is to attend to the human, as well as textual company in which his poems were produced, circulated and read. The scribal communities of the University of Oxford – particularly Christ Church – but also Cambridge University, still require attention from literary and textual scholars. This thesis has demonstrated the extent to which scribal publication functioned differently from Strode's perspective, than it did for Henry King. By doing so, it also demonstrates that individual authors retain value as case studies that illuminate the workings of scribal communities. There remain a number of poets who studied or spent time at Christ Church (such as Jasper Mayne, John Earles, Zouch Townley, Thomas Goffe and George Morley), but also poets who circulated extensively within this scribal community (notably John Donne)[1] who await further scholarly attention. Together with Christopher Burlinson's forthcoming edition of Richard Corbett's poems, it will be important to investigate to what extent the scribal networks within which poems by these authors circulated, intersect with those of Strode's. Templates for such a study could take the form of Steven W. May's *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets* (1999), or Harold Love's *English Clandestine Satire* (2004), in combining questions of prosopography, attribution, literary history, literary criticism and textual criticism.[2] By doing so, such a study would enable the universities to be written into the literary history of early modern England as important, if understudied sites of cultural production.

One of the key questions asked by this thesis concerns the relationship between Strode's circulation in manuscript and our own editorial methodologies. During the course of my research, my answers to this question have changed significantly. At the outset of this project, I had expected Strode to conform to the paradigms of manuscript culture established by Marotti, in which authorial intention mattered very little and in which a reader would seek to adapt what they had copied out into their miscellany according to their own needs. In many ways, Strode still confirms some of Marotti's picture of manuscript-publishing authorship, in which lyric poets 'professed a literary amateurism and claimed to care little about the textual stability or historical durability of their socially contingent productions'.[3] I also agree that poetry circulated and received in Strode's chosen medium requires attending to its 'material specificity (rather than in [its] edited "ideal" forms)'.[4] Where I differ from Marotti, however – and from those scholars who follow his precedent – is in terms of our understanding of the relative roles of the author and reader in this system, and it is here, I think, that Strode has something important to say to studies of authorship and readership in the verse miscellany.

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[1] Daniel Starza Smith suggests that John Donne jr., Strode's contemporary at Christ Church, would be a good place to start investigating these questions from the perspective of Donne's verse. See *John Donne and the Conway Papers*, p. 297.

[2] See Steven W. May, *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets: The Poems and Their Contexts* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1991); Harold Love, *English Clandestine Satire, 1660-1704* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). For a recent study of the Inns of Court as a site of textual production and circulation, albeit predominantly from the perspective of drama, see Jessica Winston, *Lawyers at Play: Literature, Law, and Politics at the Early Modern Inns of Court, 1558-1581* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). See also Winston's essay, 'Lyric Poetry at the Early Elizabethan Inns of Court: Forming a Professional Community', in *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*, ed. by Jayne Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 223-45.

The most important way in which Strode challenges this model is by rendering authorship visibly and materially present. Marotti applied 'Foucault's notion of "authorless discourse"' to manuscript poetry, 'because it is useful for approaching certain literary works as the articulation of (often conflicting) cultural codes, the product less of romantically conceived individual geniuses than of the language of social life at a particular historical moment'. Manuscript verse, 'subject as it was to reader emendation, to answer-poem responses, to parody, to unconscious and conscious revision, approaches the condition of such authorless discourse, especially for an audience beyond the original coterie'.[5] Manuscript circulation, as this thesis has shown, certainly did involve some of the responses outlined by Marotti, but it is important to be more precise about agency, to recognize the crucial difference between 'unconscious and conscious' changes introduced to a text; in short, to recognize that textual instability (a textual condition) and malleability (a quality brought about only by the enactment of intention) are distinct from each other. Marotti's conclusions about manuscript authorship are not just a consequence the influence of a blend of post-structuralist theory and the socio-centric theories of text espoused by McGann and McKenzie, but should instead be recognized as a product of the case studies his theories largely depended on, notably Donne and Ralegh for whom evidence of authorial activity in the form of surviving manuscripts no longer survives. In other words, there is a circularity about Marotti's conceptions of authorship; because he does not deal with physical evidence of authors' textual agency, authors have little role to play in his understanding of manuscript culture.

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[3] Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, p. 2.
[4] Ibid., p. xii.
[5] Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet*, p. 13.

Approaching Strode through Marotti's framework, a problem emerged early in this research in terms of understanding precisely what role the autograph manuscripts should play. There was ample evidence both of how readers transcribed Strode's poems, but also how Strode composed and revised. I had anticipated that the Corpus MS and Portland MS would be useful only in so far as they would serve as 'base texts', against which the variants introduced by Strode's readers could be collated. Their value, I imagined would be purely practical, helping us to understand with relatively more ease than is usually the case, the direction in which textual variants occur.[6] Approaching Strode's manuscripts through the lens of Marotti (but also McGann and McKenzie), I assumed that the real value of Strode as a case study would lie in examining what was distinctive about the ways in which his readers' manuscripts differed from his autographs, bearing witness to the malleability of his poems and the creative acts of rewriting endemic to the culture of the manuscript verse miscellany. Strode would ultimately serve (or so I thought) as a particularly extreme case of textual malleability.

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[6] Bland, 'Stemmatics and Society', p. 33.

However, after transcribing and collating Strode's poems, the situation looked very different. Instead of showcasing numerous examples of creative rewriting, I could point to fewer than ten poems (and fewer than ten exemplars) that actually displayed characteristics of social textuality. Instead of exposing a reception history characterized by malleability, appropriation and a lack of interest in authorship, my analysis pointed towards stability, and a surprising and consistent degree of care taken by Strode's compilers in transcribing his texts. The evidence I had identified did not quite fit with the image of manuscript culture as 'not at all interested in correcting, perfecting, or fixing texts in authorially sanctioned forms'.[7] To use Marotti's words, 'Authorship [and] textuality [...] look different in this framework'.[8]

Autograph evidence in this way, is not simply of value as a 'base text', but in providing a complication to our understanding of manuscript culture. Jeanne Shami made a similar point when reflecting on the value of her discovery of an authorial manuscript of Donne's sermons:

> The discovery of an authorial manuscript, particularly at this point in the history of textual scholarship, creates as many problems as it solves. It introduces the complication of an authorial presence into the textual status of Donne's sermons at a time when scholars are being urged to abandon both their fascination with the isolated author, and their desire for a theory of origin that will explain textual difficulties.[9]

Shami's reflections are highly apposite for Strode as well, because as much as the Corpus and Portland manuscripts can aid the accuracy of analysing the transmission of Strode's poems, they also multiply textual problems. The Corpus manuscript in fact illustrates this point well, because it does not always offer a single authoritative reading or stable base text against which to judge other variants, but in many cases a plurality of (not always immediately) legible alternatives.

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[7] Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, p. 135.
[8] Ibid., p. xii.
[9] John Donne, *John Donne's 1622 Gunpowder Plot Sermon: A Parallel Text Edition*, ed. by Jeanne Shami (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1997), p. 3.

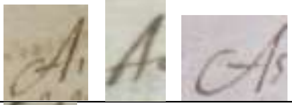
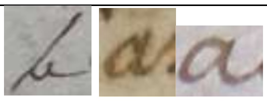
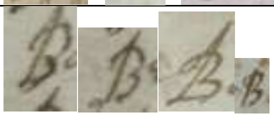
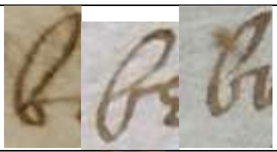
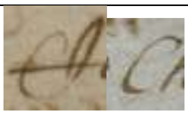
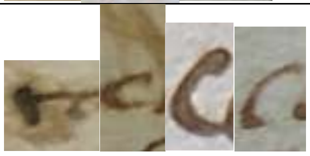
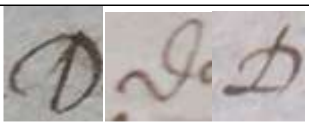
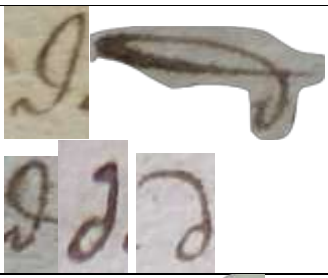
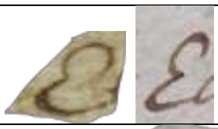
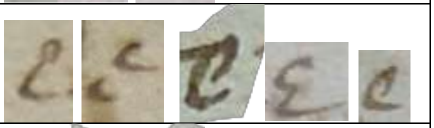
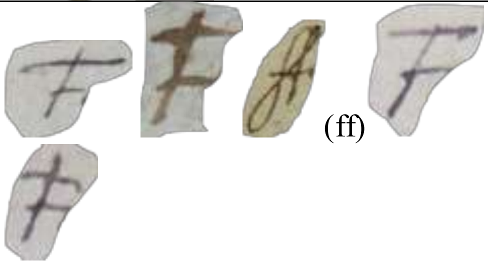
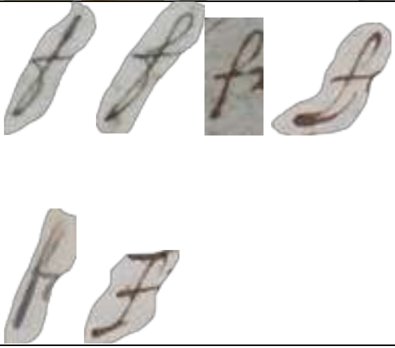
The significance of these findings does not lie in arguing for a complete revision of our understanding of how texts were transmitted and received in manuscript miscellanies. A single case study does not establish a new paradigm, but perhaps that is the point; evidence should be able to determine its own methodologies, rather than subject to the application of theories that risk distorting the significance of at least some of that evidence.

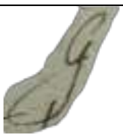
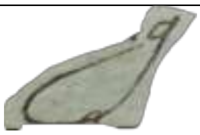
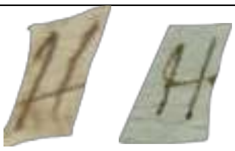
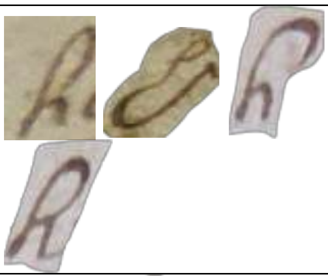
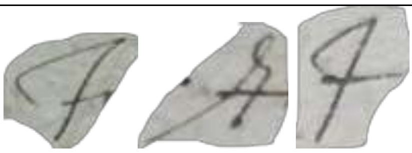
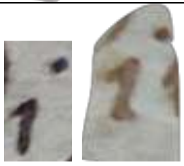
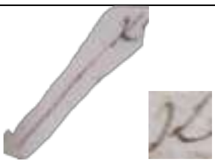
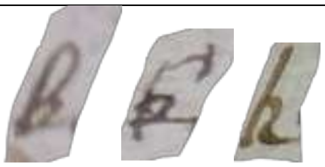
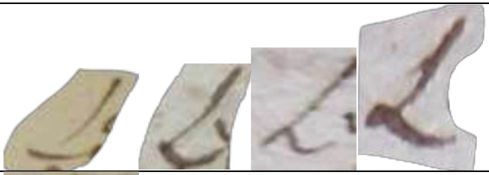
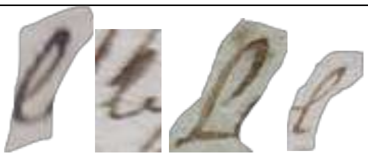
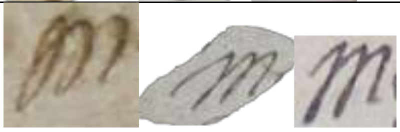
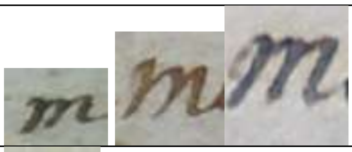
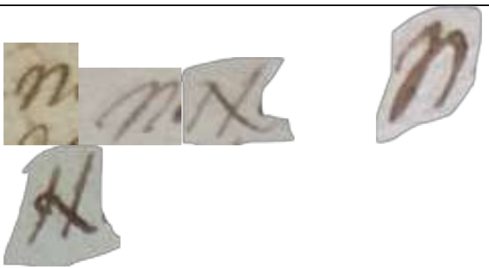
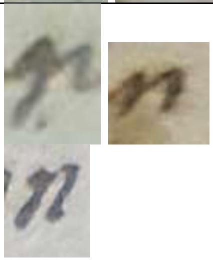
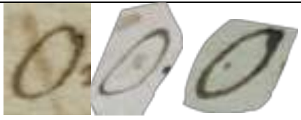
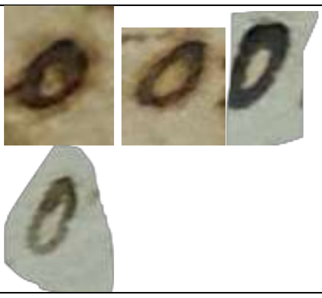
Appendix 1

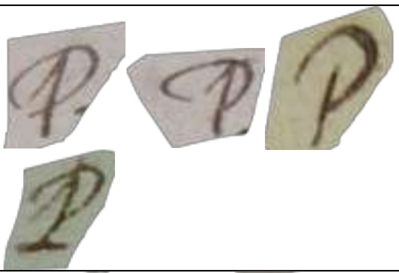
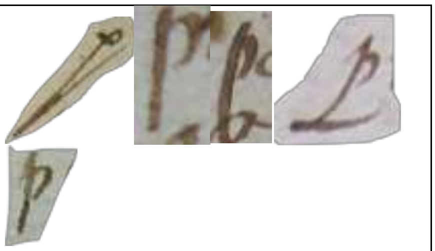
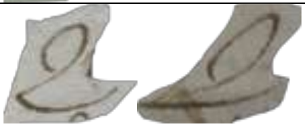
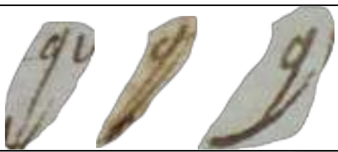
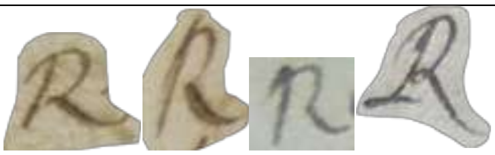
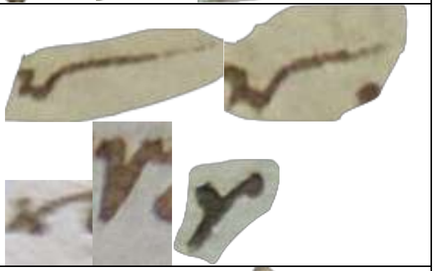
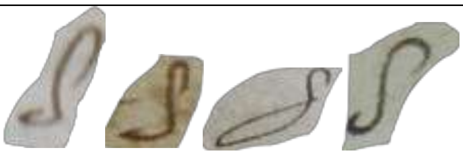
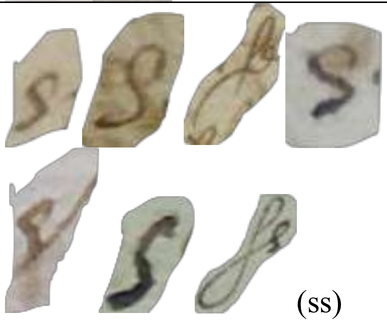
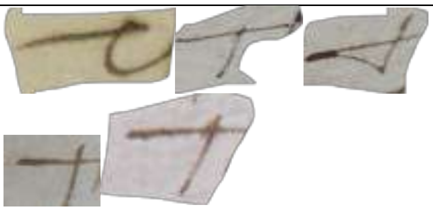
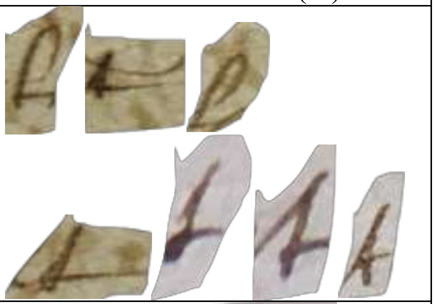
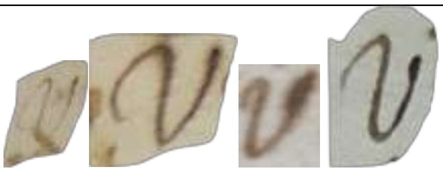
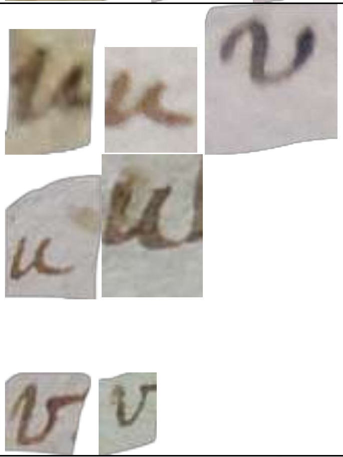
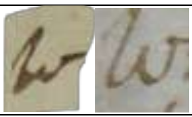
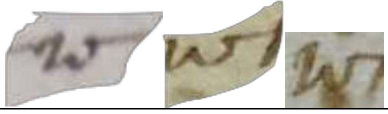
Strode's Hand

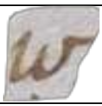
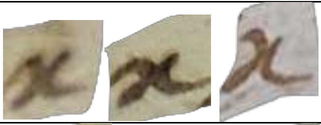
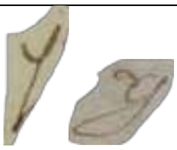
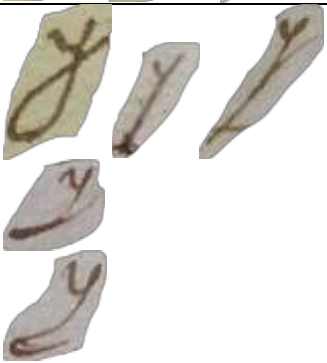
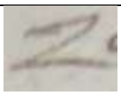
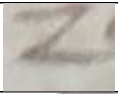
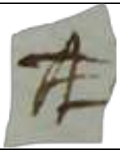
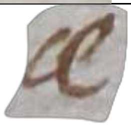
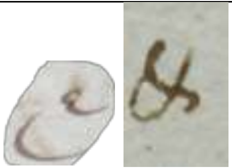
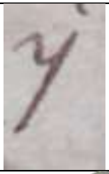
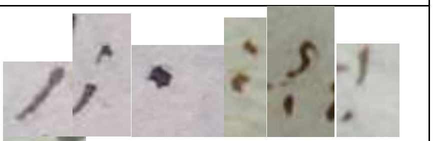
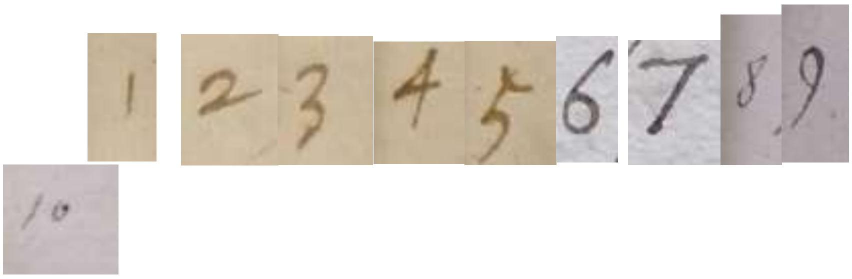
1.1 An alphabet of Strode's hand

This table presents a representative sample of Strode's hand, taken from the variant scripts found in the Corpus MS. Future potential autograph manuscript discoveries can be conveniently checked against this evidence.

Letterform	Majuscule	Minuscule
A/a		
B/b		
C/c		
D/d		
E/e		
F/f		

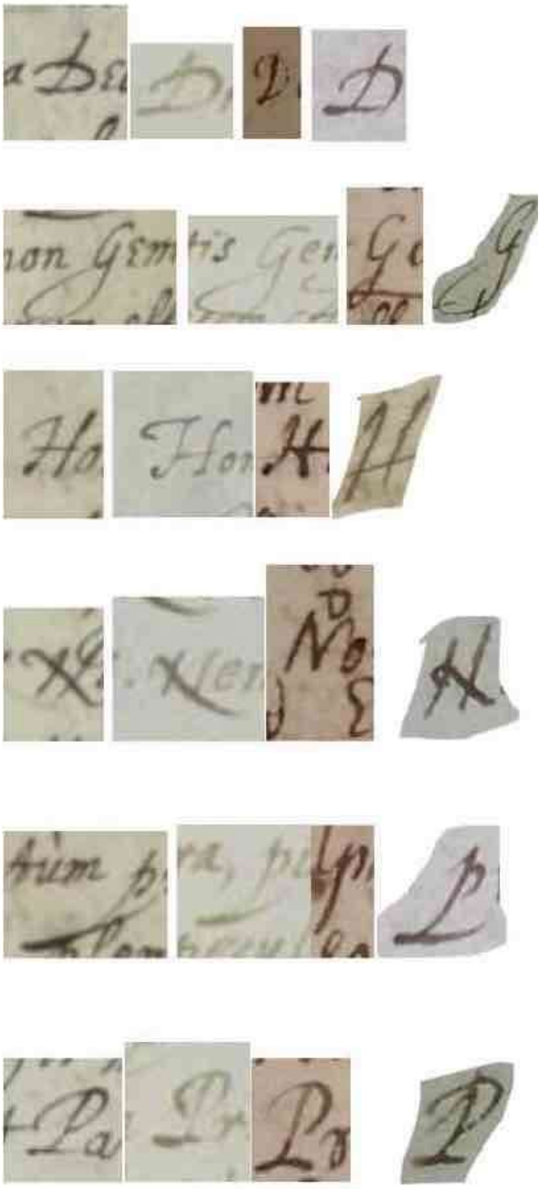
G/g		
H/h		
I/J/i/j		
K/k		
L/l		
M/m		
N/n		
O/o		

P/p		
Q/q		
R/r		
S/s		 (ss)
T/t		
U/u V/v		
W/w		

		
X/x		
Y/y		
Z/z		
Æ/æ		
&		
Thorn		
Virgule/ and other punctuation marks		 (caret)
Numbers		

1.2 Select letterforms in newly discovered autograph manuscripts

This thesis has identified three new witnesses to Strode's autograph (listed in Appendix 2). Full-page illustrations are provided on the following pages (Figures 1-4). Also provided is a selection of letterforms to demonstrate the identification of Strode's hand. Images on the far left from SP 16/296, fols 145-46^{r}; images in the middle are from SP 161/131, fols 131^{r}, 132^{r}; images second from the right are from BL Harley MS 464, fol. 10^{v}; images on the far right are taken from the Corpus MS.



Majuscule D

Majuscule G

Majuscule H

Majuscule N

Minuscule p

Majuscule P

Figure 1a SP 14/296, fol. 145^{r}

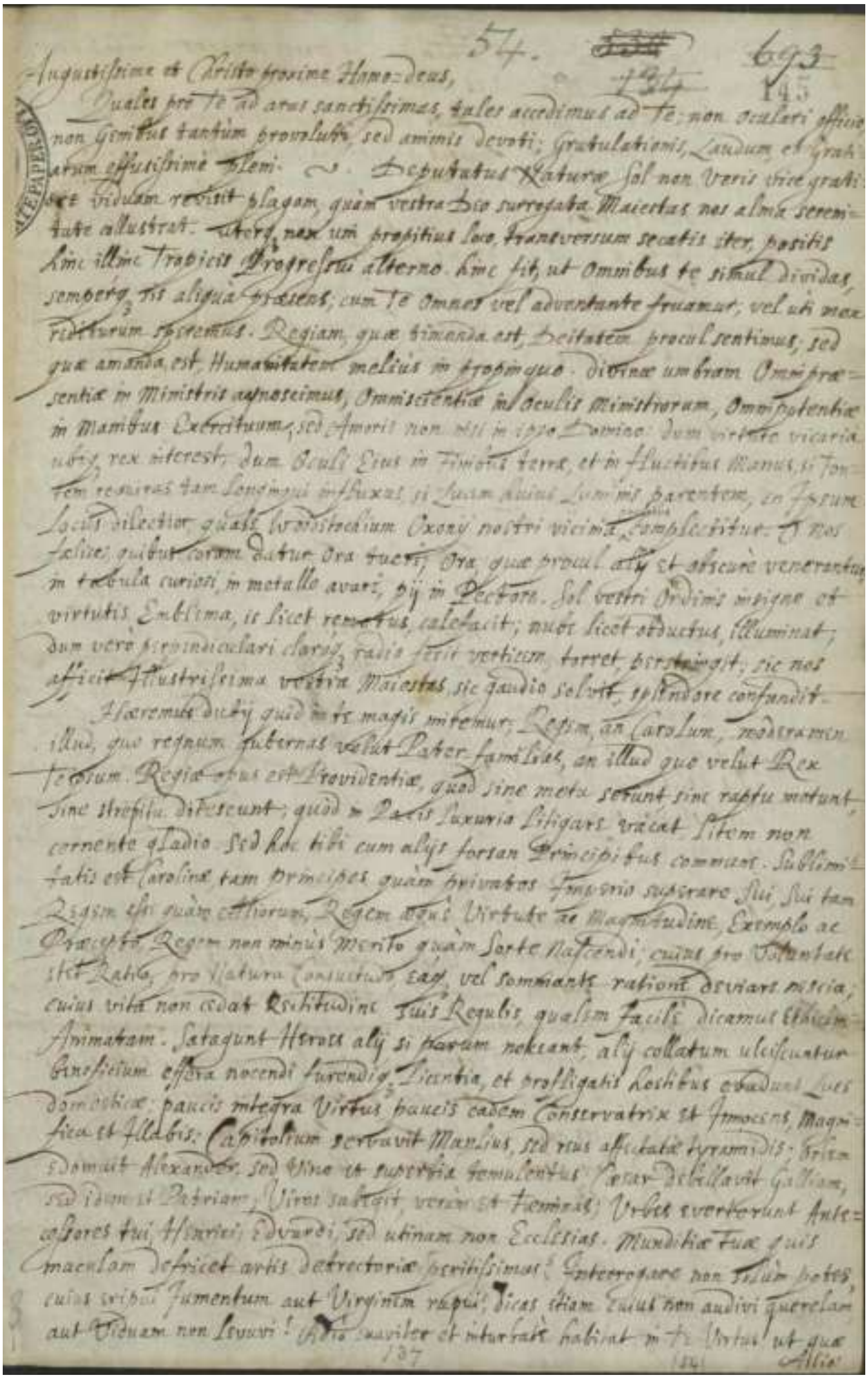
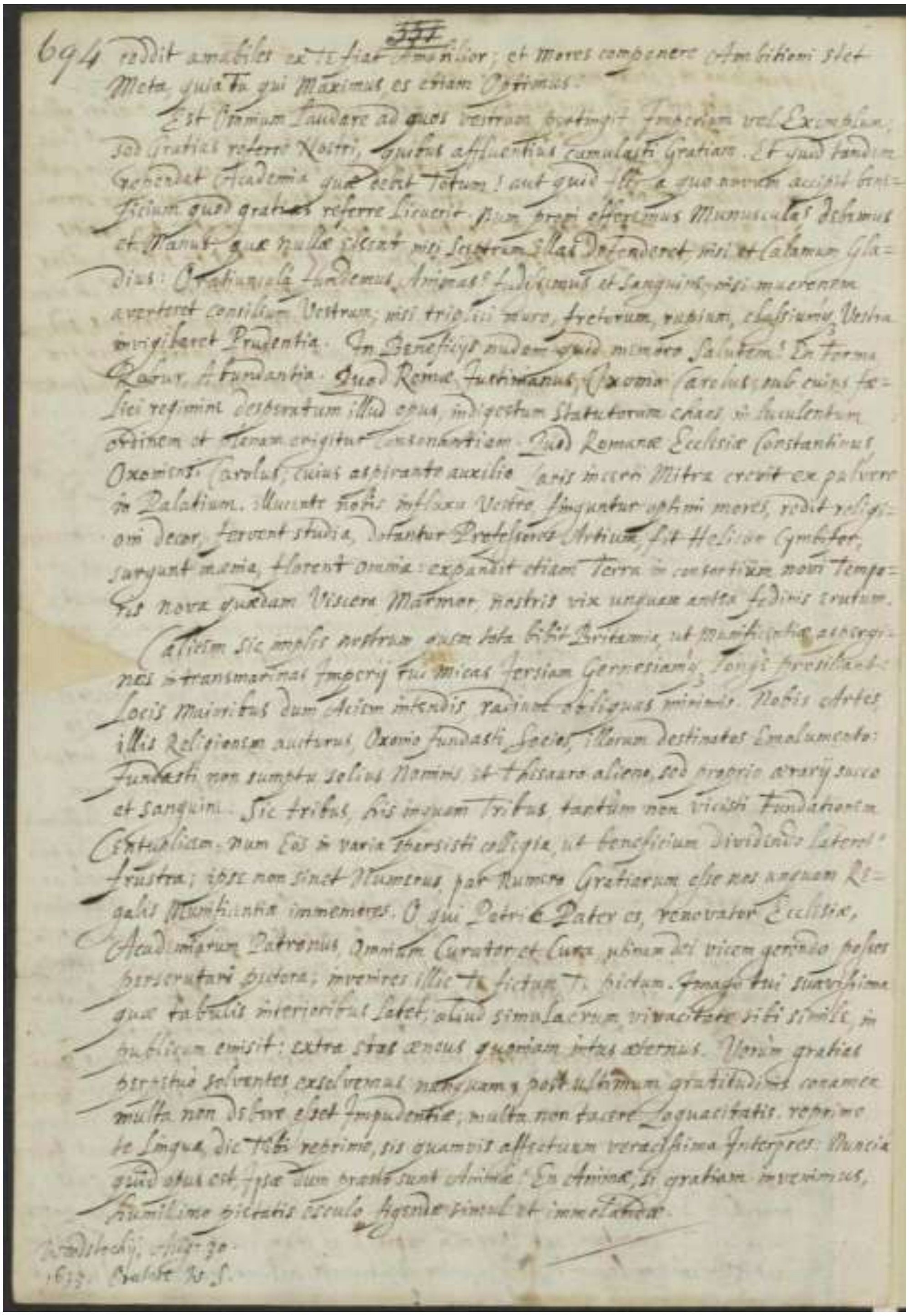


Figure 1b SP 14/296, fol. 145^{v}



331

694 reddit amabiles ex te fiat Amabilior; et mores componere Ambitioni sit
Meta, quia tu qui Maximus es etiam Optimus.
Est Omnium laudare ad quos vestrum pertinet Imperium vel Exemplum;
sed Gratias referre Nostri, quibus affluentius cumulasti Gratiam. Et quid tandem
rependat Academia quae debet Totum! aut quid illi a quo novum accipit bene-
ficium quod gratias referre licuerit. Num preci efferemus Munusculas debemus
et Manus quae nullae essent nisi Sceptrum illas Defenderet, nisi et Calamum Gla-
dius: Orationcula fundemus, Animas fudissimus et Sanguinem, nisi mucronem
averteret consilium Vestrum; nisi triplici muro, fretorum, rupium, classiumque Vestra
invigilaret Prudentia. In Beneficijs autem quid memoro Salutem? En terrae
Robur, Abundantia. Quod Romae Justinianus, Oxoniae Carolus; sub cuius fe-
lici regimine desperatum illud opus, indigestum Statutorum chaos in luculentum
ordinem et aeternam erigitur consonantiam. Quod Romanae Ecclesiae Constantinus
Oxoniensi Carolus, cuius aspirante auxilio Laris [illegible] Mitra crevit ex pulvere
in Palatium. Illucente nobis influxu Vestro, finguntur optimi mores, redit religi-
onis decor, fervent studia, dotantur Professores Artium, fit Helicon Ambitior,
surgunt moenia, florent omnia: expandit etiam Terra in consortium novi tempo-
ris nova quaedam Viscera Marmor nostris vix unquam antea fodinis erutum.
Calicem sic implesti nostrum quem tota bibit Britannia, ut munificentiae aspergi-
nes in transmarinas Imperij tui micas Jersiam Gernesiamque, longe prosiliant:
Locis Maioribus dum Actum intendis, [illegible] aliquas minimis. Nobis Artes
illis Religionem aucturus, Oxonio fundasti Socios, illorum destinatos Emolumento:
Fundasti non sumptu solius Nominis et thesauro alieno, sed proprio Aerarij succo
et Sanguine. Sic tribus, his inquam Tribus, tantum non vicisti Fundatorem
Centuplicem. Num Eos in varia dispersisti collegia, ut beneficium dividendo laterent?
Frustra; ipse non sinet Numerus par Numero Gratiarum esse nos unquam Re-
galis Munificentiae immemores. O qui Patriae Pater es, renovator Ecclesiae,
Academiarum Patronus, Omnium Curator et Cura, ubinam dei vicem gerendo posses
perscrutari pectora; invenires illic te fictum, te pictum. Imago tui suavissima
quae tabulis interioribus latet, aliud simulacrum vivacitate sibi simile, in
publicum emisit: extra stas aeneus quoniam intus aeternus. Verum gratias
perpetuo solventes exsolvemus nunquam, post ultimum gratitudinis conamen
multa non debere esset Impudentiae; multa non tacere Loquacitatis. reprime
te lingua, dic tibi reprime, sis quamvis affectuum veracissima Interpres. Nuncia
quid opus est ipsa dum praesto sunt Animae? En Animas, si gratiam invenimus,
humillimo pietatis osculo figendas simul et immolandas.

Woodstochij, Aug: 30.
1636. [illegible]

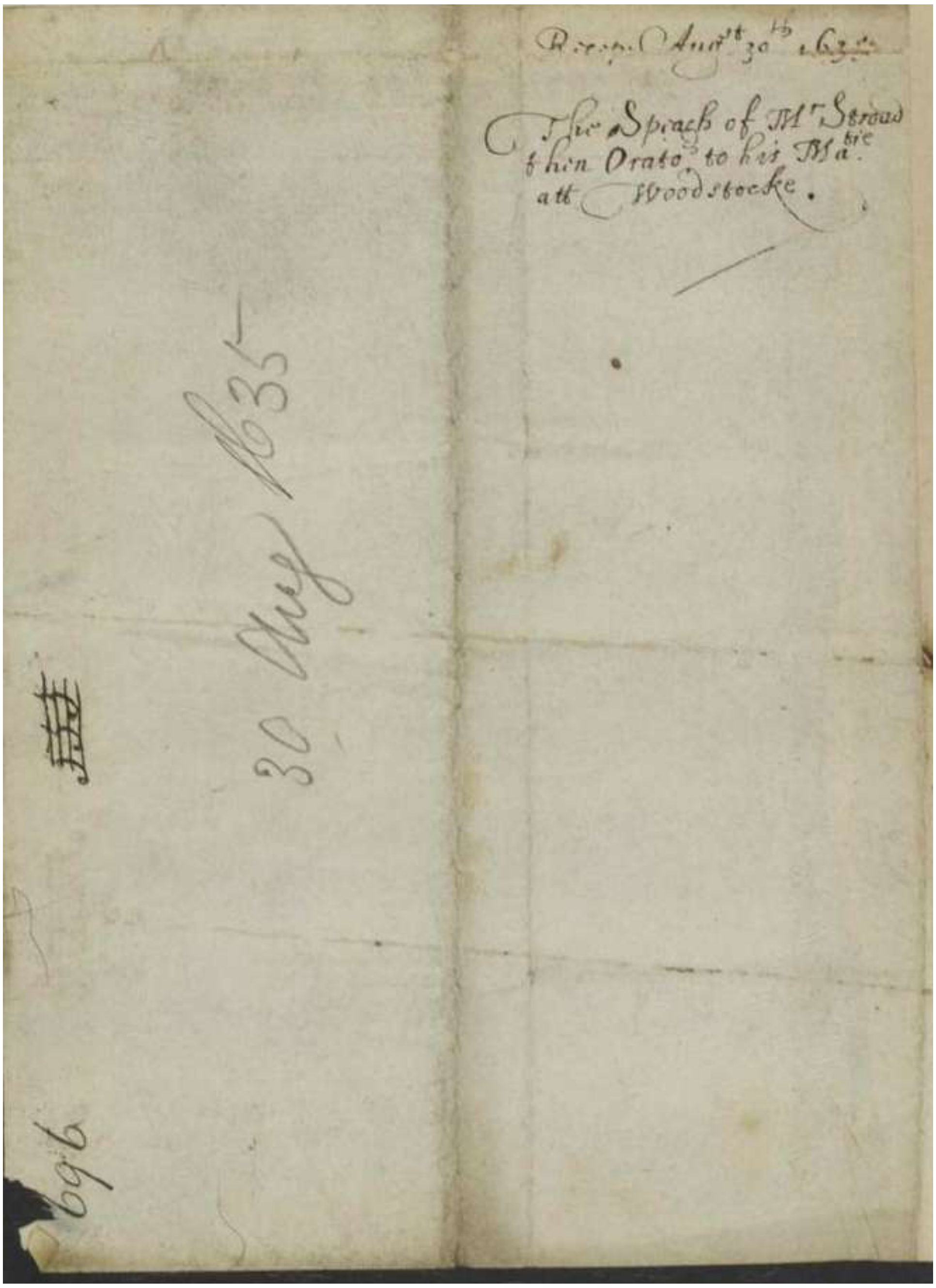


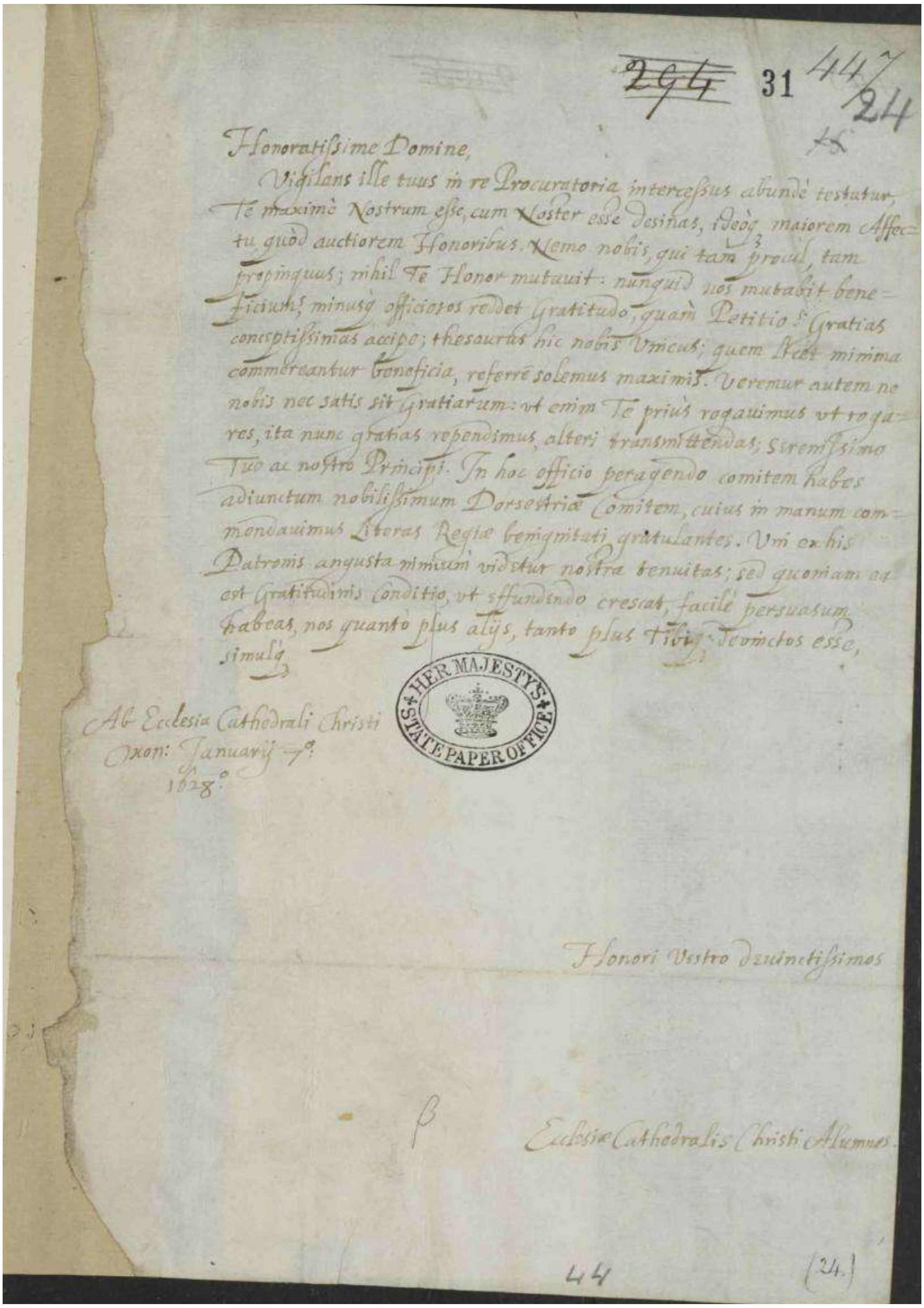
Figure 1c SP 14/296, fol. 146^{r}

Recep: Augst 30th 1635

The Speach of M^{r} Stroad
then Orato^{r} to his Ma^{tie}.
att Woodstocke.

30 Aug 1635

Figure 2a SP 16/131, fol. 131^{r}



~~294~~ 31 44/24

45

Honoratissime Domine,

Vigilans ille tuus in re Procuratoria intercessus abundè testatur,
Te maximè Nostrum esse, cum Noster esse desinas, ideoq; maiorem Affec-
tu quòd auctiorem Honoribus. Nemo nobis, qui tam procul, tam
propinquus; nihil Te Honor mutauit: nunquid nos mutabit bene-
ficium; minusq; officiosos reddet Gratitudo, quàm Petitio? Gratias
conceptissimas accipe; thesaurus hic nobis Unicus; quem licet minima
commereantur beneficia, referre solemus maximis. Veremur autem ne
nobis nec satis sit Gratiarum: vt enim Te priùs rogauimus vt roga-
res, ita nunc gratias rependimus, alteri transmittendas; Serenissimo
Tuo ac nostro Principi. In hoc officio peragendo comitem habes
adiunctum nobilissimum Dorsetriæ Comitem, cuius in manum com-
mendauimus Literas Regiæ benignitati gratulantes. Uni ex his
Patronis angusta nimium videtur nostra tenuitas; sed quoniam ea
est Gratitudinis conditio, vt effundendo crescat, facilè persuasum
habeas, nos quantò plus alijs, tanto plus Tibi, deuinctos esse,
simulq;

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

Ab Ecclesia Cathedrali Christi
Oxon: Januarij 7º.
1628º.

Honori Vestro deuinctissimos

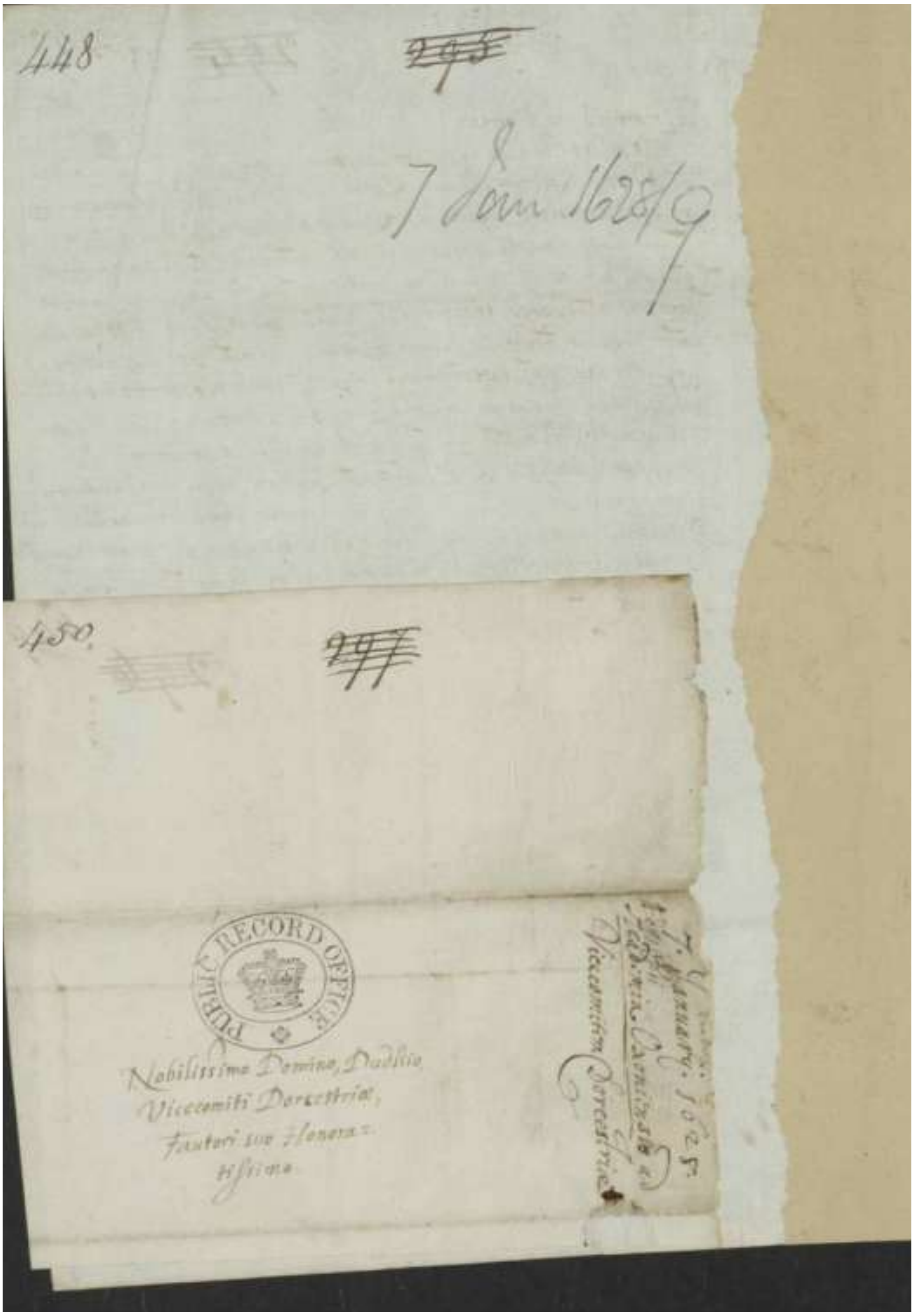
β

Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Christi Alumnos.

44

(24.)

Figure 2b SP 16/131, fol. 131^{v}



448 ~~295~~

7 Jan 1628/9

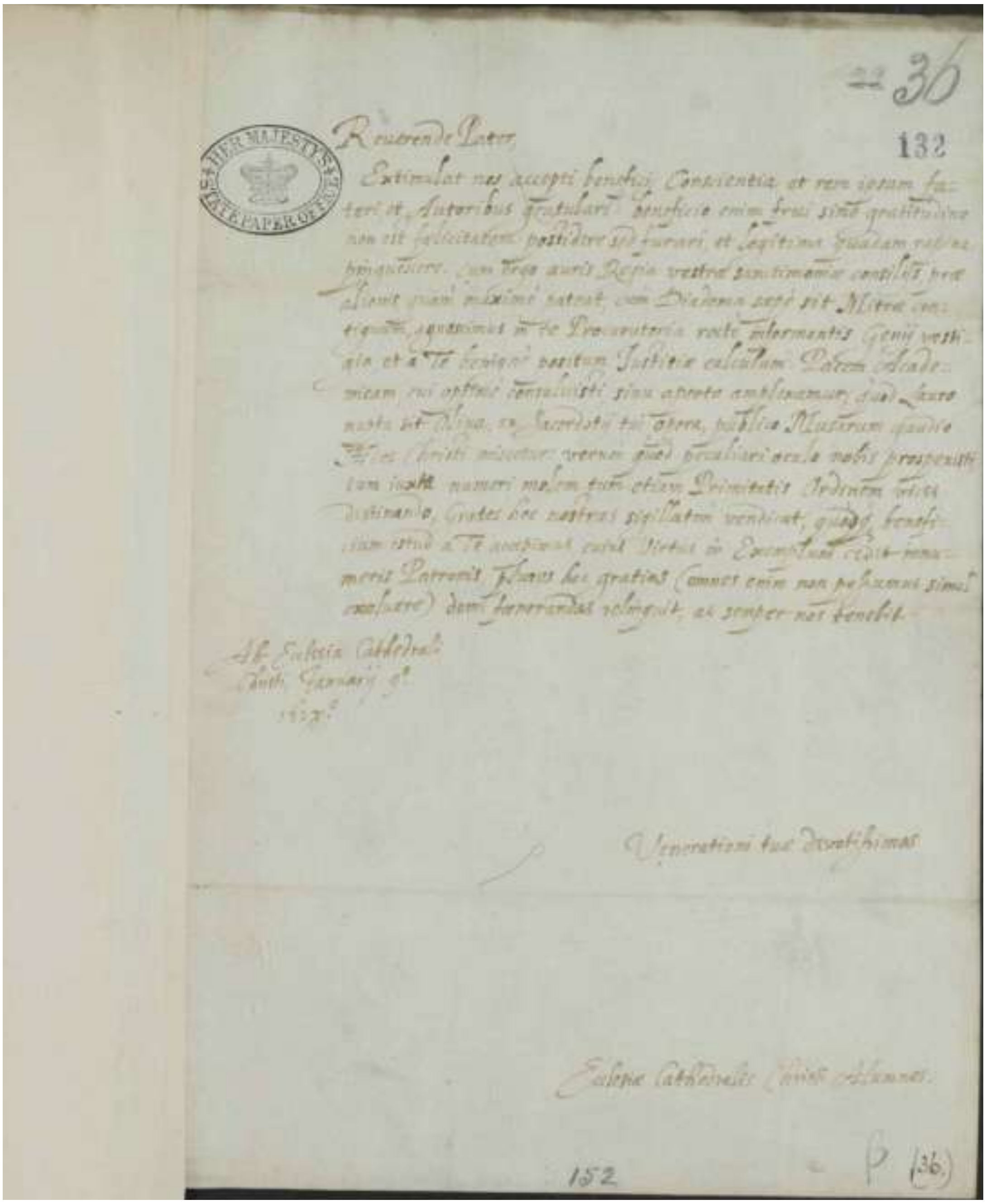
450 ~~297~~

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

Nobilissimo Domino, Dudleio
Vicecomiti Dorcestriæ,
Fautori suo Honora-
tissimo.

7. January. 1628.
[illegible] Carnitzius ad
Vicecomitem Dorcestriæ

Figure 3a SP 16/131, fol. 132^{r}[1]



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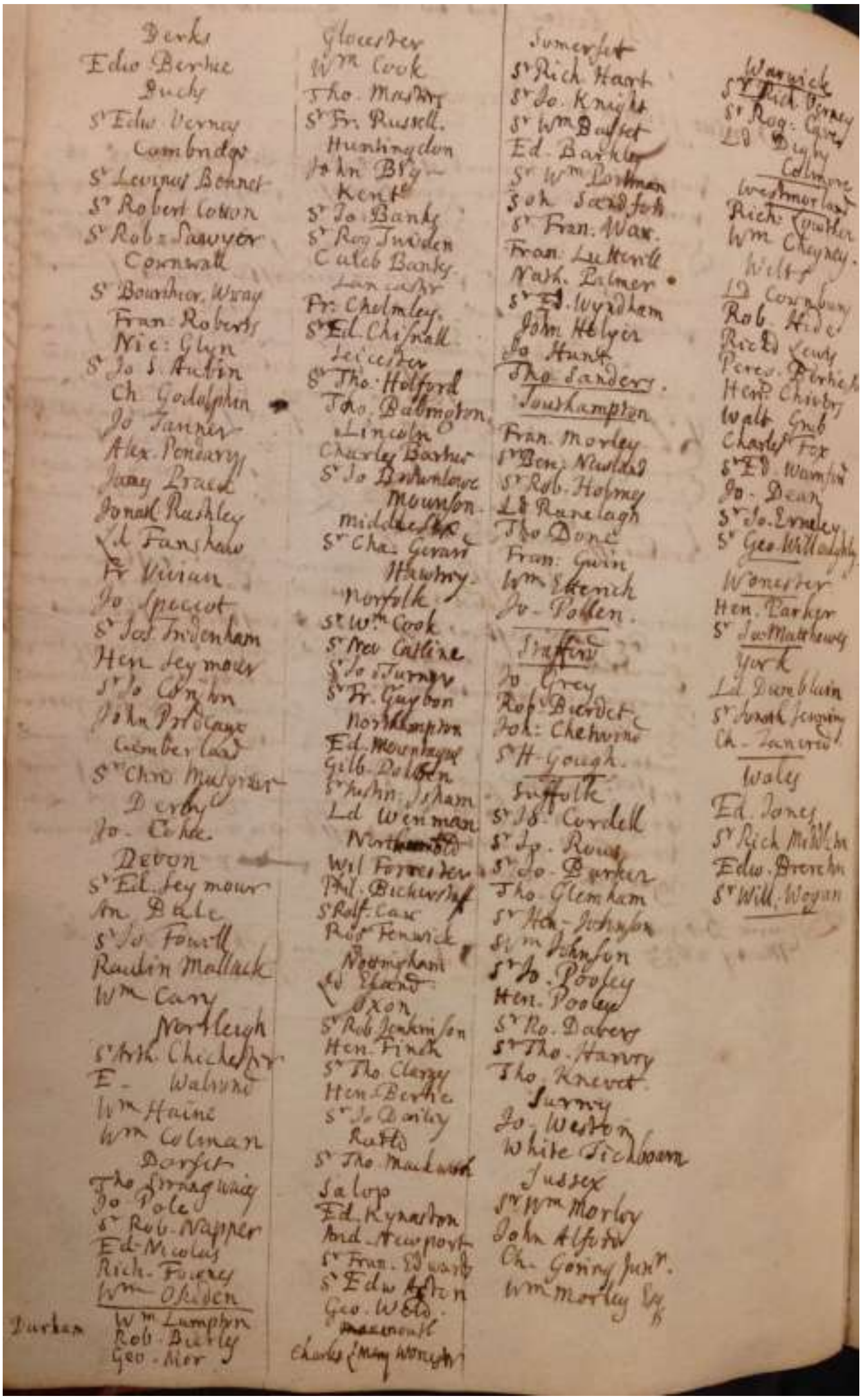
[1] No address panel survives for this letter.

Figure 4a BL Harley MS 464, fol. 10^{v}



Berks
Edw Berkee
Bucks
Sr Edw Verney
Cambridge
Sr Levinus Bennet
Sr Robert Cotton
Sr Rob: Sawyer
Cornwall
Sr Bourchier Wray
Fran: Roberts
Nic: Glyn
Sr Jo: St Aubin
Ch Godolphin
Jo Tanner
Alex. Pendarvs
Jamy Praed
Jonath Rashley
Ld Fanshaw
Fr Vivian
Jo Speccot
Sr Jos Tredenham
Hen Seymour
Sr Jo Coryton
John Prideaux
Cumberland
Sr Chris Musgrave
Derby
Jo. Coke
Devon
Sr Ed. Seymour
Am Dale
Sr Jo Fowell
Rawlin Mallack
Wm Cary
Northleigh
Sr Arth. Chichester
E. Walrond
Wm Haine
Wm Colman
Dorset
Tho Strangways
Jo Pole
Sr Rob. Napper
Ed. Nicolas
Rich. Fownes
Wm Okeden
Durham Wm Lampton
Rob. Byerly
Geo. Mor

Glocester
Wm Cook
Tho. Masters
Sr Fr. Russell.
Huntingdon
John Bry
Kent
Sr Jo. Banks
Sr Rog Twisden
Caleb Banks.
Lancaster
Fr. Cholmley
Sr Ed. Chisnall
Leicester
Sr Tho. Holford
Tho. Babington
Lincoln
Charles Bertie
Sr Jo Brownlowe
Mounson
Middlesex
Sr Cha. Gerard
Hawtrey
Norfolk
Sr Wm Cook
Sr Nev Catline
Sr Jo. Turner
Sr Fr. Guybon
Northampton
Ed. Mountague
Gilb. Dolben
Sr Justin Isham
Ld Wenman
Northumberland
Wil Forster
Phil. Bickerstaf
Sr Ralf Carr
Rob Fenwick
Nottingham
Ld Eland
Oxon
Sr Rob Jenkinson
Hen. Finch
Sr Tho Clerges
Hen. Bertie
Sr Jo Doiley
Rutland
Sr Tho. Mackworth
Salop
Ed. Kynaston
And. Newport
Sr Fran. Edwards
Sr Edw Acton
Geo. Weld.
Monmouth
Charles Marq Worcester

Somerset
Sr Rich Hart
Sr Jo. Knight
Sr Wm Basset
Ed. Barkley
Sr Wm Portman
Joh. Sandford
Sr Fran. Warr.
Fran. Luttrell
Nath. Palmer
Sr Ed. Wyndham
John Helyer
Jo Hunt
Tho Sanders.
Southampton
Fran. Morley
Sr Ben. Newland
Sr Rob. Holmes
Ld Ranelagh
Tho Done
Fran. Gwin
Wm Ettrick
Jo. Pollen.
Stafford
Jo Grey
Rob Burdett
Joh: Chetwynd
Sr H. Gough.
Suffolk
Sr Jo Cordell
Sr Jo. Rous
Sr Jo. Barker
Tho. Glemham
Sr Hen. Johnson
Sr Wm Johnson
Sr Jo. Poley
Hen. Pooley
Sr Ro. Davers
Sr Tho. Hanmer
Tho. Knevet
Surrey
Jo. Weston
White Tichborne
Sussex
Sr Wm Morley
John Alford
Ch. Goring Junr.
Wm Morley Esq

Warwick
Sr Rich Verney
Sr Rog: Cave
Ld Digby
Colmore
Westmorland
Rich: Lowther
Wm Cheyney.
Wilts
Ld Cornbury
Rob. Hide
Richd Lewis
Perey. Birkhe
Hen. Chivers
Walt Grub
Charles Fox
Sr Ed. Warnford
Jo. Dean
Sr Jo. Ernley
Sr Geo Willoughby
Worcester
Hen. Parker
Sr Jo Matthews
York
Ld Dunblain
Sr Jonath Jennings
Ch. Tancred
Wales
Ed. Jones
Sr Rich Middleton
Edw. Brereton
Sr Will. Wogan

Appendix 2

Supplements to the *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts*

This appendix lists the manuscript discoveries made during the course of research for this thesis, which should be added to the *CELM*. Suggested (provisional) *CELM* reference numbers are provided for new entries listed in 2.1 and 2.2. 2.3 is a list of information which ought to be added to the *CELM*'s existing entries.

2.1 Newly identified witnesses to texts in the *CELM*

English verse

On a freind's absence ('Come, come, I faint: thy heavy stay')
First published in *The Academy of Complements* (London, 1650). Dobell, p. 13, Forey, pp. 95-96.

StW 377.5
Copy.
St John's College, Cambridge, MS S.23, fol. 57^{v}

On Jealousy ('There is a thing that nothing is')
First published in Dobell (1907), p. 49. Listed, without text, in Forey, p. 399.

StW 1348.5
Copy, headed 'On Jealousie'
Yale Osborn MS b 205, fol. 35^{r}

A Riddle on a Kisse ('What thing is that, nor felt, nor seene')
First published in Dobell (1907), pp. 48-49. Listed, without text, in Forey, p. 340.

StW 1358.5
Copy, headed 'A kisse'
Yale Osborn MS b 205, fol. 34^{v}

Prose speeches and sermons

Speech to Charles I at Woodstock, 30 August 1635
Unpublished oration, beginning 'Augustissime Christo proximo, homo-Deus qualis pro'.

***StW 1469.5**
Copy, in Strode's italic hand.
SP 16/296, fol. 145^{r}-46^{r}.

2.2 Newly discovered manuscript texts by Strode

English Verse

On a Gentleman's pamphlet parallelling the temple and the court, entitled the Middle Temple Curtaine ('Who hath but read on rime, and seen how pat')
Unpublished

StW 377.6[1]
Copy.
BL Add. MS 30982, fols 134^{r}-33^{v} rev.

Upon the marrige of M^{rs} Van-otten with one w^{ch} she termed her sonne ('The whispering of the towne is now all spent')
Unpublished

StW 1206.1[2]
Copy
AUL MS 29, pp. 179-81

StW 1206.2
Copy, titled 'On a Gentlewomans marriage'
BL Add. MS 30982, fols 134^{v}-34^{r} rev.

StW 1206.3
Copy, titled 'On a gentlewomans marriage'
Yale Osborn MS b 205, fols 66^{v}-77^{r}

Dramatic works

The Floating Island
First published in London, 1655

StW 1476.6
Copy of the prologue to *The Floating Island*. Written in a mixed hand on a single folio leaf. Transcribed from this MS is Callum Seddon, 'An Unrecorded Manuscript Prologue to William Strode's *The Floating Island*', *Notes and Queries*, 63 (2016), 42-43
Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 172, fol. 101^{r}

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[1] This entry should fall between 'On a freind's absence' (*CELM*, StW 364-77.5) and 'On a Gentlewoman that sung, and playd upon a Lute' (*CELM*, StW 378-409).

[2] This entry should fall between 'Ulysses his speech [...]' (*CELM*, *StW 1206) and 'Vpon Will: Bridle [..]' (*CELM*, 1207-09).

Letters

StW 1485.1

Letter (in Latin) sent by the students of Christ Church to Sir Dudley Carleton. Copied in Strode's italic hand and dated 7 January 1628.

SP 16/131, fol. 131^r-v^

StW 1485.2

Letter (in Latin) sent by the students of Christ Church to William Laud. Dated 9 January 1628.

SP 16/131, fol. 132^r-v^

Documents

StW 1502

List of names, organized by city and county. Copied on Strode's hand on the back of a letter sent by Corbett to Sir Hamond Le Strange, dated 31 March 1633 (*CELM*, CoR 785).

BL Harley MS 464, fol. 10^v^

2.3 Emendations to existing *CELM* entries

English Verse

On a blisterd Lippe ('Chide not thy sprowting lippe, nor kill'; StW 268-99)

StW 286

Copy, untitled.

Bodleian, MS Eng. poet. e.14, fol. 14^r^.

- The *CELM* does not record this as a truncated version of the poem, comprising lines 1-4, 21-22, 9-10, and 29-30.

On Mr James Van Otten's death. March 1º ('The first day of this month the last hath bin')

First published in Dobell (1907), pp. 85-86. Forey, pp. 218-19.

StW 509

Copy, headed 'On the death of M^r^. James Van Otten an expert Chirurgion, who dyed att Oxford: March: 1. 1622'.

Rosenbach MS 239/27, pp. 331-32

- The version in this manuscript contains an additional thirty lines to the two versions copied in StW 507-08.

A Song of Capps (‘The witt hath long beholding bin’; StW 944-64)

StW 952

Copy of an eleven-stanza version, headed ‘Verses on the cap by M^{r} Stroude’.

Bangor University, MS 422, pp. 37-38.

- As Joshua Eckhardt observes, the twelfth stanza is found elsewhere in the Griffiths MS. The missing material is a consequence of the third gathering being split into three parts, each of which was placed in a new position before foliation of the Griffiths MS. The last stanza is found on p. 95.[3]

Documents

***StW 1501**

Strode’s autograph license for the publication of John Donne’s sermons, written and signed in Latin, listing twenty-two sermons by Donne and certifying that he finds nothing in them repugnant to the Catholic Faith or to the Church of England. The license accompanies an autograph letter signed by John Donne the Younger, dated 26 September 1638, requesting the license. 1638.

Magdalen College, Oxford, MS 281, No. 25.

- The call-number should be altered to ‘Item no. 26’.

2.4 Additions to the ‘principal manuscript collections’ of Strode’s poems

The *CELM* includes a list of ‘principal manuscript collections’ of Strode’s poems, defined as manuscripts containing upwards of ten poems by Strode. This thesis has identified a further six manuscripts which should be added to this list. All of these manuscripts are already listed in the *CELM*, and so do not require full description here.

Bod. MS Ashmole 47 (StW Δ 32; Ashmole MS)

Once owned by, and compiled in part by Elias Ashmole (1617-92). Contains fourteen poems by Strode.

BL Egerton MS 2421 (StW Δ 33; Norris MS)

Inscribed names (on front paste-down and f. 1r) of ‘Fra: Norreys’ (? Sir Francis Norris (1609-69)) and ‘Hen. Balle’. Contains ten poems by Strode.

---

[3] Eckhardt, Manuscript Verse Collectors, pp. 273-74.

CCC MS 176 (StW Δ 34; Fulman MS II)
In a single hand up to fol. 34^r. Owned and annotated by William Fulman in the late seventeenth century. Contains eleven poems by Strode.

NYPL Arents Collection S.288 (StW Δ 35; Barrow MS)
Inscribed and most probably compiled by one Hugh Barrow of Brasenose College, Oxford in 1638. Contains twelve poems by Strode. Contains twelve poems by Strode.

Rosenbach MS 240/7 (StW Δ 36; Mostyn MS)
From the library of Sir Thomas Mostyn (1535-1617) of Mostyn Hall near Flintshire in Wales. Contains eleven poems by Strode.

West Yorkshire Archives Service, Bradford 32D86/17; 3D86/34 and Bod. MS Don. d.58 (StW Δ 37; Hopkinson MSS)
These three manuscripts were all compiled by the antiquarian John Hopkinson (1610-1680). Twelve poems are dispersed across the three manuscripts.

Appendix 3

The Texts of 'Widow Mar.' and 'Midle Temp.'

See Chapter 3, pp. 168-82.
Chapter three argues that two poems once thought lost with Strode's 'other Copie' are in fact witnessed in three manuscripts: AUL MS 29 (Elizabeth Lane MS), BL Add. MS 30982 (Leare MS), and Yale Osborn MS b 205 (Osborn MS II). This appendix presents transcriptions of those texts.

3.1 'Midle Temp'

This poem survives in only the Leare MS, where it follows a copy of 'Widow Mar'. The heading is copied in a different script to the poem itself, but these do not indicate the collaboration of two different scribes (as Marcy L. North has argued), but variant forms of Leare's hand.[1]

BL Add. MS 30982, fols 134^{r}-33^{v} rev.

[Fol. 134^{r}]

On a Gentlemans Pamphet parrallelling
*th*e Temple w*i*th *th*e Court, intitled *th*e midle
Temple Curtaine.

Who hath but read on rime, and seene how patt
Thy meeter iumps, would stand amazed at
Such strange poetique fury; if hee saw
Thy subiect once and did thy curtaine draw
Hee would repine that e're it should bee shutt
And to thy booke would never ribbin putt
The stalls in Pauls-church-yard which never knew
Paper more worthy theyre best red or blue
Groane with the weight of thy great handfull moe
Then many other bookes in folio
Thy working fancy hath so paraleld
The temple with the court, such temper held
Of ieasting mixt with earnest, that the best [Fol. 133^{v}]
May either thinke both earnest, or both ieast
This rare allusion shewes what dignity
As due unto your benchers gravity
And this invention hath in England gott
For mighty Charles, what all the world cannot
A fit companion? how wee ioy to see

---

[1] Marcy L. North, 'Twice the Effort: Tracing the Practices of Stuart Verse Collectors through their Redundant Entries', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 77 (2014), 257-85 (pp. 277-78).

So braue a payre, the prince Papoole and hee
Who ever knew thee well, may sweare such paines
Could issue from no other but thy braines.

1 Pamphet] Pamphlet 23 Papoole] Variant of ‘Purpoole’

3.2 ‘Widow Mar.’

Transcriptions

AUL MS 29, pp. 179-81

[p. 179]

Vpon *th*e marrige of M.^{rs}
Van=otten with one w*hi*ch shee
______termed her Sonne.
The whispering of *th*e towne is now all spent,
The newes growne stale, and mutuall consent
Had publisht those stolne kisses, w*hi*ch *th*e night
Couerd for Cupids sake, not feare of light,
Young man remember now thy nights of care,
Thy timorous distrust, thy pleasing feare,
Thy conflict in *th*e Question, now recall
Her easy threats, thy easier teares, and all
That amarous story, how *th*e lying mayd
Dealt, on both sydes, and oft to thee betrayd
And oft denyed her mistres; now at last
Though thou hast liberty thy ioyes to tast
Thou canst not put of wishing, nor forgett
To hope for what thou hast, *tha*t feare will knitt
Stronger embracings, and will make thee close
With faster hold when there is feare to lose,
Behold a full reward hath crost *th*e score
Of all thy paynes, wee need not now implore
Hymen, or Venus, or *th*e Graces care [p. 180]
To deck her head with roses, wee cann spare
The Type, and shadow where *th*e Substance growes,
Each part of hers were patterns to *th*e rose,
A way with Country garlands, nothing scatter,
On her; whom scarce her mayd, or glasse flatter;
Which beeing shutt when shee doeth looke thereon,
Doeth hugge, and rauish *th*e reflexion.
Venus would shame herselfe, and here resigne
Her charming girdle, Venus would repine
To giue, but take *th*e bride; none cann bee

Hymen but hee, Venus none but shee.
The Spring to saue my Poetry hath spread
The way with rosy bedds w*hi*ch shee must tread
Else would a birth start up, commanded by
One touch of hers, though Flora knew not why,
What though shee knew w*ha*t marriage was before,
What though shee Children haue, a twigg *tha*t bore
Her fruit more timely, none will therfore saye
T'is more auncient, though her gowne betraye
Her for a Matron, yet her face denyes,
What are those Children more then dreames *tha*t rise
From merry wenches; shee *tha*t truth may take
For dreames, they dreames for truth untill they wake
Aske not *th*e deed *tha*ts donne, but aske *th*e will
Her body's wise, her mind is Virgin still,
One *tha*t doth blush allthough her maske bee on, [p. 181]
When none cann spye shee, shee's *th*e mayd alone,
On to *th*e Church where all *th*e peoples eye
Suruayes each party; diuers wish to [f]lye
In eythers roome; make up *th*e reckoning
A thousand enuy her, more enuy him,
Vnder a miracle shee could not wedd,
Of Sixe adopted Sonnes *th*e last hath spedd
To bee *th*e Supreme *F*ather to *th*e rest,
For still *th*e youngest birth wee fancy best,
Behold a better Oedipus a brother
Become a Father, husband to his Mother,
And thus (o happy time!) his marriage feast,
Is made a generall birthday to *th*e rest.
Shee Sunday like, like dayes of worke were they
Of w*hi*ch *th*e one is made ^\an/ holy=daye <   >.
So in a dance each mate a while doeth trace
Promiscuously, then takes her proper place,
Wherfore dance on, nor lett dull sleepe at nigh[t]
Blinded like loue beguile you of delight,
But when *th*e fight is fought, then gently rest,
The bedd is earnest, th'incense but a Jest.

BL, Add. MS 30982, fols 134^{v}-34^{r} rev.

[Fol. 134^{v}]

On a Gentlewomans marriage.
The whispering of the towne is now all spent

the newes growne stale, & mutuall consent
hath stolen those publisht kisses w*hi*ch the night
concented for fashions sake not feare of sight.
youngman remember now thy nights of care
thy timorous distract, thy pleasing ffeare,
thy conflict in *th*e Question, now recall
her easy threats, thy easier teares, and all
that amorous story, how *th*e lying maide
at sundry times hath unto thee betraide
and oft deny'd her Mistresse: now at last
when thou hast liberty thy ioyes to tast
thou canst not put off wishing but must wooe
for kisses while thou kissest ty her shooe
as glad to see it slacke, & feare to loose
makes thee embrace her w*i*th a stronger cloose
on to the church where diuers wish to ly
In others roome, make vp the reckoning
A thous& enuy her, more enuy him.
the spring to saue me Poetry hath spred
the way w*i*th Violets where shee must tread
one touch of hers though flora knew not why.
her lipp's w*hi*ch nor her maide nor Glasse can flatter
doth hugg & rauish the Reflection.
w*ha*t though shee knew w*ha*t marriage was before
w*ha*t though shee Children haue? a tree *tha*t bore
her fruite more timely, none will therefore say
It is more ancient; though her gowne betray
< >er for a Matron, yet her face denies
and w*ha*t are Children more *th*en dreames *tha*t rise
for merry wenches: fancy doth conferre [Fol. 134^{r}]
more unto such then Children doe to her.
aske not the deede *tha*ts donne but aske *th*e will
her body's wise, her mind is Virgin still.
under a Miracle she could not wedde
Six sonnes shee had, of w*hi*ch *th*e youngest sped
to be *th*e supreame father of the rest
for still the youngest birth wee fancy best.
behold a better Oedipus a brother
become a father, husband to his mother;
she Sunday like, sixe dayes of worke were they
Of w*hi*ch the one is made an Holiday.
Soe in a daunce where each w*i*th other traces,
at leng[t]h all take their mates & p*ro*per places.
wherefore daunce on, nor lett dull sleepe at night

beguile your fetterd sences of delight
rest now content w*i*th scarcity of rest
the bed is earnest, th'Incest but a Jeast.

Yale, Osborn MS b 205, fols 66^{v}-67^{r}

On a gentlewomans marriage

The whispring of *th*e towne is now all spent
*th*e newes growne stale, & mutuall consent
hath publisht those stolne kisses w*hi*ch *th*e night
conceald for fashions sake not feare of sight
youngman remember now *th*e nights of care
thy timerous distrust, thy pleasing feare
thy conflict in *th*e question now recall [Fol. 67^{r}]
her easy threats, thy easier teare w*i*th all
that amorous story, how *th*e lying mayd
at sundry times hath unto thee betrayd
and oft denyd her m*ist*ris now at last
when thou hast liberty thy ioyes to tast
thou canst not put of wishing, but must /woe\
for kisses while thou kissest, tye her shoe
as glad to see it slacke, & feare to loose
make *th*ee embrace her w*i*th a stronger cose
the spring to save me poetry hath spred
the way w*i*th violets where she must tred
else would a birth start up com*m*anded by
one touch of hers, tho flora knew not why
perfumes vpon her lips *th*e graces scatter
her lips w*hi*ch not her mayd nor glas can flatter
w*hi*ch being shut when she doth loke thereon
doth hug & ravish *th*e reflection
w*ha*t tho she knew w*ha*t mariage was before,
w*ha*t tho she children have, a tree *tha*t bore
her fruite more timely none w*i*ll therfor say
It is more ancient, tho her gowne betray
her for a matron, yet her face denies
and w*ha*t are children more *the*n drems *tha*t rise
from merry wenches: fancy doth confer
more unto such *the*n children do to her.
aske not *th*e deed *tha*ts don but aske *th*e will,
her bodys wise, her mind is virgin still.
Vnder a miracle she could not wed [Fol. 67^{v}]

6 sons she had, of w*hi*ch *th*e yongest sped
to be *th*e supreme father to *th*e rest
for still *th*e youngest birth we fancy best
behold a better Oedipus a brother
become a father, husband to his mother
she Sunday like, 6 dayes of worke wer they
of w*hi*ch *th*e one is made a holy day.
So in a dance wher ech *th*e other traces
at length *th*ey take their mates & prop*er* places
wherfore dance on let not dull at night
besaile yo*u*r fetterd senses of delight.
rest now content w*i*th scarcity of rest
the bed is earnest, *th*e incest but a jest.

3.3 Collation

Note: AUL MS 29 is the base text.
BL Add. MS 30982 (*BLa82*)
Yale Osborn MS b 205 (*Yo05*)

***Title*]** On a Gentlewomans marriage *BLa82* On a gentlewomans marriage *Yo05*

3 Had . . . kisses] hath stolen those publish'd kisses *BLa82* hath publisht those stolne kisses *Yo05*

4] concented for fashions sake not feare of sight *BLa82* conceald for fashions sake not feare of sight *Yo05*

5 thy] ~ *BLa82* the *Yo05*

6 distrust] ~ *Yo05* distract *BLa82*

8 and all] ~ *BLa82* with all *Yo05*

10] at sundry times hath unto thee betraide *BLa82 Yo05*

12 Though] when *BLa82 Yo05*
thy ioyes to tast] but must wooe *BLa82 Yo05*

13-30] does not copy *BLa82 Yo05*

31 my] me *BLa82 Yo05*
rosy bedds] violets *BLa82 Yo05*
which] where *BLa82 Yo05*

36 twigg] tree *BLa82 Yo05*

40 What are those] and what are *BLa82 Yo05*

41 From] ~ *Yo05* for *BLa82*
shee . . . take] fancy doth confer *BLa82 Yo05*

42] does not copy *BLa82 Yo05*

45-46] does not copy *BLa82 Yo05*

47 all . . . eye] divers wish to ly *BLa82* does not copy *Yo05*

48] does not copy *BLa82 Yo05*

49 eythers roome] others roome *BLa82* does not copy *Yo05*

52] six sonnes shee had, of which the youngest sped *BLa82 Yo05*

53 to *th*e rest] ~ *Yo05* of the rest *BLa82*

57-58] does not copy *BLa82 Yo05*

60 an] ~ *BLa82* a *Yo05*

61] Soe in a daunce where each with other traces *BLa82* So in a dance wher ech *th*e other traces *Yo05*

62] at length all take their mates and proper places *BLa82* at length *th*ey take *thei*r mates & proper places *Yo05*

64] beguile your fetterd sences of delight *BLa82* besaile yo*u*r fetterd senses of delight *Yo05*

65] rest now content with scarcity of rest *BLa82 Yo05*

66 incense] Incest *BLa82 Yo05*

Appendix 4

The Contents of Strode's 'other Copie'

See Chapter 2, pp.108-26; *Chapter 3*, *pp.168-72*

The following table shows the order of poems in Strode's 'other Copie' (*SOC*) and their location in that lost manuscript, based on the information provided by William Fulman in his annotations to the Corpus MS. Titles are standardized based on those in *CELM*, except in cases where Fulman lists lost texts from *SOC*.

Title	**Location in the *SOC***
Sylvae, Woodmusings or Varieties	
Westwell Elme	1
On Westwell Downes	5
On Faireford windores	6
To a Valentine	6
On a Gentlewoman who escapd the marks of the Pox	12
On three Dolphins s[p]ewing down Water into a white Marble Bason	13
'Widow. Mar'	13
'Midle Temp.'	16
On a good legge and Foot	17
With Pen, Inke, and Paper	17
A Superscription on Sir Philip Sidneys Arcadia sent for a Token	19
On a Butcher marrying a Tanner's daughter	19
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