Lady Bedford and the Scribal Publication of Funerary Verse

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Abstract

In 1609, two kinswomen of Lucy Harington Russell, Countess of Bedford, died in Bedford's home at Twickenham Park. Their deaths (and Bedford's influence as a patron) prompted an outpouring of funerary verses by the likes of Donne, Jonson, Bedford, and others. Of the eleven known poems on these occasions, six were printed in the seventeenth century—all decades later—but all the poems were preserved in contemporary manuscripts, some texts in a single copy and others in dozens. Given the exceptional loss rates of early modern manuscripts, the survival of a staggering 221 witnesses of memorial verses on two minor courtiers suggests an impetus (or several) for collecting in the period. This project studies the resulting modes and patterns of collection. It does so by drawing the poems together as a group unified across lines of author, gender, and class by their respective occasions, and those occasions linked by Bedford, one of the most culturally influential women in the early Stuart court. In part, this involves editing those texts which lack full, recent, or any editorial attention. But for all of the poems, it adapts the methods used in single-author critical editions, paired with bibliographical and biographical research, to study poems together, giving a clearer sense of how and whether their unity was preserved in circulation.

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I owe so much to my friends, Lara Hatwell, Amelia Day, Emily Robotham and Kurt Sullivan. And even more is due to Thomas Nelson who has been listening to me ramble about manuscripts daily for the past seven years. And finally, I have all the thanks if the world to give my parents, whose patience and support have been absolutely endless.

Contents

List of Illustrations

Manuscript Sigla

Sigla are provided for all manuscripts containing a witness of at least one of the funerary poems studied in this project. For the sake of continuity, sigla used follow those employed by the Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne. Where no such siglum exists in the Donne Variorum, those used here use the library desinations by letter (below) and the numeric portion of the shelfmark.

AF United States Air Force Academy, Colorado

AF1	Mapletoft volume

B British Library

B11	Add. MS 23229 (Conway)
B12	Add. MS 25303
B13	Add. MS 25707 (Skipwith)
B16	Add. MS 30982
B21	Egerton MS 923
B23	Egerton MS 2230
B27	Harley MS 3910
B28	Harley MS 3991
B29	Harley MS 3998
B30	Harley MS 4064
B31	Harley MS 4888
B32	Harley MS 4955
B35	Harley MS 6057
B40	Lansdowne MS 740
B46	Stowe MS 961
B47	Stowe MS 962
B51	Evelyn MS EM33
B57	Egerton 3664
B1446	Sloane MS 1446
B33998	Add. MS 433998
B89136	British Library Add. MS 89136

BR West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford

BR2	32D86/34 (Hopkinson's MMS,Vol. 34)

C Cambridge University Library

C1	Add. MS 29
C2	Add. MS 5778
C8	Add. MS 8467
C9	Add. MS 8468
C10	Giles Oldisworth volume

CT Cambridge University, Trinity College Library

CT1	MS R.3.12 (James 592)

DT Trinity College Library, Dublin

DT1	MS 877, Part 1
DT2	MS 877, Part 2

E Edinburgh University Library

EU3	MS La. III. 493
EU4	MS 401 (Halliwell-Phillips Collection)

F Folger Shakespeare Library

F2	MS V.a. 96
F3	MS V.a. 103
F4	MS V.a. 125, Part II
F6	MS V.a. 162
F160	MS V.a. 160

H Harvard University Library

HLOW	Lowell Autograph
H1	MS Eng 626
H3	MS Eng 966.1 (Norton MS 4502, Carnaby MS)
H4	MS Eng 966.3
H5	MS Eng 966.4
H6	MS Eng 966.5 (Norton MS 4504, O'Flahertie MS)
H7	MS Eng 966.6 (Norton MS 4500, Stephens MS)
H8	MS Eng 966.7

HH Huntington Library

HH1	MS EL 6893
HH3	MS HM 172
HH4	MS HM 198, Part I
HH5	MS HM 198, Part 2

IU University of Illinois Library

IU2	MS 821.08/c737/17

LA West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds

LA1	MX237

LM London Metropolitan Archives

LM1	ACC 1360/528

LR Leicestershire Record Office

LR1	DG7/Lit.2

	LR2	DG9/2796
LUB	**Leeds University Library**	
	LUB11	Brotherton Collection, MS Lt. q. 11
MC	**Chetham's Library, Manchester**	
	MC1	Farmer-Chetham MS 8012, A.4.15
NP	**University of Nottingham Library**	
	NP1	Portland MS Pw V 37
NY	**New York Public Library**	
	NY1	Arents Collection, Cat. No. S191
	NY2	Arents Collection, Cat. No. S288
	NY3	Berg Collection, Westmoreland MS
O	**Bodleian Library, Oxford**	
	O3	Bodleian MS Ashmole 38
	O8	Bodleian MS Don.b.9
	O20	Bodleian MS Eng. poet. e.99
	O21	Bodleian MS Eng. poet. f.9
	O30	Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 31
	O33	Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 116
	O34	Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 117
	O36	Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 160
OC	**Oxford University, Corpus Christi College Library**	
	OC1	MS 327
	OC2	MS 328
OJ	**Oxford University, St. John's College Library**	
	OJ1	Nathaniel Crynes volume
P	**Bedford Estates, London**	
	P1	MS Bedford 26
PM	**Pierpont Morgan Library, New York**	
	PM1	MS MA1057 (Holgate ms.)
R	**Rosenbach Museum and Library, Philadelphia**	
	R4	MS 239/23
	R9	MS1083/16
SA	**South African Public Library, Capetown**	
	SA1	Grey 7 a 29

SN National Library of Scotland

SN2	MS 2060 (Hawthornden)
SN3	MS 2067 (Hawthornden)
SN4	MS 6504 (Wedderburn)
SN5	Advocates' MS 33.3.19
SN2059	MS 2059 (Hawthornden)
SN2062	MS 2062 (Hawthornden)

SP St. Paul's Cathedral Library

SP1	49.B.43

TT Texas Tech University Library

TT1	PR 1171 D14 (Dalhousie I)
TT2	PR 1171 S4 (Dalhousie II)

VA Victoria and Albert Museum

VA1	Dyce Collection, Cat. No. 17, MS 25.F.16
VA2	Dyce Collection Cat. No. 18, MS. 25.F.17

WN National Library of Wales

WN1	Dolau Coth MS 6748

Y Yale University Library

Y1	Osborn MS b 62
Y2	Osborn MS b 114
Y3	Osborn MS b 148
Y5	Osborn MS b 197
Y356	Osborn MS b 356

Introduction

In the late spring of 1609, Lady Bridget Markham (1579-1609) lay gravely ill at Twickenham Park, the recently acquired home of her first cousin, Lucy Harington Russell, Countess of Bedford (1581-1627). By the third of May, Lady Markham's illness had turned for the worst, and it became increasingly clear that she would not survive. Her husband had died some five years earlier, so, as a widow, she was able to compose her own will which she did, hoping to ensure the best of care for her four children. She succumbed to her illness the next day. With Lady Markham's death, the Countess of Bedford's loss was simultaneously that of a kinswoman and of a fellow courtier. Then, in August, Cecilia Bulstrode (1584-1609), yet another of Bedford's cousins and companions at court, also found herself at Twickenham in the throes of illness. Her death on the fourth of August—three months to the day from Lady Markham's—saw Bedford once again at the parish church of St. Mary's burying another woman who had shared a place in her social and familial network. In the first decade of the seventeenth century, Bedford had quickly risen to prominence as a courtier and her influence at court and as a patron was by this point well established. That February, three months before Lady Markham died, Bedford had danced in an opulent court masque written by Ben Jonson, wearing a rich costume of mulberry and sky blue, designed by Inigo Jones.[1] She played the role of Penthesilia, queen of the Amazons, the first of twelve 'queens' which Jonson pointedly introduced as 'always advanced in the head of the worthiest women'.[2] But by April, the plague had begun to spread in London. Located in Richmond, Twickenham Park offered Bedford some hope of refuge without straying too far from court.[3] Nonetheless,

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[1] Percy Simpson, ed., *Designs by Inigo Jones for Masques & Plays at Court: A Descriptive Catalogue of Drawings for Scenery and Costumes Mainly in the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K.G.* (Oxford: Walpole and Malone Societies at the University Press, 1924), 18.
[2] British Library, Royal MS 18, f. 15r-v.
[3] Graham Twigg, 'Plague in London: Spatial and Temporal Aspects of Mortality', *Epidemic Disease in London* 1, no. 1 (1993): 1–17.

within a few short months her status as an influential patron was reflected in a proliferation of funerary verses written in the aftermath of her kinswomen's deaths, certainly a more somber honor than the light-hearted tribute of a masquing role.

John Donne, Ben Jonson, Francis Beaumont, Nicholas Hare, Henry Goodyere, and Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury are all known to have composed commemorative poems for at least one of the two women. And Bedford herself wrote on one of the occasions. The resulting elegy, beginning 'Death be not proud, thy hand gave not this blow' is the only surviving poem which can be convincingly attributed to her. In total, eleven poems survive which were written on the deaths of Lady Markham and Bulstrode. For the first two decades after the deaths, these poems were only subject to what Harold Love termed 'scribal publication' as they were circulated in manuscript.[4] The first instance of this scribal publication would have been the author writing the poem and presenting it to its intended recipient. From there, the poems may have been displayed at the funeral for mourners to read, they may also have been collected into memorial volumes.[5] But at some point, the eleven surviving poems on Bulstrode and Lady Markham began to spread through networks of manuscript verse collectors. In circulation, the texts were inevitably corrupted and recontextualized, both by chance and by design, as scribes copied them (with varying degrees of attentiveness), emended them to taste, and placed them alongside other works which suggestively affected their meanings. The afterlives of the individual texts are diverse. Several of them remained unprinted for over three centuries, one for over four, and another entirely so until now. Despite their differing patterns of circulation and staggered emergence in print, when they were first composed, the pieces were tied together through kinship and

[4] Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 35–89.
[5] Andrea Brady, *English Funerary Elegy in the Seventeenth Century: Laws in Mourning*, Early Modern Literature in History (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 62–89.

friendship networks, and by the early deaths of the two women which occasioned them. It is these connections which prompted this project, bringing the scattered works together again to examine them in context, while attending also to the circumstances surrounding the composition and preservation of each. Specifically, this thesis focuses on the witnesses of these poems preserved in contemporary manuscript verse collections, on the people who wrote and collected the poems, and on the material evidence that remains in the volumes which contain them.

The most notable poet contributing verses on the two deaths was John Donne (1572-1631), who, in around 1607, had embarked in the rather delicate process of establishing a patronage relationship with Bedford.[6] By 1609 he was drawing closer to her circle but her favour had long been a source of competition for writers and dramatists, as a result, Lady Markham's death saw him compose two poems—and elegy and a verse letter for Lady Bedford. His patronage relationship with Bedford was essentially brokered by their mutual friend Sir Henry Goodyere (1571-1627), who had helped her negotiate the purchase of Twickenham two years earlier. And Goodyere also contributed a florid composition on Lady Markham's death. Francis Beaumont (1584/5-1616) also wrote an elegy on Lady Markham's death—one which Philip Finkelpearl described as the most 'repellent' work of the English Renaissance.[7] A further anonymous, 6-line epitaph on Markham also appears in three manuscripts, two of which are closely linked to sources associated with Bedford. That same year, Bedford wrote her elegy ('Death be not proud, thy hand gave not this blow'), but unlike the aforementioned poems, its subject would at first appear to be Cecilia Bulstrode. In most surviving witnesses, scribes grouped her elegy with Donne's elegies on Bulstrode and Lady

[6] Daniel Starza Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers: Patronage and Manuscript Circulation in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 203.
[7] Philip J. Finkelpearl, *Court and Country Politics in the Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1990), 20.

Markham, often interpolated, untitled, between his two elegies on Bulstrode. But two witnesses offer a different presentation which isolates the poem and directs it instead towards Lady Markham's death. Jonson, Hare, and Cherbury wrote for Bulstrode's death, as did Donne, whose decision to draft two long elegies on Bulstrode has continued to vex editors of his verse.

Although Donne's verse is considered unique due to the thousands of surviving, non-autograph manuscript witnesses, two of the other poems connected to the women's deaths also survive in quantities which rival those of Donne's verses on the same occasions. Beaumont's 'As vnthrifts groane in straw for their lost beds' has thirty-one extant manuscript witnesses (as well as three seventeenth-century printed editions) compared to the forty-two manuscript copies of Donne's first elegy on Lady Markham ('Man is the world and death the ocean') and the eighteen witnesses of his verse letter ('You are that she that's double she'). Jonson's epitaph on Bulstrode ('Stay view this stone and if thou be not such'), survives in twenty-one manuscripts, whereas Donne's for elegies on Bulstrode, 'Death I recant and say unsaid by me' survives in thirty-seven manuscripts, and 'Language thou art too narrow, and too weak' survives in twenty-seven. Yet while all of Donne's funerary poems appear in the seven, seventeenth-century printed editions of his works, Jonson's was not printed until some three centuries later. In addition to these, the elegy 'Death be not proud, thy hand gave not this blow,' now attributed to Bedford, is present in ten manuscript copies, although one of these was copied from a printed edition of Donne's verse rather than from a manuscript witness in active circulation.[8] Erin McCarthy notes that this is one of the widest known groups of witnesses for a poem attributed to a woman.[9] Which poems are specifically

[8] US Airforce Academy, Colorado Mapletoft Volume.
[9] "'Life of the Muses' day, their morning star!" The Cultural Influence of Lucy Harington Russell, Countess of Bedford', 11–12 August 2016, Lincoln College, Oxford.

connected to each woman's death is in some cases unclear. Donne's verse letter 'You that and she, and you that's double she' is widely considered to comment on Markham's death.[10] Gosse and Grierson both suggest that Donne's elegy beginning 'Language thou art too narrow and are too weak' was likely written on Markham rather than Cecilia Bulstrode, but none of the later Donne scholars accept this suggestion.[11] While Bedford's elegy is widely considered to be on Bulstrode, evidence in contemporary manuscripts suggests that Markham's death may instead have occasioned Bedford's verse. In addition to the uncertain subject of Bedford's elegy, the material contexts in which the poem survives also connect the deaths of the two women.

In the decades after the deaths of Bulstrode and Lady Markham, verse collecting practices were in flux. Just after the turn of the century, the circulation of verses in England often appears to have been restricted to networks of acquaintances as evidenced by occurrences such as Bedford had writing to Jonson to request a copy of Donne's *Satyres*. As popular verses began to spread beyond the persons for whom they were originally written, (and with whom they were originally shared), Donne's occasional verses—much like his *Satyres*—were similarly sought after by an increasingly wide reading and collecting public. It was this wider set of collectors who propelled his meteoric rise in popularity as a manuscript poet. Although large collections of Robert Herrick's poetry appear later in the period, the number of manuscript witnesses of Donne's verse are striking in their unrivalled quantity. Unlike Herrick, however, Donne was writing well before the so-called golden age of

[10] Claude J. Summers, 'Donne's 1609 Sequence of Grief and Comfort', *Studies in Philology* 89, no. 2 (1992): 216.

[11] H. J. C. Grierson, ed., *The Poems of John Donne: Vol II - Introduction and Commentary*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford Univwresity Press, 1912), vol. 2: cxliii. Grierson suggests that the elegy 'Language thou art too narrow' was sent to Lady Bedford along with the epistle 'You are that she' and asserts 'the reference to Judith in the verse letter which seems to have been sent to Lady Bedford with the poem, and the tenor of the poem, suggest that Lady Markham is the subject of the elegy.'

manuscript verse collections in early modern England in roughly the 1620s and 1630s. In accidental defiance of his desire to control or recall his 'loose sheets' and have his papers neither shared nor reserved for the fire, the collectors working across social strata and networks preserved, corrupted, and gave new life and context to Donne's poems. While it may at first appear to be simply a matter of availability, this would not account for the dozen collections which are almost exclusively given over to works by Donne alone (or to works attributed to him). As with Herrick, Donne's verse was being increasingly collected because the poems were by him, as evidenced by the proliferation of witnesses with direct attributions (and misattributions) to Donne. While Donne's verse almost certainly was collected for its own merit, it is evident through the pristine pages and uncorrected, non-sensical misreadings even in some of the anthologising manuscripts, that some collectors lacked either understanding of or interest in reading the verses. Calligraphic, folio collections of Donne's verse produced by others for others suggest that they became a status gift in their own right. But Donne's verse then fell increasingly out of popularity until a resurgence of interest beginning near the end of the nineteenth century.

Evolution in Two Fields: Donne Studies, and Early Modern Manuscript Studies

Renewed interest in Donne's poetry in the late 19th and early 20th centuries spurred several new editions, and these editions of Donne's verse were a part of the driving force behind the uptick in interest in early Stuart verse miscellanies. As Lara Crowley recounts, Herbert Grierson learned of a recent edition of Donne's verse which more or less made his own in-progress edition redundant.[12] So he made his edition novel by turning to and discussing the manuscript witnesses, though he did not use them as a basis for his texts.[13]

[12] Lara Crowley, *Manuscript Matters: Reading John Donne's Poetry and Prose in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 21.
[13] H. J. C. Grierson, ed., *The Poems of John Donne: Vol I - Text and Appendixes*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1912), vol. 1.

Helen Gardner and Wesley Milgate followed Grierson's example in attending to those manuscripts, but each went a step further in their editions of Donne's verse, relying somewhat more on several of the manuscripts considered important by Grierson.[14] Donne scholarship has kept this trajectory which the *Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne* has rigorously adopted, investigating every known early seventeenth-century manuscript witness of Donne's work and basing their edition on these manuscript texts. Peter Beal had by this point had published his *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, in which he expanded and reconfigured the groups of manuscripts originally proposed by Grierson and subsequent editors.[15] In the first published volume of the *Donne Variorum*, the editors somewhat regrouped the manuscripts and offered schemata illustrating the relationships between individual poems in the various manuscripts. By the second published volume, they began producing stemmata to more precisely track these relationships. This in turn has influenced other editions of early seventeenth-century verse, including Tom Cain and Ruth Connolly's recent edition of Herrick's poetry, where they use more advanced computer-driven phylogenetics-based modelling to map the relationships between individual poems.[16] Mark Bland has also worked on the circulation of verses by Jonson and Beaumont, being arguably the most aggressive in using traditional stemmatics to demonstrate the relationship between every known manuscript witness of the poems he surveys.[17] Alongside these single-author editions of verse, scholars began editing individual verse miscellany manuscripts from the

[14] Helen Gardner, ed., *The Divine Poems of John Donne* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); Wesley Milgate, ed., *The Satires, Epigrams and Verse Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967).
[15] Peter Beal, ed., *Index of English Literary Manuscripts, Vol 1, 1450-1625* (London: Mansell, 1980), vol. 1; Peter Beal, ed., *Index of English Literary Manuscripts, Vol 2, 1625-1700* (London: Mansell, 1987) vol. 2; Gary A. Stringer and Donald Dickson, eds., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne: The Satyres*, 11 vols (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016), vol. 3.
[16] Tom Cain and Ruth Connolly, eds., *The Complete Poetry of Robert Herrick*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), vol. 2.
[17] Mark Bland, 'Francis Beaumont's Verse Letters to Ben Jonson and "The Mermaid Club"', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700* 12 (2005): 139–79; Mark Bland, 'Stemmatics and Society in Early Modern England', *Studia Neophilologica: A Journal of Germanic and Romance Languages and Literature* 86, no. [Supplement] (2014): 29–47; Mark Bland, 'Jonson, *Biathanatos* and the Interpretation of Manuscript Evidence', *Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia* 51 (1998): 154–82.

period, though scholars like Ruth Hughey had already produced rigorous documentary editions of verse collections from the Elizabethan period.[18]

At the same time as editorial practices shifted to look at the manuscript collections of Donne's verse, the manuscripts containing those verses became an increasingly important area of study in their own right. Mary Hobbs was the first to produce a book-length study of early Stuart manuscript verse miscellanies.[19] Hobbs had already argued the case for looking more closely at miscellanies in an earlier article.[20] Subsequently, she began to consider what types of manuscript collections were being represented and the genres of verse popularly collected, focusing on specific manuscripts and their relationships. She also underscored the academic (if not always literary) value of some of the unattributed, unpublished verse in the collections. While Harold Love's research interests skewed more towards Restoration verse, his contribution to and exploration of the concept of scribal publication and the social implications of manuscript transmission sparked debate around the meanings and forms which might constitute publication in the period. The considerations he raised surrounding the expectations and limitations of privacy and publicity have remained important to the study of manuscript verse circulation.[21] And Henry Woudhuysen's extensive study of the reasons, means, makers, and resulting products of literary manuscript production in the period defined the knowns and—just as important—the unknowns in the field of early modern manuscript studies as it began taking shape.[22]

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[18] Ruth Willard Hughey, *The Arundel Harington Manuscript of Tudor Poetry* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1960).
[19] Mary Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (Aldershot, Hants, England ; Brookfield, VT: Scholar Press, 1992).
[20] Mary Hobbs. 'Early Seventeenth-century Verse Miscellanies and Their Value for Textual Editors' *English Manuscript Studies* 1 (1989): 182-210.
[21] Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*.
[22] H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Arthur Marotti's early scholarship on early modern manuscript verse collections focused on the social-cultural aspects of these books.[23] In doing so he further defined types of collections and networks of transmission in a way which has become the standard language when discussing verse miscellanies from the period. These networks/sites of transmission he laid out include the universities, Inns of Court, Court, families, and Catholic circles. Marotti continues to engage with the circulation of verse and with collections that fall within his traditionally defined categories.[24] Over the course of his career, his recent work has begun to engage more with anonymous or lesser known verse and collections outside of these traditional sites of transmission, including his and Steven May's book on a miscellany compiled by a Yorkshire yeoman.[25] Their more recent work also catalogues an abundance of unique and often anonymous verse in manuscripts rather than the famous or highly popular poems which often draw these verse collections together.[26] Marotti and May seem to have increasingly turned away from the notion of distinct, formal coteries. This, in turn, also agrees in some sense with Richard McCabe's conception of coteries as being more artificial than previously assumed, often constructed externally both for the praising of their implied members (patrons) and the elevation by association of those defining them (writers).[27] But even in Marotti's most recent book, he foregrounds the more traditional networks of

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[23] Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).
[24] Arthur F. Marotti, 'The Circulation of Verse at the Inns of Court and in London in Early Stuart England', in *Re-Evaluating the Literary Coterie, 1580–1830* (London: Springer, 2016), 53–73; Arthur F. Marotti, 'Neighborhood, Social Networks and the Making of a Family's Manuscript Poetry Collection: The Case of British Library, Additional MS 25707', in *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture: Texts and Social Practices, 1580-1730,* eds. James Daybell and Peter Hinds (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 185–207; Arthur F. Marotti, *The Circulation of Poetry in Manuscript in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2021); Steven W. May and Arthur F. Marotti, 'Manuscript Culture: Circulation and Transmission', in *A Companion to Renaissance Poetry*, ed. Catherine Bates (Chichester, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2018), 78–102; Arthur F. Marotti, 'Christ Church, Oxford, and beyond: Folger MS Va 345 and Its Manuscript and Print Sources', *Studies in Philology* 114, no. 3 (2016): 850–878.
[25] Steven May, *Ink, Stink Bait, Revenge, and Queen Elizabeth: A Yorkshire Yeoman's Household Book*, Illustrated edition (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014).
[26] Arthur F. Marotti, 'The Verse Nobody Knows: Rare or Unique Poems in Early Modern English Manuscripts', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 80, no. 2 (2017): 201–221.
[27] Richard A. McCabe, *'Ungainefull Arte': Poetry, Patronage, and Print in the Early Modern Era* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 199-213.

transmission and types of manuscript while still investigating more marginal collections and the permeability of these networks. Similarly, a renewed focus on Catholic literary networks by Marotti and Susan Coogan underscores the surprising ability of kinship networks to enable patronage relationships and cultural exchange across religious and ideological lines.[28]

The focus of early modern manuscript studies broadened to encompass the socio-bibliographical and textual contexts of manuscript production as the field began to evolve. Joshua Eckhardt's book on anti-courtly love poetry uses the juxtapositions of verse on the manuscript page to understand the new contexts created when factional and political verse share space within miscellanies in the period, and the way that manuscript verse collectors contextualized this poetry in their gathering and arranging of texts.[29] Jonathan Gibson, however, suggests that without an in-depth knowledge of how the manuscripts were constructed and their texts copied out, the implications of the surrounding texts become less clear and much less able to support conjecture about the motivations of specific collectors.[30] The content of these manuscripts remains an important indicator of the factional, religious, or political leanings of the person or persons originally collecting those materials.[31] By attending to context, transmission, and material form, it may be possible to determine when and whether scribes independently grouped the same texts. This would be particularly evident if patterns of variants in individual poems indicate whether or not texts were assembled on multiple occasions through incongruous lines of transmission or copied in sequence from

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[28] Susan Coogan, *Catholic Social Networks in Early Modern England*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021). Arthur Marotti , ed., *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*. Houndmills, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999.
[29] Joshua Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors and the Politics of Anti-Courtly Love Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
[30] Jonathan Gibson, 'Synchrony and Process: Editing Manuscript Miscellanies', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 52, no. 1 (2012): 85–100.
[31] Michelle O'Callaghan, '"Those Lyrick Feasts, Made at the Sun, the Dog, the Triple Tunne": Going Clubbing with Ben Jonson', in *'Lords of Wine and Oile': Community and Conviviality in Robert Herrick*, ed. Tom Cain and Ruth Connolly (Oxford University Press, 2011), 83–105, Susan Coogan, *Catholic Social Networks in Early Modern England*.

gathering or booklets. The broader aim of this project is to look intensively at these overlapping collections of evidence. By editing each text individually, but with an eye to their placement in lines of transmission with other poems in the group, a clearer picture of how verse collectors engaged with these material begins to emerge.

Scholarship on the compilation of manuscript verse collections (while not exclusively concerned with the circulation of individual verses) has shifted in a similar direction, with increasing focus on extra-literary figures and communities, on material culture, and on readers—reflecting a general movement in book historical studies. Work on related manuscript collections has begun to broaden beyond the otherwise tight focus on single authors or single manuscripts .[32] Simultaneously, interest in the compilation of manuscripts now looks more closely at both professional and amateur verse collectors who had little apparent connection to the writers of whose verses they preserved.[33] The organizations of contents and reader interaction within these texts has also emerged as an increasingly important aspect of the culture.[34] Other recent approaches to early modern manuscript studies include Daniel Starza Smith's extensive look at the scattered papers of the Conway's, a politically-important family whose literary connections have long been overlooked.[35] He raises questions about possible connections between persons and manuscripts which this

[32] Joshua Eckhardt, 'Camden's Remaines and a Pair of Epideictic Poetry Anthologies', in *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2016), 187–200; Steven W. May, 'Henry Stanford's "God Knows What,"', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700* 16 (2011): 70-81.
[33] Marcy Lynne North, 'Amateur Compilers, Scribal Labour, and the Contents of Early Modern Poetic Miscellanies', *English Manuscript Studies: 1100-1700* 16 (2011): 82–111; Marcy North, 'Household Scribes and the Production of Literary Manuscripts in Early Modern England', *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 4 (2015): 133–57; Michelle O'Callaghan, 'Collecting Verse:" Significant Shape" and the Paper-Book in the Early Seventeenth Century', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 80, no. 2 (2017): 309–24.
[34] Angus Vine, 'Search and Retrieval in Seventeenth-Century Manuscripts: The Case of Joseph Hall's Miscellany', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 80, no. 2 (2017): 325–43; Jeffrey Todd Knight, 'Organizing Manuscript and Print: From Compilatio to Compilation', in *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches*, eds. Michael Johnston and Michael Van Dussen, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 77–95; Jeffrey Todd Knight, *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections, and the Making of Renaissance Literature* (Philadelphia; University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).
[35] Starza Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers*.

current project helps to somewhat address. The chapter on Nicholas Hare also uncovers more information on literary transmission and connections that the Conway family maintained in the first decades of the seventeenth century—one which ties them through kinship and cultural exchange to ardent Catholics in Italy and their Protestant families in England. Lara Crowley's recent study of Donne's verse and prose also looks at several individual texts and how they operate within a single manuscript collection.[36] To some extent, this project engages in a similar exercise by studying specific manuscript contexts of individual poems.

Alongside these books and articles, several digital projects including RECIRC and Erin McCarthy's recently funded project STEMMA: Systems of Transmitting Early Modern Manuscript Verse, 1475-1700 look at the circulation of verse, but incorporate vast swathes of data and (in the case of STEMMA) will include a range of authors regardless of their gender and notoriety. But this most recent project is very much data driven, using complex computational analysis to focus only on the relationships between texts without attending to external relationships. While this will allow a far broader and more inclusive reach for the texts and writers considered, the relationships off of the page retain significance for understanding how and why verse was collected. Furthermore, the volume of data in these projects represents only a tiny fraction of what once existed. Steven May's recent book covers in detail the breadth of literary and non-literary manuscripts created in the period and the almost-unimaginable loss rates for these documents. It also addresses the very inaccurate picture left behind, as the surviving documents belonged almost exclusively to very wealthy or politically important persons whose records were preserved.[37] Those excluded are a large

[36] Crowley, *Manuscript Matters*.
[37] Steven W. May, *English Renaissance Manuscript Culture: The Paper Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023).

community of the middling sort who were highly engaged not only in epistolary exchange, but in the collection and circulation of verse as well.

Similarly, the issues which contribute to an incomplete picture of how verse was transmitted might also draw attention to certain limitations of single author editions, namely in the sense that many times certain poems within an author's canon lose highly relevant context when isolated and edited in anthologies of their verse volumes. Christopher Burlinson points specifically to this problem as it arises with answer poems, one part of which may be edited alongside works by a single author while the corresponding text—one supplied by another poet—is ignored.[38] This becomes particularly problematic when a part of the aim of editing is to also study the circulation of a particular verse. Although verse collectors concerned with the order of their collections would have likely chosen to pair two corresponding texts (even those from different sources) it remains likely that some answer poems did travel together. Editing both and comparing variants doubles the body of evidence, offering on the one hand further clues as to the circulation of each text, and on the other, insight into how frequently intertextually linked pieces were materially connected in circulation. Similarly, Michelle O'Callaghan's study of manuscript witnesses of 'the Parliament Fart' explores not only its circulation, but the surrounding legal-literary culture in the period, the markers of which are evident in what is essentially a collaborative poem—one added to and subtracted from, with no stable text and a length which varies by some 160 lines.[39] While neither directly studying answer poems in the traditional sense, or collaborative poems, this thesis engages with a similar idea—namely that other cultural markers may argue

[38] Christopher Burlinson, 'The Single Author Edition and Manuscript Miscellanies', in *A Handbook of Editing Early Modern Texts*, ed. Claire Loffman and Harriet Phillips, Material Readings in Early Modern Culture (London: Routledge, 2018).
[39] Michelle O'Callaghan, 'Performing Politics: The Circulation of the "Parliament Fart"', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 69, no. 1 (2006): 121–38.

for texts to be considered and edited with an eye to their coherence outside of a single manuscript or single author context. One need only look at the funerary verses on Prince Henry's death to see how readily poets engaged with one another's occasional verses, particularly when writing on the same individual. As mercenary as it may well be, there is no shortage of evidence that poets were compelled to treat funerary verses in much the same way as other pieces when written for social elites, using them as vehicles through which to criticise the offerings of their competitors and elevate their own by comparison. The extent and degree of subtlety with which they succeed varies widely. In the same way as those texts both elevate patrons, and reveal tensions within overlapping communities, this project also looks at how these manuscripts reflect competing values, the popularity of collecting work by specific poets, and the cultural influence of the patrons for whom they wrote.

Structure and Orientation

This project developed from a master's thesis looking only at several of the poems on Lady Markham, which itself was prompted by two questions. This first emerged from reading Beaumont's elegy and failing to grasp what might have compelled him to write something so graphic and unsavoury on the widowed cousin of a highly influential patron. The second, regards scholars' willingness to accept Bedford as the author of 'Death be not proud, thy hand gave not this blow' based on the links between the manuscripts in which the attributions occur and her circle, but continually privileging the title added when the poem was prepared for print. That title directly contradicts the headings in those same important manuscripts. My conclusions at the time—that Beaumont was writing as an exercise in wit rather than commemoration, and that perhaps the scribe of those manuscripts altered the heading towards Lady Markham due to Bulstrode's reputation—are rather different from the conclusions

found upon further study.[40] Still the resulting approach stems from recognizing that both of these earlier concerns resulted from how existing scholarship frames the verses, as much of it isolates them within the canons of individual authors. As women's writing has become an increasingly popular area of study, so too have other realms of cultural influence championed by women, and Bedford's central role as an cultural agent at court is one resulting area of scholarship.[41] My thesis intends to engage with this scholarship by studying these poems as evidence of Bedford's cultural influence, and of the shifting cultural values underpinning the increasingly wide circulation of occasional verse. It will attend to the diverse ways contemporary verse collectors encountered, altered, and situated these poems, mediating the legacy of Lady Markham's and Bulstrode's deaths and of Bedford's patronage. Each chapter focuses on a poem or group of poems in conversation, the biographical and social context underpinning the composition thereof, as well as their circulation in manuscript. Each also uses case studies of specific manuscripts to illustrate various features of the diverse cultures of collection at work in the period, as well as—in some cases—identifying likely compilers or their associates.

This project also addresses persisting concerns in the subfield of early modern women's writing, namely, over how to handle both women's and men's writing together. It may seem like a bold claim to even be engaging in such work, as only one of the eleven poems that follow is attributed to a woman. Regarding this point, a recent symposium on the evolution of scholarship on women writers underscored the value of engaging those women writers alongside their male counterparts from the period, in that by doing so, excluding them

[40] Meghan Kern, 'The Lady Markham Elegies' (Unpublished Masters Thesis, Virginia Commonwealth University, 2019).

[41] '"Life of the Muses'day, their morning star!" The Cultural Influence of Lucy Harington Russell, Countess of Bedford', 11–12 August 2016, Lincoln College, Oxford. Margaret J. M Ezell. *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

from future conversations becomes difficult if not impossible for subsequent scholars.[42] Thus, while discussing women writers in isolation has an absolute value, so too does including them in wider conversations about literature from the period. As such, the introduction addresses the poem attributed to Bedford, with an emphasis not only on Bedford's composition, but also on how it sits in conversation with Donne's elegies on the same subject. Though discussion of Bedford's elegy has traditionally used it as a justification for Donne having written two elegies on Cecilia Bulstrode, both biographical considerations and the presentation of Bedford's elegy in contemporary manuscript witnesses suggest that the common discourse on her and Donne's elegies (those on both Bulstrode and Lady Markham) warrants reconsidering.

Chapter two engages Ben Jonson's verses on Bulstrode, both the scathing epigram he wrote on her during her life and his tacitly apologetic attempt to correct this social misstep with verses on her death. Engaging with McCabe's study of coteries and recent work on Ben Jonson and social authorship by Joseph Loewenstein, it looks at the divergent types of publication for Jonson's epigram and his epitaph.[43] It also considers the likely case that Jonson revised his epitaph on Bulstrode. It uses case studies of the early text to demonstrate how the poem was preserved in a collection by a fellow writer, who—like Jonson—was intimately engaged with the printing of his own verse, in a professional scribal collection which works, much as Jonson does when printing his verse, to present (or construct) an elite coterie from the outside, and in a collection likely belonging to a London professional with

[42] 'Unfinished Conversations: Still Kissing the Rod #3', Merton College, University of Oxford, 30 January 2024, Professor Rosalind Smith, Professor Sarah Ross, Dr Elizabeth Scott Baumann, Professor Danielle Clarke, Professor Virginia Cox, Professor Ros Ballaster, and Professor Diane Purkiss.
[43] Joseph Loewenstein, *Ben Jonson and Possessive Authorship*. Illustrated edition. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

few apparent links to Bedford or Jonson—someone far afield from the sort of audience which Jonson claimed to have found desirable.

Chapter three looks at one of two poems written by individuals seemingly outside of Bedford's circle. In this case, it studies the epitaph by the lesser-known poet Nicholas Hare and the manuscript which preserves the largest known collection of his verse, Huntington MS HM 198.2 (HH5). But investigating the persons likely involved in the compilation of this manuscript necessitates the rewriting of Hare's biography from a wealth of previously overlooked materials. It also requires identifying his contacts while in Europe and their relations in England. These overlapping networks, domestic and continental, Protestant and Catholic, have a bearing on both manuscript contexts and bibliographical provenance.

Chapter four, focusing on the elegy by Francis Beaumont, considers the traditional understanding of male wit and the commons categories of manuscript first defined by Hobbs and Marotti, manuscripts closely associated with this type of verse. By looking at context and transmission, it appears that not only was verse with this sort of wit also produced for some elite women, but the idiosyncrasies within each type of verse collection see the elegy categorically refigured, even among volumes which appear to have similar source texts and similar sites of production (and thereby likely similar socio-literary networks).

Methodology and Scope

The method for this project adapts elements of single-author critical editing to the socially dialogic nature of manuscript verse collections as defined by Marotti.[44] It addresses emerging questions over whether an edition should 'attempt to reproduce the groups in which

[44] Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, 135-208.

a poem is transmitted and transcribed' and how one might impose limits on such a group.[45] By organizing textual study around Bedford and the deaths of her close kinswomen, it reorientates research away from the individual author towards the patron and her circle. In doing so, it aims to more accurately reflect the power structure in which both poet and patron operated. Donne, Beaumont, and Jonson were free to assert power through their writing, but as a courtier and intimate of Queen Anne, Bedford held far more actual power than any of those men. It also uses non-literary sources from the period to support biographical considerations that help better define some participants (both writers and verse collectors) who aided the creation and recording of these texts. The approach this thesis advances coincides well with that suggested by May's recent book, published just before completion of this project.

Questions over methodology inevitably also arise, particularly regarding the use of traditional editorial conventions. Texts in this project are edited based on a copy text selected as the least corrupted surviving witness and only lightly emended, where required, to preserve meaning. For texts with many variant forms, particularly Beaumont's elegy which has diverse states, presenting multiple texts might help to visualise the different forms in their entirety, but it risks endorsing the corrupted texts as possible members of the original group and so this approach has not been followed. To be certain, there are new and as yet undiscovered ways to edit multiple authors together, just as there are emerging, novel ways to analyse manuscript variants and present alternate states of a text. For the first point, the choice to use rather conventional editorial practices is a deliberate one based on two factors. For several of these texts, there is no easily accessible published text available to consult, so

[45] Burlinson, 'The Single Author Edition and Manuscript Miscellanies'; Christopher Burlinson, 'Response and Accumulation: Textual Editors and Richard Corbett's "Oxford Ballad"', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 52, no. 1 (2012): 35–50.

producing an edition based on the best extant copy text, with ample justification for the choice of said copy text, allows a starting point from which to explore the changes introduced to the text. Engaging in that process is also necessary for understanding the ranking of variants, transmission, and later history of the texts. It is also a method which allows scholars relying on extant editions (particularly the *Donne Variorum*) to easily access and understand new material without having to first learn a new editorial language. And to the other point, it is an approach in line with the constraints inherent to this project as an individual doctoral thesis. Cain and Connelly explore manifold ways of analysing and presenting relationships between manuscripts in their recent edition of Herrick's verse. Of particular interest is their use of NeighborNet, which allows relationships between manuscripts to be visualised as a network rather than through the more binary format of stemmata. These new techniques are ones enabled by computer modelling which was originally created for biological phylogenetic analysis, and editors of the Herrick edition were supported by experts in such programming and analysis. This support and technology is not widely available outside of such a large-scale project.

Another challenge is delimiting the material to cover. The group of poems on the women's deaths seems well-defined enough, but when turning to the manuscript witnesses, other texts present the potential to further shape an understanding of both the circulation of witnesses and the response of those same authors to the deaths of other member of Bedford's family. Donne's elegy on Bedford's younger brother, Sir John Harington, 2nd Baron Harington of Exton (1592-1614)—being on an immediate family member and almost certainly written for the countess—might have some merit for inclusion on these grounds. These verses have been edited from all but the recently uncovered Melford Hall manuscript, so tracing their circulation has already been largely achieved by the editors of the *Donne*

Variorum (although as with the elegies studied here, their first volume was produced before a sharper turn towards stemmatics and is therefore the relations of witnesses remain less easy to immediately recognise). Donne's 'Obsequies on the Death of Lord Harington' remains outside the scope of this project for several reasons. The first is temporal, his death being five years after those of Lady Markham and Bulstrode, when the circumstances in Bedford's life had also shifted. But more importantly, Harington was himself a prominent and powerful member of the aristocracy, as well as a man, orientating him quite differently to the intimate courtly circles of Bedford and her kinswomen. The circulation of Francis Beaumont's poems presents a rather different issue. Although Bland has studied the circulation of some of Beaumont's verses, no full study has been undertaken, and so there is some risk of inferring patterns of transmission found with his elegy on Lady Markham which may be common to some of his other poems. The locations of manuscript witnesses for several of his poems appears to suggest some commonalities between the collections which preserve the Lady Markham and Bulstrode verses and Beaumont's poems for and on Elizabeth Manners (née Sidney), Countess of Rutland (1585-1612). The two poems, one written for her in life ('Madam so may my serves pleasing be') and another on her death ('I cannot think to eat to drink to sleep') are often found close at hand to the Bulstrode and Lady Markham elegies. This may offer some argument for their inclusion, particularly as Lady Rutland—not Bedford—may have been the intended recipient of his elegy on Lady Markham (as proposed in Chapter five). This also may allow for the possibility that Beaumont might have written his elegy on Lady Rutland's death for the benefit of a member of her family (perhaps even for the Countess of Bedford), which would further connect the poem to the core group, it being a commemoration of another of Bedford's kinswomen. But his poem on Rutland's death is so tonally different that it is difficult to imagine his words were not compelled by direct personal grief. However, were that poem accepted, then there would be an argument

(albeit a weaker one) that his elegy on the death of Lady Clifton may then warrant inclusion as well. And Jonson's elegy on E. F. which is labelled as 'another on the same' following his elegy on Bulstrode in Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 160, demonstrates how easily the group could expand based on little more than the copying habits of a single scribe. As such, this study is strictly limited to those verses which have reasonable claim to address the death of Bulstrode or Lady Markham as their subject. Beaumont's verses for Lady Rutland are also considered, but not here edited from every one of the extant manuscript witnesses. Sir John Roe's poems on Bulstrode, written during her life, might also have a similarly strong argument for inclusion as well. These are also discussed but not edited.

The Lives, Deaths, and Legacies of Lady Bridget Markham and Cecilia Bulstrode

As much of this project is socio-bibliographical, the biographies of the lesser attended to participants in the occasion of, and verses surrounding, these deaths deserve some greater clarity. The persons involved include major figures, like Bedford, Donne, Jonson, and Sir Kenelm Digby, but also far more marginal figures: a London apothecary, a melancholy and disinherited clerk in the Court of Wards, an English Catholic sourcing art and books for the Arundel and Conway families, and a young student at St John's College, Oxford. But Lady Bridget Markham and Cecilia Bulstrode remain both the most immediately central, and most frustratingly ill-documented figures among them. Just as the history of this group of verses is very much implicated in larger questions about how scholarship on women authors sits within the field of Early Modern English literary studies, the biographical information about the women involved also deserves fresh consideration as it comes largely from scholarship focused on authors such as Jonson and Donne. Given that the poems are on their deaths (and presumed virtues in life) it becomes especially important to investigate the oft-repeated narratives about these individuals, particularly those about Bulstrode, which have evolved

into accepted fact through time and repetition. Despite their prominence in the elegies by Donne, Jonson, and others, both Lady Bridget Markham and Cecilia Bulstrode appear as only minor characters in the history of their respective families, and as little more than footnotes in scholarship on Donne's funerary poems. Legal documentary evidence related to Markham survives, but Bulstrode has claimed relatively more attention—much of it negative (no doubt due in part to a scurrilous poem on her written by Jonson). Markham is usually presented as a chaste widow, and indeed there is no surviving evidence to suggest otherwise. But, unfairly or not, Bulstrode's legacy leaves her somewhat maligned. Given the contemporary practice of classifying women in by their relationships and proximities to men, making them a maid, a wife, a widow, or a whore, Markham's ability to fit within the chaste widow paradigm offered her a level of protection unavailable to the unwed courtier Bulstrode. The genres of archival witness to each of their lives also reinforce this picture. Markham's life is testified in legal documents, a stone epitaph, and a tragic recounting of her death. Bulstrode's is reflected in poems about her at court, a lengthy account of her suffering and surviving an illness, and a single account of her owning a banned piece of politically dangerous verse.

Lady Markham was the daughter of Sir James Harington (1542-1614) first Baronet Ridlington and Frances Sapcote (d. 1599), daughter of Robert Sapcote of Elton, Huntingdonshire.[46] Sir James Harington was the third son of Sir James Harington of Exton, Rutland and Lucy Sidney of Penshurst. His brother (Lady Markham's uncle) was Sir John Harington, First Baron Exton, Bedford's father. In 1597, Lady Markham was married in her home parish of Ridlington. Her husband, Sir Anthony Markham (d. 1604) was of the Sedgebrook branch of the Markham family, and although its members were gentry, their

[46] The biographical detail on Lady Markham's life covers material originally included in Kern, 'The Lady Markham Elegies', 6-12.

regional significance is apparent in several records. When Sir Anthony was admitted as a fellow-commoner to Gonville and Caius on April 19, 1594, he was awarded the designation '*Adolescens Optimae Spei'*. This status was given to students with hope that they or their families were destined to become benefactors of the college.[47] Less than a year later, in February of 1594/5, he was admitted to Gray's Inn.[48] He was further elevated during the change of monarchs in 1603. In April of that year, as James I took the Great North Road from Edinburgh to London for his coronation, he stopped at Belvoir Castle and granted knighthoods on the 23rd of April. Anthony Markham among the gentlemen included, further lifting the family's status.[49]

Lady Markham maintained social connections through both her family and that of her husband. Her second cousin, Elizabeth Manners, Countess of Rutland, the sole surviving child of Sir Phillip Sidney, lived nearby at Belvoir Castle with her husband Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland (1576-1612). Her father had attended Shrewsbury School alongside Lady Markham's father. The Manners family were part of a line of staunch Catholics and one of many such families interconnected both through faith and proximity in the East Midlands. In addition to the familial ties and the connection between their fathers at Shrewsbury, Lady Markham and Lady Rutland shared close proximity as well. Sedgebrook Hall lay less than five miles from Belvoir Castle, the church of St Lawrence, Sedgebrook still being visible from the castle on a clear day. Unsurprisingly, the archives at Belvoir include evidence of the

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[47] John Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses; a Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), 141; John Venn, *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College, 1349-1897: Containing a List of All Known Members of the College from the Foundation to the Present Time, with Biographical Notes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897), 152.
[48] Joseph Foster, *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521-1889, Together with the Register of Marriages in Gray's Inn Chapel, 1695-1754* (London: Priv. print. by the Hansard publishing union, limited, 1889), 89.
[49] John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James The First, His Royal Consort, Family, and Court* (London: J.B. Nichols, 1828), vol. 1: 92.

Markhams and their domestic staff visiting the castle on several occasions.[50] And Lady Markham's engagements continued well after her husband's death, suggesting that the kinswomen maintained ties.[51]

Some sense of Lady Markham's social and familial connections can also be gleaned from the records of her children's births. When her first son John was born in 1598, his godparents included Sir John Harington and the Countess of Bedford.[52] Four years later, the Countess of Rutland, William, third Earl of Pembroke (1580-1630), and Lady Bedford's husband, Edward Russell, third Earl of Bedford served as godparents for their youngest son Henry.[53] Like the Countess of Rutland, Pembroke was a second cousin to both Lady Markham and Bedford through their paternal grandmother Lucy Harington (nèe Sidney). The complexity of the entries for their children's births and baptisms in the Sedgebrook parish registers also suggest the family's regional status, these far exceeding the others entered in the same period and hand. By involving these aristocratic members of her family in these ceremonies, Lady Markham reinforced a social and spiritual kinship with her relations in the peerage. Only one of Sir Anthony Markham's relatives is recorded as a godparent, which give some sense of the greater social status Lady Markham held both during and after her marriage.

Sadly, the marriage was only to last seven years, for in the late fall of 1604, Sir Anthony Markham fell ill. He wrote a brief will, far shorter than the four-page affair drafted

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[50] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland ... Preserved at Belvoir Castle* (London: Printed for His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1905), vol. 4:456. Although it is unclear when the families first began to associate, Sir Anthony was present for King James' visit and the Rutland family papers document his participation in a hunt in October 1604.
[51] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *The Manuscripts of the Duke of Rutland*, 4:462. Accounts from the Rutland family record that in 1608 Lady Markham sent her gardener to deliver strawberries and raspberries to the family.
[52] Lincolnshire Archives, SEDGEBROOK PAR 1/1, f. 18r.
[53] Lincolnshire Archives, SEDGEBROOK PAR 1/1, f. 20r.

by Lady Markham. He died and was buried at the parish church of St. Lawrence in Sedgebrook on the tenth of December.[54] As his sole executrix, Lady Markham was immediately in charge of the family's estate and the education of their children. She paid his outstanding debts, as well as the remaining physicians' and apothecaries' fees.[55] She also chose to arrange a relatively lavish funeral for her husband with a dole for the poor of Sedgebrook.[56] Following his death, Lady Markham remained a widow despite being only twenty-five at the time of his passing (the same age at which Bulstrode died a spinster).[57] But her widowhood closely coincided with Bedford's ascension at court which occurred at beginning of James' reign. And as Lady Markham was also a part of the Queen Anne's Bedchamber, it is likely she would have swiftly found herself in London as a courtier and subject to the many tongue-in-cheek associations attached to women of that status.

The event of Lady Markham's death has curiously received no attention thus far despite the existence of a printed account of it. By 1609 the quack doctor Francis Anthony had been brought several times before the College of Physicians with demands that he cease practicing, but he continued to peddle his treatment, *aurum potabile*—drinkable gold—a poison. As the son of a goldsmith, Anthony was well placed to find wealthy clients and claimed to have successfully treated Cecila Bulstrode's illness some five years before Lady Markham died. In his tract against Anthony, the physician John Cotta recounted a second-hand report of Lady Markham's death, and Anthony's part in it. '

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[54] Lincolnshire Archives, SEDGEBROOK PAR 1/1, f. 25r.
[55] Lincolnshire Archives, INV/98/176.
[56] Arthur Roland Maddison, *Lincolnshire Wills ...: With Notes and an Introductory Sketch* (Lincoln: James Williamson printer, 1891), 9. Sir Anthony Markham explicitly left the manner and expense of his funeral to his wife. Lincolnshire Archives INV/98/176. The funeral expenses listed in his inventory place the funeral in the upper range of costs for a Knight's funeral found in Gittings survey of funeral costs by social class in early 17th century Lincolnshire. Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1988), 239.
[57] The presence of a will in her name indicates that she remained unwed, see Ralph A. Houlbrooke, *The English Family 1450 - 1700*, 1 edition (London: Routledge, 1984), 210–11; Lucinda M. Becker, *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 152.

> It was reported, in my hearing, to the reuerend Doctor mentioned in the second domesticall testimony, by one M^r^ *Bernard* Esquire, my louing neighbour & freind, that an honorable Gentlewomā in the family of the *Markhams* (where this gentleman was then present) being surprised by a deplo|rate disease, but without paine, or at least with tolerable sense of paine, after the receauing of *Aurum potabile,* interchanged thereby for her former easie passage vnto death, a miserable durance of intolerable torture, not onely grieuous vnto all beholders and freinds, but vnto the Master of *Aurum potabile* himselfe, who professed his owne sorrow and repentance for the dispensation thereof. The truth of this history, the mentioned worthie Doctor, according vnto the Gentleman his former relation by his letter vnto mee doth thus confirme. Whereas, saith he, you make report from M^r^ *Ber|nard* what vnhappily happened to the young Lady *Markham,* I will here relate vnto you what S^r^ *Iames Harrington* said concerning that matter, vnto my selfe in presence of ma|ny others, *viz.* that the said young Lady being (as I remember) his owne daughter, and languishing so long vnder sick|nesse, that no hope of recouery was left, D. *Antony* sent vnto her some part of his *Aurum potabile,* which preuailing nothing at all for her amendment or ease, hee came himselfe to her in person, and did giue her some (belike) of the purest and strongest of that medicine, or a greater quantity. Within short time it wrought such an alteration in her, that the Knight, as he himselfe said, wished he had giuen 500^l^ rather then shee should haue indured the torment and continuall vexation, which from that time afflicted her vnto her death. It seemeth that her disease was a consumption, whereof (said her father) as she long languished patintly, shee might haue died quietly to her selfe, and comfortably to her freinds. It was not hoped that she could haue liued 2 weekes, but shee departed within two daies, and that short time was also tedious and greiuous vnto the beholders.[58]

Amid her torturous rush towards death, Lady Markham composed her will, and it remains her only surviving communication.[59] The four-page document reflects Lucinda Becker's assessment of women's wills as 'tools of social cohesion, drawing together family members, often from a wide orbit, in the woman's memory.'[60] The details in Lady Markham's will suggest a common anxiety over memorialization and an emphasis on reinforcing familial and social connections, thereby providing some glimpse into who she held closest towards the end of her life. For her own memory, she requests a half-year's rent to ensure that 'my Executors see me buried according to my place and make some litle memory of my husband

[58] John Cotta, *Cotta Contra Antonium: Or An Ant-Antony: Or An Ant-Apology Manifesting Doctor Antony His Apologie for Aurum Potabile…* (Oxford: Iohn Lichfield & Iames Short for Henry Cripps., 1623), 95–96.
[59] National Archives PROB 11/114, ff. 345v-347r.
[60] Becker, *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman*, 110.

and self in Sigbrok Church.'[61] She also appended a request to provide an annual dole to the poor in Sedgebrook until her children attained their majorities.[62] Despite these careful preparations, not all of her requests appear to have been fulfilled. Her sons were sent to Oxford rather than Cambridge, and it also seems that neither the burial nor the memorial in Sedgebrook were ever arranged despite, or perhaps because of, the efforts taken to honor her by Bedford in her own nearby church at Twickenham. If they did at some point exist, perhaps they were stone memorials placed outside of the church, now eroded by time, but the current churchwardens record no such items, nor do the existing registers. Only a reference to Markham's funeral having taken place (elsewhere) survives in the Sedgebrook register.[63]

Lady Markham also gave her jewellery to family members to be refashioned to their tastes and requested the making of memorial rings. Her choice of kin to whom she sent these is illustrative of her closer ties as this sort of memorial existed for the explicit purpose of preserving the memory of the deceased in such a tangible way as to adorn the bodies of the living. As Nigel Llewellen suggests, mourning rings were 'carefully selected with an eye to the recipient's rank and the closeness of the relationship.'[64] And the importance of these gifts (among those who could afford them) was not to be understated.[65] In addition to the diamond

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[61] National Archives PROB 11/114, f. 346r.
[62] J. S. W. Helt, 'Women, Memory and Will-Making in Elizabethan England', in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Rememberance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 200–201. This sort of almsgiving was particularly associated with womens' wills. Helt's study of 1276 women's wills found that although they made up only one sixth of the total probated wills in the record, women's wills accounted for one third of the instances of funeral doles. Helt suggests 'these death-bed donations also were a continuation of the testator's place in the local social hierarchy.'
[63] Lincolnshire Archives SEDGEBROOK PAR 1/1, f. 36v
[64] Nigel Llewellen, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual c.1500-c.1800* (London: V&A, Reaktion Books, 1991), 86.
[65] Dudley Carleton, *Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, 1603-1624; Jacobean Letters*, ed. Maurice Lee (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1972), 99. In his edition of the letters between John Chamberlain and Sir Dudley Carleton, Maurice Lee's evidence for the weakened relationship between two men comes from the very visible and tangible importance to both the living and dead of such mourning rings, 'Chamberlain commented at the time of Mildmay's death in 1617 that "Ned Winmarke for all the auncient acquaintance between them hath not so much as a rush-ring for a rememberance"'. The absence of such a bequest becomes a tongue-in-cheek comment on the disregard Mildmay held for Winmarke.

and ruby rings she bequeathed to her father, her aunt Lady Hastings, and her brother-in-law Sir John Molyneux, she further appointed

> to my Cosen Sir John Brooke one of my eare-rings with dyamonds to make into some fashion that he may weare it for my sake: and to his mother the Lady Cobham the other for the same purpose. And I give to my Aunt the Lady Harrington a little hart-ring with dyamond in the midst worth ten pounds.[66]

Lady Cobham had married Sir Henry Brooke (1537–1592), fifth son of George Brooke (c.1497–1558), 9th Baron Cobham and was the daughter of Sir Henry Sutton of Averham, Nottinghamshire. Her mother, Alice Harrington, was daughter to Sir John Harrington of Exton, Rutland her son, Sir John Brooke (1575–1660), later Baron Cobham, served as both Esquire of the Body and Gentleman of the Privy Chamber.[67] She closes her will by requesting three memorial rings with deathsheads on them for Sir Henry Carey (1575-1633), then joint master of the jewel house, Sir John Gill (1567-1651), and Sir Benjamin Rudyerd (1572-1658) whose poems appear in many of the manuscripts associated with the relevant group of funerary verses. Her gifts of mourning jewellery help to establish the social connections she held at death with individuals directly connected to the literary circle around the Countess of Bedford at that time.

In addition to these bequests, Markham left money and a large quantity of her personal effects to Bedford, including her carriage, mares, all of her silver plate held in London, a 'crymosn velvet gowne,' and a 'tawney suite ymbroidered with cloth of sylver.'[68] It is possible that the circumstances of her death contributed to the abundance of items she gave to Bedford and the others named in the will, given that she drafted it in the company of Bedford and their mutual kin. She left Bedford's servant Catherine Wynderpoole twenty

[66] National Archives PROB 11/114, f. 346v.
[67] Alan Davidson, Rosemary Sgroi, 'Brooke, Sir John (1575-1660), of Dean's Yard, Westminster and Heckington, Lincs.' *History of Parliament Online.*
[68] PROB 11/114, f. 347r.

pounds—more than she gave to any of her own servants, possibly to recompense the care she received whilst on her deathbed at Twickenham. Still, whether or not the pressures of her borrowed deathbed affected the value of her bequests to the Bedford household, Lady Markham also communicated her close relationship with the Countess of Bedford through indirect gift-giving. To her own sister, she bequeathed a separate token of her friendship with the countess, a tablet with a picture of Bedford. That she owned such a picture speaks to the closeness of her relationship with Bedford. Incidentally, it may also represent a previously unrecorded instance of Bedford's artistic patronage, were it originally gift from Bedford to Lady Markham.

Lady Markham also directed her daughter, Frances Markham, into Bedford's care, along with £500 and a £50 a year maintenance (equal to that which she left her eldest son), and a request to save £1200 to aid in finding her a suitable husband. By placing Frances in Bedford's care, she increased the likelihood that her daughter would receive some education and positioned her to make the best possible match in marriage, using Bedford's social connections and—at the time—her interest in securing such matches for the children of those closest to her. By giving her daughter to Bedford with funds to support her, she also engaged in a more intimate version of granting her a ward to fill a place in her household.[69] But although Bedford seems to have taken pains to fulfil Lady Markham's wishes, young Frances died too, only five years later. Writing to Lady Jane Cornwallis Bacon on September 9, 1614, she recounts

> My people every whear have binne vissited with much sickness, which hath concluded at Exton with the death of poor Francke Markham, the newse whereof camme to me yesterday and brought me a great deale of sorrow,

[69] Patricia Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 39–44. Fumerton's account of wardships and "child-giving" emphasizes the benefit of this exchange for the recipient and the role of this act in the wider cultural of gift-giving. It may well be of interest that here Lady Markham is specifically circumventing any involvement by the Court of Wards in the placement of her daughter.

> having ever had cause to hope, if God had spared her lyfe, she wold have repayd my care of her with honor and comfort; whearin at her ende she hath not deseaved me, though my hope of seeing her happily bestowed be frustrate. Had she lived till Allhollandtyde she had died a wyfe, for I had concluded such a match for her, as I had reason to believe she should have lived contentedly.[70]

Leslie Lawson notes the apparent curtness of Bedford's response to the death, and that she 'appeared more provoked by the failure of the projected marriage than the death of Frances' but concedes that Bedford was also prone to such an attitude in relaying news.[71] Frances' arrival in the household at age nine may have been a bitter reminder of Bedford's own difficulties. Her son, born in 1602 had died within a year, and her daughter—also christened Frances—died within two days of her birth in 1610. But perhaps too, Bedford's own sickness that year, the loss of her brother in February, and that of her father the previous August, may account for the palpable sense of frustration and weariness in her letter.

After Lady Markham's violent death, Bedford spent some fifteen days arranging the funeral—a length which would also underscore Lady Markham's importance both socially and personally. As a part of these arrangements a funeral plaque was commissioned on which is preserved details about Lady Markham's life that do not survive in any other sources, specifically her service in Queen Anne's bedchamber. The plaque also underscores her friendship with Bedford, her prominence (as well as Bedford's by connecting both to each other and to the queen), and her position as virtuous widow.[72]

> Bridgæ lectissimæ, piisimæ, innocentissimæ:-
> tamen hoc autem uno quo sexus dignior sexum
> fasse quod mater fuit, caetera viri; quae generi

[70] Jane (Meautys) Cornwallis Bacon and Griffin Braybrooke, *The Private Correspondence of Jane Lady Cornwallis; 1613-1644. From the Originals in the Possession of the Family* (London: S. & J. Bentley, Wilson & Fley, 1842), 25–26.
[71] Lesley Lawson, *Out of the Shadows: The Life of Lucy, Countess of Bedford* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2007), 126.
[72] St. Mary's Church (Twickenham) Memorial Plaque of Lady Bridget Markham. Cited in Alexander Dyce, ed., *The Works of Beaumont & Fletcher; the Text Formed from a New Collation of the Early Editions. With Notes and a Biographical Memoir by Alexander Dyce*, 11 vols (London: E. Moxon, 1843), vol. 1: xxx–xxxi; Daniel Lysons, *The Environs of London: Kent, Essex, and Herts*, (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1811), vol. 2, part II:789.

suo quo Jacob Harringtoni Eq. Aur. Jo. Baronis de Exton frat.
filia fuit itaque inclytae Luciæ Comitissæ de Bedford sanguine (quod
satis) sed et amiciticia propinquissima, quantum accepit, addidit
splendoris; et serenissimæ Annæ, Mag. Brit Reg. Dan Reg. F. cui ab
interiori camera acceptissimæ; quæque litigantibus in ilia de
superioritate singulis virtutibus ad summum Dei tribunal ut lis
dirimeritur, provocavit, migravit, maturavit; ante
in defuncto Marito Anto. Markham, Eq Aur. semimortuæ
adhuc in ejus liberis Jo. Rob. Henr. Franc. semisuperstitis,
depositum hic servare voluere amici ejus mœstiss. Secessit
4 Maii anno salutis suae 1609, ætatis 30.[73]

The emphasis on her close friendship with Bedford—likely the person who commissioned the memorial—is of note both for how it elevates Lady Markham and Bedford. While not a part of the collections of verses, it deserves some mention both for its biographical content as well as the overt social and material signals involved.[74] There remains some irony that the memorial describes Lady Markham as 'half-dead by the death of her husband' but there is no evidence that her wishes to be buried with him and memorialized in Sedgebrook were attempted. Lady Markham's closest bond in death became Bedford and her funerary plaque a shared monument to both women.

Cecilia Bulstrode's life and relationships are gleaned from much more intimate and interested sources. Whatever her true nature, the archival record is very much informed by surviving verses written on her during her life at court. The survival of two poems by Sir John Roe suggests she was the subject of much amorous attention while at court. But the

[73] Bridget learned, pious, and innocent:
One by whom all of her sex become more worthy
She was a mother, and widow, daughter Sir James Harington
Niece to Sir John Harington, Baron of Exton, his brother.
She was therefore the cousin of the reknowned Countess Lucy of Bedford by blood (which
is itself enough) but was also very close in friendship, giving and accepting that splendor, and of the serene
Queene Anne given a place in her chambers as is accepted for those judged right in virtures by the court of God
She was already half dead by the death of her husband Anthony Markham,
and is survived by their children John. Robert, Henry. Francies
Here keep the sorrow of this lost friend . Passed away
4 May, in the year of his salvation 1609, age 30.

[74] The use of an imported black marble for the plaque, rather than the domestically available Purbeck or Sussex 'marbles' is one such a material signal.

most widely known poem on Bulstrode while at court is, Jonson's 'Epigram on the Court Pucelle', which sees her cast as somehow simultaneously a whore, hermaphrodite, and lesbian rapist of the muses—an absurd and witless figure given over to feigning religious zeal, and bouts of feigned illnesses with 'miraculous' recoveries, in equal turns. And the implications of this illness are explicitly sexual. And with regard to the latter, he may have founded such a claim on a genuine episode suffered by Bulstrode. One of the only other surviving accounts of her in life is of one such an illness and remarkable return to health—though the account leaves ample room for question as it exists purely to defend Francis Anthony's golden 'cure'. But even within Anthony's account, Bulstrode's illness is long lasting and severe. While he would of course benefit from exaggerating the scale of her illness –and thereby the power of his cure—he nonetheless records:

> Mistres Cicely Boulstred, a worthie gentlewoman, and virgine, attending in neere seruice our gracious Queene, in good fauour and account, fell sicke, and had greiuous passions. Vnto whome diuers of the most famous Physitions of the Colledge were called. Who with great care, and their vtmost skill, sparing no cost (as was fitting in such a place) administred all kinds of conducing Medicines, both Cordials, and other respectiuely to the cause of her disease, and passions: both such as be ready in the shoppes, as others by some singularitie of Art prepared. Her passions still continued, if not encreased. Continuall vomiting, and reiection of whatsoeuer she tooke, meate, drink, medicines: with swoundings, torture, torments of euery part of her body. A miserable and pitifull spectacle, much lamented of many very honourable persons. Shee could not rest nor sleepe night nor day. So that sinking vnder the burden of this affliction, with the violence and continuance thereof, her strength vtterly failed. Shee could not retaine so much as one drop of any broth or other nourishment. Her Stomacke by coniecture of all Physitions, was drawen together and shut vp, without any power or faculty to performe the offices of nature. In this miserable estate, this distressed gentlewoman languished two whole monthes, without any ease or releefe by the vse of any the Medicines giuen her by the aduise of the said Physitions: all things tending to a more desperate and Immedicable estate.[75]

That she lay in torment for two months of such a severe illness belies Jonson's flippant suggestions in his epigram that her illnesses were feigned. A closer look at

[75] Francis Anthony, *The Apologie, or Defence of a Verity Heretofore Published Concerning a Medicine Called Aurum Potabile…* (London: John Legatt, 1616).

Anthony's account also sets right the occasional suggestion that it describes the illness which ultimately ended her life. He notes that she is twenty years of age during this period, this would make event fall around 1604, a year after one of Roe's verses on her. Even if Anthony's account of her age was altered for reasons of vanity, his mention of Bulstrode's mother desperately requesting any treatment to save her daughter, allows proof that the incident occurred before 1609. Her mother, Cecily (Croke) Bulstrode died in 1608, so this illness must have resolved well before Cecilia's death. This in turn, may help to date Jonson's epigram, as it may be the dramatic recovery which he took such pains to mock.

One particularly salacious biographical note which Jonson alluded to in his epigram was Bulstrode having broken two marriage contracts—a suggestion made all the more scandalous by the further proposal which appeared in the 20th century, namely that the broken contracts were between herself and two successive cousins, Sir John Roe and Sir Thomas Roe. Sir John Roe does seem to have had some relationship with her. Two poems which appear in manuscripts (including those closely related to Bedford's circle) are reliably attributed to Sir John Roe and titled in such a way that directs them towards Bulstrode. For the latter broken engagement to Sir Thomas Roe, R. C. Bald bases this evidence on an account of Sir Thomas Roe's time at the Mughal court and a picture he treasured of a woman who had died.[76] Bald also relies upon an undated letter from Donne to Garrard speaking of Roe's extreme distress over a woman's death. Gosse had assumed the woman in question was Lady Markham.[77] However, the overwhelming influence of later scholars has almost immutably cemented the opposite view.[78] Even Bedford's biographer supports this suggestion with a reference to contemporary rumour, but aside from Jonson's epigram and

[76] R.C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 177–78.
[77] Edmund Gosse, ed., *The Life and Letters of John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's*, 2 vols (London: Peter Smith, 1899), vol. 1.
[78] This letter is analysed with further detail in Chapter 1.

Donne's letter, there appears no other source for this conjecture, and Donne's letter, as discussed in Chapter two, likely points to a different situation.[79] This not only dampens the scandal slightly (though not entirely), but it also allows the possibility that Lady Markham would have also been the subject of some amorous attention. This is somewhat less in line with her enduring image as a widow far divorced from such interests, though whether she accepted such attention readily cannot be known.

What does appear likely, is that Bulstrode's other broken marriage contract was to someone else entirely. Sir Tobie Matthew had been on the continent and unable to return to England on account of his reported Catholic leanings. Curious about the situation at home and rather desperate to redeem himself, in February of 1607, he made enquiries to his friend, Sir Dudley Carleton, begging

> Mony for gods sake and newes if you have any. What is done in Parliament when is it like to end, how the lawes ar executed vpon the Papistes, and the Conons vpon the Puritains." Whether my Lord Norreys and his little one, be one again, or no: whether the Sollicitours place be yet bestow'd, and how? If Sr Lake do keep his ground in Court, and whether all the water runn to one mill as it was wont? Is my Lady of Bedford there again, and was it a marriage between Boulstred, and Daniel or but a contract? [80]

The 'Boulstred' in question seems likely to have been Cecilia, although she was one of five daughters born to Edward Bulstrode. But no such reference to broken contracts exists mentioning any of them, and each seems possible to rule out based on existing evidence. Both Cecilia and her sister Dorothy were in court together and both women were subject to suggestions of sexual impropriety. But Dorothy was married (apparently somewhat unhappily) to Sir John Ayers in 1609.[81] Elizabeth (1575-1631) had married James Whitelock in 1602. Anne (1581-1611) too was married in the first decade of the seventeenth century to

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[79] Lawson, 79. Lawson suggests that the relationship between Bulstrode and Sir Thomas Roe was 'widely' rumoured, but there appears no documentary evidence of such a rumour aside from the items Bald used to make this claim.

[80] SP 78/53 f. 234 1607 Feb 19 Paris Mathew to Carleton in his house at Cripplegate without.

[81] Edward Herbert, *The Autobiography of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury: With Introduction, Notes, Appendices, And A Continuation Of The Life*, ed. Sidney Lee (London: John C. Nimmo, 1886), 129-130.

John Serle, with her wedding falling on 24 June 1609. No record survives of her sister Magdalen after her birth in 1590 and Margaret (b.1577) had died while the family was in London in 1582. At the time, there seemed to be an increasing pressure for the Bulstrode sisters to marry. When their maternal grandfather Sir John Croke died in February of 1609, the only bequest he left for any of his grandchildren was a gift of money for the preferment of those unwed daughters of his own daughter (Cecily Croke Bulstrode) to be married. Matthew's actual interest in the possibility of this marriage or contract is more ambiguous. There is some sense that his concern at this point is far more on the treatment of Catholics in England, with the other questions meant to draw attention away from his concern with the first matter. But perhaps he too had a closer understanding of the situation as another letter from him is the source of information about Bedford's temporary fall from favour at court.

Although breaking marriage contracts to two unrelated men is perhaps only marginally less scandalous than breaking contracts with two cousins, correcting the details of the women's lives is all the more important given the dearth of archival records. May writes extensively on the loss of manuscripts from the period, including both literary and non-literary documents, estimating that for much of the population, loss rates for personal papers were at 100%.[82] So, while it should be of little surprise that so few non-literary documents survive attesting to the women's lives, it is remarkable that to date, some 211 witnesses have been located of verses on their deaths. Lady Markham and Bulstrode were minor courtiers. Bedford was not. Her influence as a courtier and patron was the catalyst behind many of these poems, but the vibrant culture of literary exchange in the 1620's and 1630's saw the legacies of Bedford and her kinswomen preserved by members of diverse social strata from

[82] May, *English Renaissance Manuscript Culture'*, 146-172.

young students to London professionals. The surviving manuscripts reflect the intersection of two very intimate, personal occasions, with a culture of collecting that almost incidentally created their most enduring memorials.

Chapter 1: Reconsidering Patronage, Grief, and Comfort

When Cecilia Bulstrode and Lady Bridget Markham died in 1609, at least eight individuals wrote poems to commemorate their passing. Of the eleven known poems, some 221 manuscript witnesses survive. As a subset of occasional poetry, funerary verses were immensely popular for compilers of manuscript verse collections in the period. This form outnumbered all other (save for song lyrics) in early seventeenth-century verse miscellanies.[1]That such an highly temporally specific genre would become widely collected points to both the consolatory value of these poems for individuals close to the deceased—many elegies exist in only a few copies held by close family members—but also to the wider didactic value they held as this form developed during the period. Predictably, the more elevated and public the deceased (or their family), the larger the set of verses memorializing them, with the printed collection of forty-five elegies on Prince Henry's death being the largest. But the burgeoning numbers of poems on relatively minor court figures in early Stuart verse collections appears less related to those figures themselves, and more to both the influence of individual patrons and the increasing popularity of those authors they supported—ones whose innovations were reshaping the genre. That so many witnesses of poems on two minor courtiers survive would perhaps seem extraordinary but that several were by Donne—the most collected English manuscript poet in the Early Modern period. Yet Donne was notoriously reluctant to engage in the genre and wrote comparatively very few funerary poems for either his friends or social superiors.[2] Only ten such poems survive which he wrote for those outside of his immediate family. It is a remarkable testament to the power and status Lucy, Countess of Bedford held as a patron—and to Donne's desire to win her

[1] Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, 35.
[2] Claude J. Summers, 'The Epicede and Obsequy', in *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne*, ed. Jeanne Shami, Dennis Flynn, and M. Thomas Hester (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 287.

favour—that half of these were written on family members of the countess. Donne wrote one on her brother's death and two each on the passing of Bulstrode and Lady Markham.

The dominant scholarly context for reading Donne's elegies on Lady Markham and Bulstrode examines them together with an elegy now attributed to Bedford, essentially framing them as part of a conversation in verse between one of the most influential women at court and the near destitute poet seeking her patronage. The concept of this dialogue in verse, first hesitantly suggested by Grierson in 1912 and cautiously repeated by Bald, developed with increasing attention to how the poems seem to reflect direct thematic engagement with one another.[3] By the latter part of the 20th century, this dialogic setting became the accepted framework for understanding Donne's set of 1609 funerary verses written for Bedford. The central point around which the exchange revolves—most thoroughly explored by Claude Summers—is that Donne's first poem written on Cecilia Bulstrode's death displeased the Countess of Bedford so much that she wrote her own elegy to correct the faults she saw in his, to which Donne responded by writing another elegy on Bulstrode, emending his points from the first to better suit the views of his patron.[4] This established framework for studying the poems presents a remarkable account of a highly educated, elite woman censuring a respected poet on points of theological contention through a series of exchanged elegies on the death of her family member. In one sense, the idea of this as a conversation in verse creates a vivid picture of Bedford's influence over Donne's poetry at a time during which Dennis Kay suggests Donne was radically altering the evolution of English funerary verse.[5] But it also undermines certain aspects of this influence, suggesting that only Bedford's heavy-handed expectations (her power over him as patron rather than the nuances of her own

[3] Grierson, 2:cxliii–cxlv; Bald, 177.
[4] Summers, 'The Epicede and Obsequy'; Summers, 'Donne's 1609 Sequence of Grief and Comfort'.
[5] Dennis Kay, *Melodious Tears: The English Funeral Elegy from Spenser to Milton*, Oxford English Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 94.

work) forced Donne's innovation. But the potential of her influence on Donne as poet need not be contingent upon this specific model of elegiac conversation—one which arranges the poems in such a way that her elegy justifies Donne's decision to write two seemingly rather contradictory poems on the same individual. Such an exchange may well have occurred as Donne and Bedford were known to have written verses to and for one another, with epistolary evidence suggesting they did so during this period. And Summers convincingly demonstrates several instances in which the poems seem to be directly responding to one another. But following this narrative requires setting aside several important questions. Is it reasonable to assume that the only surviving poem by the countess was a direct engagement with Donne's or that she would use this poetic form and the death of her kinswomen to correct him? How might this correction, if it did exist, have been delivered? Would it have been a public censure? Donne's letters suggest that Bedford was highly protective of her verse and as he began to seek a more stable appointment, he too was increasingly anxious about the spread of his words—particularly those which might cause him to lose favour with Bedford. Allowing the continued circulation of verses that displeased Bedford and going so far as to possibly revise them at least once as the *Donne Variorum* editors suggest he may have, would seem to work against his own interest. Perhaps most importantly, the current narrative requires setting aside evidence that directs the poem to Lady Markham's death, not Bulstrode's. This evidence was known to Grierson and subsequent scholars, but only has only recently been treated as a valid possibility. Michelle O'Callaghan and members of the Early Modern Women Research Network present Bedford's poem more ambiguously as a part of the larger group on Bulstrode and Markham's deaths, but the full range of evidence and—more importantly—the implications of this potential redirection have not been explored.[6]

[6] 'Early Modern Women Research Network', accessed 10 July 2023, https://c21ch.newcastle.edu.au/emwrn/russellhistory; Michelle O'Callaghan, 'Lucy Russell', Early Modern Women Research Network, accessed 28 November 2019.

Turning back to study the elegies as pieces of occasional writing, consider the events that prompted them, and place greater value on these manuscript contexts instead allows an alternate understanding of them—foregrounding the poet and chief mourner for whom they were written and re-examining how Donne's and Bedford's verse may have engaged. Even setting aside its possible effect on Donne's verse, the only surviving poem by the most influential female literary patron of the period deserves study on its own merit, and the survival of manuscript evidence which challenges the established narrative on its composition only increases the need to view it in a context more focused on Bedford and on the occasion her elegy commemorates. This chapter looks first at the development of the current narrative, then turns to read at Bedford's poem both independently and as a text on Markham's death. It also studies the manuscript copies of her poem which reflect the shifting values of early modern verse collectors. Re-reading Donne's verses on both women in relation to Bedford's reframed verse and the distinct occasions of both women's deaths then allows a fresh perspective on how his innovations precisely negotiate the publicness and privateness of funerary verse to engage with his patron, and how the system of manuscript transmission preserves some vestiges of these negotiations.

1.1 Lady Bedford: Patron and Poet

Among the verses on Bulstrode and Lady Markham, one poem—originally attributed to Donne—was hesitantly removed from Donne's canon and attributed to Lady Bedford by Grierson, with later scholars largely in agreement. But as noted, despite this reattribution, it often remains discussed alongside Donne's funerary poems for Bedford, with the argument that the set is best understood through their interrelation. Though the witnesses preserving the elegy never explicitly direct the poem toward Bulstrode, scholars have largely accepted her as the subject and used it as a framework for understanding Bedford's relationship with

Donne, the dating of Donne's own Holy Sonnet, 'Death be not proud, though some have called thee,' and the reason for his having composed multiple elegies on Bulstrode's death. The poem now attributed to Bedford is 'Death be not proud, thy hand gave not this blow'. This section will briefly trace the development of this narrative before closely revisiting the poem's earliest witnesses, the type of collections in which they appear, and the way those have been interpreted by scholars in relation to Donne's verse. This reveals how verse collectors and the shifting priorities behind their collections affected the subsequent understanding of Bedford's poem as well as Donne's.

Beginning in the 1610's and increasing dramatically through the 1620's and 1630's, verse collectors began to anthologize large collections of single-author verse—most notably that by Donne. In doing so, evidence of the influence of those patrons once supporting the authors appears to have faded considerably. While authors such as Jonson might try to align themselves with persons of high rank through manuscript verse, the only indicators of these associations to persist through manuscript transmission were the dedicatees of the poems, often noted in the headings. Similarly with Donne, although many manuscript witnesses of his verse may retain headings directing them to Bedford or other courtiers, the organizing principle of the collections increasingly centered on Donne as a poet. This change in emphasis affects how groups of readers perhaps only a decade apart would have encountered and understood the poems. Many of the manuscripts preserving the funeral elegies on Bedford's kinswomen were produced in the period between 1620 and the mid 1630's—over a decade after the women's deaths. These first decades of the Stuart reign were far from static. As in Elizabeth's reign, power at court shifted between competing factions, and writers and artists sought patronage from members of these factions, delicately balancing their loyalties against the volatile political backdrop. But outside of the court, non-aristocratic poets like

Jonson and Donne became increasingly popular, and as they did, manuscript collections—often of unprinted verse—began to reach a far wider audience than before through social, familial, and professional channels. The popularity of Donne's verse in these manuscript collections was unrivalled, the curious effect of which was the emergence of nearly single-author anthologies of his poetry. Mere proximity to his work became an impetus for the preservation of other works, these being accidentally swept up in attempts to own his. But this proximity to his corpus threatened to (and often did) obscure the variety of circumstances in which earlier readers would have encountered both his and others' verses, including those on Lady Bedford's kinswomen. These earlier readers would have read or heard the verses in far different circumstances than would say, a man compiling a verse collection in Inner Temple in the late 1620's. While a man in the Inns of Court may have copied them from the notebook of loose gatherings of a friend or fellow tavern-goer, intermingled with verses on diverse topics, the first readers of Bedford's and Donne's elegies likely encountered them at or shortly after the somber occasions for which they were written. Both hers and Donne's verses may have been presented on sheets or placards or read aloud at the women's funerals, or they may have been collected into manuscript memorial books.[7] While Drummond and others were known to have printed broadsides of funerary verses on important individuals, Donne's *Anniversaries* seem to have been the earliest commemorative verses on named individuals which he set to print, which would suggest that this method of dissemination was not used for his 1609 verses. Although funerary poems were popular as collected verse throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, memorial verses such as those on Bulstrode and Lady Markham were in origin occasional verses. But when divorced from the specific groups and occasions that prompted them, and included in largely single-author verse, the next context creates new readings and imposes an interpretive logic carried forward

[7] Brady, *English Funerary Elegy*, 62-83.

into the present. But when put in view beside one another, these different circumstances—collections of poems by radically different authors on a single occasion and those of poems by a single author on diverse occasions and subjects—reflect a larger tension between different spheres of cultural influence. As the verse moved further away from the patrons for whom it was written and into a more public exchange, verse collectors created new contexts which affected meaning, often obscuring the patronage system supporting those poets.

Lady Bedford was a highly engaged member of this patron class, dancing in court masques and supporting poets, dramatists, and artists throughout her tenure at court. Evidence of her influence as a patron survives in many forms: portraits, miniatures, sketches of her masque costumes by Inigo Jones, references to and verses for her in print and manuscript, and a remarkable number of dedications. During her lifetime, she was the dedicatee of over fifty printed works, and three manuscript volumes—more textual dedications than any other non-royal patron in the period.[8] Bedford also composed and collected verses as testified in a letter from Donne to the countess, in which he sought to 'make a petition for verse, it is for those your Ladyship did me the honour to see in Twickenam garden'. His opinion of those verses, suggests that Bedford was not only skilled in her practice but particularly equipped with a wit more commonly associated with male poets like Donne and his circles around the Inns of Court as he tells her 'They must needs be an excellent exercise of your wit, which speak so well of so ill: I humbly beg them of your Ladyship, with two such promises, as to any other of your compositions were threatenings; that I will not show them, and I will not believe them; and nothing should be so used that

[8] Julie Crawford, *Mediatrix: Women, Politics, and Literary Production in Early Modern England*, 1 edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 135; Marion O'Connor, 'Godly Patronage: Lucy Harington Russell, Countess of Bedford', in *The Intellectual Culture of Puritan Women, 1558–1680*, ed. Johanna Harris and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 72.

comes from your brain or breast.'[9] Her apparent reluctance to circulate verses in her name speaks more to her gender, social class, and position at court than to the quality of her writing. She had no reason to write in order to gain favour or influence like Donne or Jonson.[10] Yet she did write, and in 1609 she wrote the funerary elegy beginning 'Death be not proud, thy hand gave not this blow.' It remains the only surviving poem reliably attributed to Lady Bedford and its unique survival is tied to two different modes of verse collection. The later history of the text illustrates how the fashion for collecting verse obscured the origins and circumstances underpinning its production. Even when Bedford's elegy entered print as a discrete poem, it did so under Donne's name. When the second edition of Donne's *Poems* went to print in 1635, several previously unprinted works were added to those printed in the first edition, as were readings from Houghton Library, MS Eng. 966.5 (H6). Among these additional works and readings, Lady Bedford's elegy was included as part of Donne's canon and given a heading making Cecilia Bulstrode its subject. Subsequent privileging of printed texts by pre-twentieth century Donne editors preserved the misattribution (and misdirection) of Lady Bedford's only known work for nearly three centuries. In 1912, Sir Herbert Grierson reattributed the poem to Bedford and suggested it was part of an elegiac conversation with Donne on Bulstrode's death.[11] As a result, scholarly interest in her elegy began to focus only on the context it provides for Donne's. The majority of scholarship mentioning Lady Bedford's poem continues to frame her poem as part of this exchange about Bulstrode. This context helps, in part, to explain why Donne would have composed a second elegy on Bulstrode's death. This more recent narrative, however, obscures a significant early context of Lady Bedford's elegy, but one which requires studying it outside of this framework.

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[9] Gosse, 1:217–18; Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 111.
[10] Lewalski, 120.
[11] Grierson, 2:cxliv–cxlv.

This current narrative developed in degrees over the past century. When Grierson initially suggested that Lady Bedford may have written the poem, he did so based on two manuscript attributions. In British Library, MS Harley 4064 (B30), it is attributed to 'C: L: of B.' and in O30, the elegy is attributed to 'L: C: of B:'[12] Ben Jonson's verse letter to the Lady Bedford in O30 is titled 'To: L: C: of: B:'. further suggesting that those initials refer to her.[13] Grierson also notes that the witness in Huntington Library, EL 6893 (HH1) bears an attribution which he records as F B, possibly for Francis Beaumont.[14] The letters in this attribution, however, appear to read I B, perhaps representing John Beaumont or, as Erin McCarthy suggests, a possible mistranscription of 'LB'.[15] The subscription 'I B' appears to have been added by a later scribe who copied additional texts near the end of the miscellany. Grierson offered the possible explanation that Lady Bedford's poem was a response to either an excessively pagan or excessively Catholic tone in Donne's elegy on Cecilia Bulstrode beginning 'Death I recant, and say unsaid by me' (*BoulRec*).[16] Following Grierson's suggestion that Lady Bedford's poem was an answer to Donne's, subsequent scholarship has placed the poems as a series of exchanges between Bedford and Donne. R.C. Bald further developed the notion that the poems were in conversation, cautiously observing, 'On the assumption (probably hazardous) that the elegies were enclosed in letters exchanged with Lady Bedford, Donne would here refer to his 'Death I recant,' to which the Lady Bedford had replied with 'Death be not proud'.'[17] Yet like Grierson, Bald is careful to note that this would be impossible to prove given the lack of extant manuscript evidence. Claude Summers further developed this sense of a conversation in verse between Lady Bedford and Donne by

[12] British Library MS Harley 4064, f. 269r; Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 31, f. 39a v.
[13] Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 31, f. 20v.
[14] Grierson, 2:cxlv.
[15] Huntington Library MS EL 6893, f. 28r.
[16] Grierson, 2:cxliv–cxlv.
[17] Bald, 177.

looking at the broader context of Donne's writing to Bedford on the 1609 deaths of her two kinswomen. Summers uses sequence, authority of manuscript witnesses for Donne's verse, and thematic relationships to reinforce the suggestion by Milgate and Shawcross that Donne's poem for Bedford beginning, 'You that are shee and you that are double shee,' (*BedShe*) was a verse letter occasioned by the death of her first cousin Bridget Markham, and a predecessor to Donne's later elegy beginning, 'Man is the world and deathe the Ocean'.[18] The order of this proposed exchange is roughly that, after Lady Markham's death, Donne wrote the verse letter *BedShe* to Bedford, followed by his elegy on the Lady Markham. At some point between February and August, he also wrote his holy sonnet beginning 'Death be not proud though some have called thee' (*HSDeath*). In August, he wrote *BoulRec* on the death of Cecilia Bulstrode, to which Lady Bedford replied with her elegy, possibly as a means of correcting Donne. In response, Donne composed a second elegy on Bulstrode's death, 'Language thou art too narrow' (*BoulNar*). Summers notes, 'although the five poems can be read separately and independently of each other, they gain clarity and poignance when seen as a dynamic exchange, rooted in the specific circumstance of their occasions.'[19] This sequence of authorship and exchange has since become the dominant means of reading the poem attributed to Bedford. Yet the only manuscripts attributing authorship to Lady Bedford frame the elegy as a work on Markham's death, not Bulstrode's. While headings are often far more malleable than attributions, which likely accounts for why Lady Bedford's authorship was accepted, but the name of the subject was not, the socio-bibliographical provenance of these specific documents suggest a close connection with Lady Bedford's circle, and thereby offer support for the validity of the headings found therein. These manuscript environments memorialize a close relationship between the two women which is also attested to in Lady

[18] Wesley Milgate, ed., *The Epithalamions, Anniversaries, and Epicedes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 235–37; Robin Robbins, ed., *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, 1 edition (London: Routledge, 2015), 249.
[19] Summers, 'Donne's 1609 Sequence of Grief and Comfort', 212.

Markham's will and the epitaph still hanging in St. Mary's Church in Twickenham. If, as seems highly possible, Markham was the subject of Bedford's elegy, the current narrative on both her and Donne's 1609 needs reconsidering, as does the opening of Donne's Holy Sonnet beginning 'Death be not proud, though some have called thee' (*HSDeath*).

In one sense, the longstanding narrative affords Bedford considerable power as an influence on Donne's writing—effectively correcting his missteps through verses of her own. But it also requires accepting that Bedford would have found it suitable to use the death of a close family member to make a point about Donne's composition. Donne's letter to Goodyere from Mitcham on 14 August, does suggest that he and Bedford were exchanging letters—and possibly verses—during this time shortly after Bulstrode's death.[20] But it also devalues her capacity as poet. The dating of Donne's Holy Sonnet 'Death be not proud, though some have called thee' also relies upon understanding the sequence in which the poems by Donne and (to a lesser extent) Bedford were composed. Donne's recantation of some prior censure of death at the beginning of his first elegy on Bulstrode would suggest his sonnet would have been written before Bulstrode's death in August of 1609. This dating would also be necessary if Bedford repurposed Donne's memorable opening in her own poem. Lewalski suggests that Bedford is quoting Donne's lines against him in her rebuke of *BoulRec*.[21] In this construction of the sequence of composition, Donne wrote his sonnet, then recanted after Bulstrode's death, and Lady Bedford redeployed Donne's own line against his recantation. Yet although the shared imperative 'Death be not proud' is traditionally ascribed to Donne, if Bedford's elegy was composed on Markham's death some three months earlier, it then becomes uncertain whether Donne or Lady Bedford were drawing upon the other's

[20] Gosse, 1:217-218.
[21] Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England*, 121.

verses. Donne was himself no stranger to such a repurposing of the first line of a poem, having done precisely this with Christopher Marlow's line 'Come live with me and be my love', as a direct reference, drawing together the two works as he parodied the sentiments of his predecessor's poem. This engagement by Donne with the verses of others and the uncertainty surrounding the subject of Bedford's elegy allow the possibility that Donne instead repurposed an opening originally composed by Bedford—though certainly not to parody her funeral elegy. And to discount this possibility would require that adhering to the idea that only Donne might have been capable of devising this opening line. It may instead have been an attempt by Donne to honour Lady Bedford by gesturing directly towards the power of her verse; she had the far greater actual power in the relationship. In this case, the subject of Bedford's elegy, and therefore the dating of it, could offer a different sense of how their exchange of verses affected both their relationship and their own compositions.

1.2 Death Be Not Proud

Having established the possibility that Bedford's elegy was written both on Lady Markham, and before Donne's first elegy on Bulstrode (*BoulRec*, 'Death I recant') her composition lays open to fresh consideration. In one sense, her elegy follows a tradition of funerary verse which often operates in a similar way to meditations, as Lewalski notes of Donne's *Anniversaries*. But in focusing at length on a specific passage from the bible it also reflects what Clymer identifies as a specifically Calvinist approach to funerary elegy in Early Modern England.[22] Bedford's extensive references to 1 Corinthians 15—itself comprising a large part of The Order for the Burial of the Dead in the Book of Common Prayer—is by no means unique; it is referenced widely in funerary verse and funeral sermons and remains an

[22] Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Donne's Anniversaries and the Poetry of Praise: The Creation of a Symbolic Mode* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973); Lorna Clymer, 'The Funeral Elegy in Early Modern Britain: A Brief History', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Elegy*, ed. Karen Weisman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 170–86.

integral part of Anglican burial rites. But her elegy is striking for its tone, its temporality, and is recurring use of implied voices and musicality, none of which emerge with similar clarity when her verses are read with Donne's two elegies on Bulstrode. Bedford also defies the traditionally gendered expectations of women's grief as excessive and unrestrained through her lack of emphasis on lament and by framing the very public and necessary didactic role of Markham's death through reference to proclamation, instruction, and song. At the time of her writing, the uses of music in mourning had shifted considerably, as had the ways with song might be referenced in both Catholic and Protestant funeral elegy.[23] Bedford weaves in these representations of song in in a way which decidedly avoids any such conflict of theological misinterpretation. Yet to read it alongside Donne's Bulstrode elegies risks overlooking this dominant thread as his verses are so deeply focused on lingering grief.

The elegy attributed to Lady Bedford reads as series of strictures on the power of death and commands addressed directly to death. Her elegy is less overt in its adherence to the explicit divisions common to funerary elegies—lament, praise, and consolation. Instead, the justification for each command serves the double function of offering praise for the deceased and consolation to the mourners, while lament is all but absent.[24] In her work on elegies and funeral song, Katherine Butler describes a broad shift in which 'One positive effect of the Reformation's denial of purgatory was that friends and families might now envisage the deceased as immediately in heaven. Elegies could therefore be more cheerful than grief-stricken, drawing on popular images of a musical heaven to depict consoling images of the deceased's celestial joys.'[25] As a meditation on death and resurrection, the

[23] Katherine Butler, 'Death Songs and Elegies: Singing about Death in Elizabethan England', *Early Music* 43, no. 2 (2015): 269–80.
[24] Brady, 175–86. Brady describes the association of women's verse with chaotic and unrestrained emotion, as well as the effeminizing effects of passionate sorrow on men, something which Bedford deftly avoids.
[25] Butler, 273.

poem begins by denigrating death's power, describes the regenerate soul's transcendence, then proclaiming death's imminent defeat, before turning to address the mourners.

> Death be not proud, thy hand gaue not this blow
> Sinne was her Captiue, whence thy power doth grow
> The Executioner of wrath thou arte
> But to destroy the iust ys not thy part (ll. 1-4)[26]

The elegy opens addressing death and challenging its agency, suggesting that death's power was held captive by the deceased. Rather than an independent force, death serves the purpose of enacting God's wrath against the sinful.[27] As death takes its power from sin, and sin from the law, it executes wrath as determined by God's law, but these laws are not meant to punish the just. Instead, Bedford diminishes the power of death, acknowledging its power over human emotion—countered by the state of Markham after death. The terror of this portent is met with the joy of the soul's triumph, proclaiming the free and better state of the deceased whose soul has been released from her body through death. The measured delivery of a joyful message overwhelms the chaotic denouncement of death's terror.

> Thy comming, terror, anguish, greife denounce,
> Her happy state, Courage, ease, ioyes pronounce.
> From out the Christall pallace of her brest
> The Clearer soule, was calld to endlesse rest
> Not by the thundring voyce wherein god threats
> But as with Crowned Sayntes in heaven he treates
> And wayted on by Angells, home was brought
> To ioy, what it through many dangers sought
> The key of Mercy gently did vnlock
> The dores twixt heauen and ytt, when lyfe did knock, (ll. 5-14)

Rather than an impending threat, her passing allows and becomes an escape from the danger of a second, eternal death. And life, instead, courts the freedom of Markham's soul. God's voice addresses the deceased with grace rather than wrath, and the passing of life is requisite for opening the doors to heaven, again mirroring the power of the gentle pronouncement.

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[26] ll. 1-4. (Text supplied by appended edition).
[27] The sting of death is sinne: and the strength of sinne is the Law, 1 Cor 15:56.

Bedford's insistence on Markham's 'courage' and this association with saints follows a larger movement in which 'authors supportive of a Calvinist-inflected Protestantism may have been additionally eager to include in a funeral elegy the dynamics of a deathbed experience as evidence for the deceased's likely 'election' as a 'saint'.'[28] She then turns to consider the state of the body in death, and the misleading nature of the physical senses.

> Nor boast the fayrest frame was made thy pray
> Because to mortall Eyes, it did decay:
> A Better Witnes then thou art, assures
> That though dissolu'd, it a space indures,
> No dramm theirof shall losse or want sustayn,
> When her blest soule enhabittes it again. (ll. 15-20)[29]

Although the elegy does not consider the state of the body at length, it draws a separation between the body which decays in the eyes of the living and the body which her soul will reinhabit. Again, she refers to the necessity of shedding the mortal to achieve the immortal. Her next command to death urges it to seek a more proper victim and trophy. Lewalski notes that again her insistence of souls 'curst before they were' underscores the Calvinist bent of Bedford's elegy.[30]

> Goe then to people Curst before they were
> Their spoyles in tryumph of thy Conquest beare
> Glorify not thy selfe in our hott teares.
> Our faces, not for hers, but our harmes weares (ll. 21-24)

Markham's death takes on a redemptive power by inspiring repentance and therefore God's grace. Bedford insists the mourners are not crying for the loss of Markham (and certainly not any intercessionary tears for Markham's soul). Instead, they are grieving out of sorrow for sinning against God, a sorrow realized through the didactic power of her soul's regeneration.

> The mourning livery, given, by grace, not thee,
> Which wills our soules in those streams washt should be,
> And on our hartes her memoryes best tombe
> In this her Epitaph doth write thy dome (ll. 25-28)

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[28] Clymer, 173.
[29] So, when this corruptible hath put on incorruption, and this mortall hath put on imortalitie, then shall be brought to passe the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up into victorie. 1 Cor 15:54.
[30] Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England*, 120-121.

By preserving the memory of her repentant soul, the mourners participate in her victory over death. The elegy then addresses any who might still consider her death a loss, discrediting them as witnesses governed by only physical senses. Her pointed imagery here also allows the possibility that if hers is a response to one of Donne's funerary elegies, it may instead engage with his poem on Markham in which he claims, 'Teares are false spectacles, wee cannot see / through passions mists, what wee are, nor what shee.' Bedford instead asserts the inability to see the power in her death results from an individual inability to receive the spirit of God.

> Blynd were those eyes saw not how bright did shine
> Through fleshes misty vayle the beams devyne
> Deafe were the eares, not charmd with that sweet sound
> Did in the spiritt instructed voyce abound
> Of flynt the Conscience, did not yeild and melt,
> At what in her last act, yt saw, heard, felt. (ll. 29-34)

Bedford reasserts the appropriate reason for mourning by suggesting that sadness over her friend's death was akin to spiritual blindness or deafness. Her last act should serve to turn the conscience toward repentance.[31] In this passage she also roots the elegy not only the burial rites, but in the specific religious context of the day she was buried, directing the reader to 1 Cor. 2, 'But as it is written, The things which eye hath not seen, neither ear hath heard, neither came into man's heart, are, which God hath prepared for them that love him.' This reference ties the poem (and therefore Markham's funeral) to what those present would have read as they turned to their evening prayer for the 19th of May, allowing them again to meditate on her death and its ability to bring them greater spiritual clarity. Bedford then moves from the proclamation of death's terror and Markham's better state to the knowledge and spirit communicated through her death, with song as medium and consolation.

[31] The readings here in C9 and H6 are inferior to the shared reading in the remaining manuscripts. There the line reads 'At what in her last Act, it sawe, and felt' thereby addressing the spiritual counterparts of the physical/emotional senses.

> Weepe not, nor grudg then, to haue lost her sight
> Taught thus our after stay, ys but a short night
> But by all soules, not with Corruption choaked
> Lett in high raysed notes that power be invoked
> Calme the rough seas through which she sayld to rest
> From sorrowes here to a kingdom euer blest
> And Preach this Hymn, which hers with ioy did sing
> The graue no Conquestes gittes, death hath no sting. (ll. 35-42)

The poem concludes with a triumph over death, preached again to the mourners through the deceased's virtue. A song of a spiritual nature at the moment of death marks a passing to a happier state.[32] The elegy with which Donne is traditionally thought to have responded 'Language thou art too narrow', shows no recognition of this spiritual hymn.

> Language thou art too narrowe, and too weake
> To ease vs nowe; great sorrowe cannot speake.
> If wee could sigh out accents, and weep words
> Griefe wears, and lessens that tears breath affords,
> Sad hearts, the less they seeme, the more they are
> (Soe guiltiest men stand mutest at the Barr) (ll. 1-6)

The overwhelming and oppressive sense of grief-induced silence, were it prompted or immediately preceded by Bedford's poem, would offer no resolution and undermine the didactic power of her kinswoman's death. In some manuscripts that preserved the elegy, the sequence of texts allows this shift in context as well as implying a new subject—offering this description of a virtuous, godly soul to another woman from the same family. But alongside changes in context, variants in the text itself reorientate the elegy in such a way that the deceased becomes more central to the elegy than does her death, further cementing this message as these variant texts reached print and thereby obscuring Bedford's composition.

[33] O Death, where is thy sting? O graue where is thy victorie? 1 Cor 15:55.

1.3 Manuscripts and Readers of Bedford's Elegy

The circulation of Bedford's elegy in manuscript reflects two types of cultural value which might be associated with particular texts. But they also reflect how the rise of single author manuscript compilations affect the reading of non-authorial verse—one which parallels the modern framework for understanding Bedford's work, coming as it does from a tradition of single-author editorial work such as that on Donne. Two manuscripts, Bodleian MS Rawl. poet 31 (O30) and Houghton Library MS Eng. 966.1, demonstrate the near equal contemporary value placed on a collection of works by multiple elite authors and of a collection almost entirely comprised of work by Donne. Both were produced sometime in between the mid 1620's and early 1630's. At first glance, they appear remarkably similar. Both are presentation manuscripts of a sort, sharing a common format and formality and relying on both this form and their specific content as markers of value. But the state of the poem attributed to Lady Bedford and common to both volumes reflects two very different ways in which manuscript verse was valued. Each manuscript is a folio verse miscellany of roughly 100 leaves, bound in limp vellum, and each is written in a single, even hand. They are also similar for what they lack; neither shows significant soiling on the paper—even on the first few leaves—and each shows only subtle evidence of scribal corrections, with these being often limited to overwritten letters. The two manuscripts preserve poems that relate to others within each collection, but the relationships between the texts reflect two divergent motives for collection. In O30, the collection of verse reflects the poetry produced for and by the elite social circle surrounding Lady Bedford, copied in a stylized secretary hand. And H3 is a collection almost entirely formed of poems by Donne in a clean, round hand. And yet while the types of collection are quite different, the sort of implicit value system expressed in material form is similar. In both cases, a collector chose texts orientated around something with significant cultural cachet and then created a collection which often values the *mise-en-*

page over the quality of the text copied, with obvious misreadings left in place rather than corrected at the expense of tidiness. But the content of each, with one valuing coterie associations and the other a single author, suggests some parity between the two. In each case, a collector valued the contents to the extent of giving them formal material treatment, reflecting a similarly inherent value in those verses associated with the social elite and those written by Donne. For all of the poems written on Bulstrode and Lady Markham, the manuscripts that preserve them diverge in their treatment of the texts on according to the purpose of each collection, as is seen in H3 and O30. In the manuscripts written with a greater emphasis on the literary world surrounding Lady Bedford, scribes foreground authorship by elite members of that circle. In the manuscripts anthologizing Donne's poetry, the elegies on Bulstrode and Markham shift away from functioning as testaments to the respective women, becoming instead evidence of social connections—both Donne's connection to Lady Bedford and the verse collectors' access to unprinted work by Donne and others. Where these anthologizing manuscripts contain Lady Bedford's elegy, they also document the progressive erasure of her authorship.

Of the ten surviving early seventeenth century manuscript witnesses to Bedford's elegy, nine occur in manuscript verse collections. The outlier appears in a 1633 copy of Donne's *Poems* held at the United States Airforce Academy in Colorado.[33] In the volume, Bedford's elegy falls among several verses copied into the volume's endpages. The scribe appears to have been supplementing their book by way of recording the new texts added to the 1635 edition in which Bedford's elegy first appeared. This is the only manuscript copy to include a title explicitly directing the poem to Bulstrode with that title having also been copied from the 1635 edition. The attribution and titling are inconsistent among the other

[33] United States Airforce Academy, Colorado H. Mapletoft volume.

nine witnesses. The nine remaining copies reflect three major patterns of transmission; British Library MS Harley 4064 (B30) and O30 form a unique pair, as do Houghton Library, MS Eng. 966.5 (H6) and Cambridge University Library, Add. MS 8468 (C9). The remaining manuscripts, H3, Beinecke MS Osborn b148 (Y3), Bodleian MS Eng. poet. f.9 (O21), British Library MS Stowe 962 (B47), and Huntington, MS EL 6893 (HH1) are also linked by shared readings, with H3, O21, and Y3 forming a distinct subgroup. The groups of related manuscripts reflect through both text and form the increasingly broad access to Donne's poems in the decades leading up to the first printed editions of his verse.

No single witness of the poem is without issue or obvious corruptions. Significant corruptions appear in HH1, B47, H3, O21, and Y3, and related pair of H6 and C9 appear to have a number of unique emendations, perhaps in anticipation of bringing the verses to print as they appeared under Donne's name in 1635. The text in B30 and O30—the two manuscripts which attribute the elegy to Bedford and direct it towards Markham's death—is differentiated in several ways which suggest it is likely from an earlier source. Among the more significant variants differentiating B30 and O30 is evidence which suggests later trivializations particularly in H6 and C9. Of B30 and O30, O'Callaghan demonstrates that the manuscripts borrow from a common ancestor produced around 1610. She notes of O30, 'Its aim is not to canonize the works of a particular set of authors; rather, authority is invested in the milieu defined by the collection.' She observes that authors of works are almost entirely referred to using initials, while the addressees' names tend to be written in full as also occurs in the Arundel Harrington manuscript. She describes this foregrounding of addressee and diminution of the authors' names noting, 'the effect of these markers of status and social intimacy is to bestow on the compilation a coterie identity.'[34] Both O30 and B30 are part of a

[34] O'Callaghan, 'Collecting Verse', 323.

collecting practice that sets them apart from manuscripts anthologizing Donne's verse.[35] Given the function of these other collections of poetry, and the limited early circulation of Donne's work, it is likely that the title and attribution of the poems in B30 and O30 were contributed by an individual with a close relationship to that circle. O30 and B30 are also notable for containing an additional, unattributed poem titled, 'An: Epitaph vppon the: Ladye Marckham'. The brief poem appears amid a sequence of unrelated texts in each manuscript and reads:

> A: Mayde, a wyfe, shee lyv'd, a widdowe dy'd
> hir virtue, through all woemans state was varyed
> The widdowe, Bodye, wch this vayle doth hide
> keepe in, expecting to bee highlie Marryed
> when that greate Bridegrome ffrom the clowdes shall call,
> And ioyne each to his owne, himeselfe to all./[36]

The poem reinforces Lady Markham's sustained virtue and the restorative potential of her death. Her winding sheet becomes a bridal veil, and her earthly body gives way to a body worthy of being wedded to Christ. The only other known witness to this poem appears in Huntington, MS HM 198.2 (HH5), a manuscript with no other poems on Lady Markham's death.[37] Its inclusion in O30 and B30 then indicates that the compiler of each manuscript had access to material that was not widely circulated. If these manuscripts reflect a more accurate attention to both elite author and poetic subject, then Bedford's elegy may well be considered one on Lady Markham. Certainly, the manuscripts support the possibility that some of Lady Bedford's contemporaries and individuals in related social circles would have encountered the elegy in this way and therefore read the poem as an elegy on Bridget Markham's death.

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[35] Woudhuysen, 155. In his description of these Donne-focused collections, Henry Woudhuysen emphasizes that they were produced within a fairly restricted period.
'Of the seventy-three or so principal manuscript miscellanies containing poems by Donne which Beal described, thirty-one are entirely, or almost entirely, given over to his poems. The other thirty-six manuscript miscellanies bear witness to the company Donne's poems kept. Donne is evidently a special case for anyone interested in the manuscript culture in which poetry thrived, but most of the surviving evidence suggests his poems were mainly sought from about 1615 to 1620; before then he kept them very close to himself.'
[36] Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 31, f. 30r.
[37] Huntington Library MS HM 198.2, f. 10r.

The copies of the elegy in O30 and B30 demonstrate that the tightly controlled circulation of the manuscript in the years immediately following Markham's death preserved a state which was later obscured by the scribal and print publication of the elegy in largely single author collections of Donne's work.

The sequences of poems found in C9 and H6 follow the order Grierson and Bald suggest for their model of elegiac conversation. In each of these manuscripts, the poem appears as a distinct work in sequence directly following Donne's first elegy on Bulstrode, *BoulRec*, and directly preceding his second elegy, *BoulNar*. In C9, a single dividing line separates Lady Bedford's elegy from Donne's first elegy on Bulstrode ('Death I recant', there titled 'Upon ye death of M^{rs} Boulstredd.'). Donne's elegy beginning 'Language thou art too narrow' then follows with the title 'Another vpon the same.' H6 maintains this order, while a later scribe added the heading 'Elegie' to Bedford's poem. The lack of an explicit descriptive title for Lady Bedford's elegy is curious since Donne's elegies *BoulRec* and *BoulNar* are each explicitly labeled as elegies on Bulstrode's death in these and the majority of other manuscripts. In H6 and C9, only the sequence of poems suggests the subject of lamentation for Bedford's poem might be Bulstrode. It would seem then that the title directing the poems to Bulstrode was added when the 1635 second edition of Donne's poems went to print, given that H6 was the likely source for the added poems.[38] This editorial decision solidified the function of Lady Bedford's elegy to later readers as an elegy on the death of Cecilia Bulstrode. Beal suggested that much of H6 was copied directly from C9 and that both—particularly H6—were collections made or compiled in 1632 with the intention of printing. The pair of texts shows considerable variance from the remaining manuscripts. The variants

[38] Gary Stringer, ed., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne: The Elegies* (Indiana University Press, 2000), vol. 2: lxxviii–lxxx.

are often trivializations as in l.21 where the other witnesses read 'Their spoils in triumph of thy Conquest bear' C9 and H6 use the overly-explicit 'souls' for 'spoils'.[39] The penultimate line, 'And Preach this Hymn, which hers with joy did sing' which suggests her soul's part in proclaiming the defeat of death, becomes 'And teach this hymn of her with joy and sing' making the deceased central to the 'hymn' of the final line, rather than an instrument through which that defeat resounds. In this sense the altered line would fit more closely with Donne's own orientation of the women themselves—rather than their deaths—as exemplars.

Only one of the nine manuscripts closely groups all five of the poems discussed by Summers, although they are not arranged in his proposed sequence. The witnesses occur in H3, the aforementioned folio of verses by Donne which may have been produced for or by a relative of Sir Henry Goodyere.[40] As with other funerary verses by Donne, as well as Beaumont's Markham elegy and Jonson's Bulstrode epitaph, textual variants in this manuscript indicate that it shares a common ancestor with two other collections, O21 and Y3. The three manuscripts also share several distinct readings with B47. But the relationship between the four artifacts appears immediately evident through the way the poems appear on the page. The scribes responsible for these four copies transcribed Bedford's elegy as a continuation of Donne's 'Death I recant,' both obscuring her authorship and physically eliding her work with Donne's. The variants between B47 and the remaining manuscripts also suggest that there are at least two missing ancestors which must therefore also have treated the poems as a continuous whole. Even without these missing witnesses, it remains

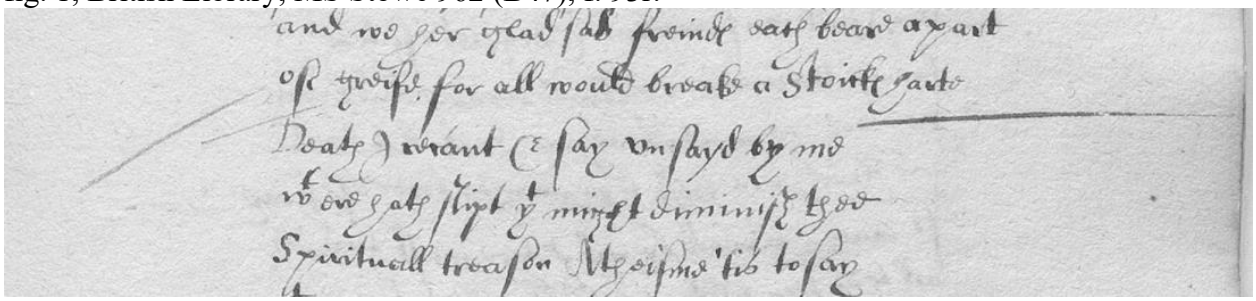
[39] Anthony Miller, *Roman Triumphs and Early Modern English Culture*, 1st edition (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 17. The particular association with the spoils, the first part of the Triumph in which the weapons of the defeated were displayed was intended in part to inspire fear for the power of the victor.

[40] 'CELM: Harvard, Other MSS', accessed 9 March 2019, http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/repositories/harvard.html#harvard_id340587.Peter Beal. "Harvard, MS Eng 966.1," *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts* (*CELM*), http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/repositories/harvard.html#harvard_id340587. 'Inscribed inside the rear cover 'J. D. Dune Rainsford …Chiltearns' probably by a member of the family of Sir Henry Goodyere's brother-in-law Sir Henry Rainsford (1575-1622), of Clifford Chambers, Stratford-upon-Avon.'

significant that nearly half of the surviving copies fail to differentiate Donne's first elegy on Bulstrode and Bedford's elegy.

Rather than handling these copies simply as evidence of scribal error or corrupted texts, Grierson considered the run together poems indicative of a sequence of question-and-answer poems.[41] Even if they are response poems, however, there is no evidence that the running together is anything other than a scribal error which, once introduced, was replicated through further acts of transmission. Furthermore, the texts in B47 include an instance of a scribe correcting mistakenly elided poems. The scribe of this manuscript initially elided all three poems (*BoulNar*, *BoulRec*, and Bedford's poem), later adding dividing lines in the margins to indicate that Donne's poems are distinct texts (fig.1)

fig. 1, British Library, MS Stowe 962 (B47), f. 93r.



The scribe did not add dividing lines between *BoulRec* and Bedford's elegy, leaving Lady Bedford's poem as an unmarked extension of Donne's poem (fig. 2). Unlike with *BoulRec*, the first word in Bedford's verses begins with a miniscule.

[41] Grierson, 2:cxliii–cxliv.

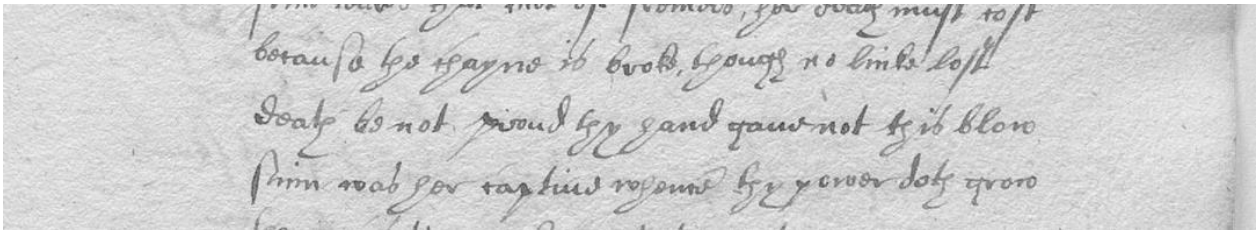


fig. 2, British Library, MS Stowe 962 (B47), f. 94r.

The witness in B47 is also an earlier and less corrupted text, so it is likely that the ancestor supplying these simply did poorly to differentiate between individual texts. The scribe of B47 recognized those by Donne and demarcated them individually, but the elided text by Bedford then passed through at least one other manuscript before it was copied into the three related collections. The witness in Huntington, MS EL 6893 (HH1) appears tangentially related to the above manuscripts in sequence and places the work in close proximity to both the elegies on Bulstrode and the one on Markham. It also bears some similarity to H3 in both form and purpose. The conditions which most affect Bedford's text appear in those same manuscripts which collect large quantities of verse by Donne, with proximity to his work in these collections appearing to materially affect both text and context. Only those manuscripts which include works by a broad range of authors and have socio-bibliographical ties to members of the aristocracy close to Bedford preserve her elegy without significant intervention.

1.4 Occasion, proximity, and *ars moriendi*

Despite this intended reframing of Bedford's elegy which suggests it was written on Lady Markham and therefore not in conversation with Donne's elegies on Bulstrode, it remains instructive to study the elegies by herself and Donne together—along with one other commemoration—although for reasons more related to the status of their writers and those writers' relationships to the occasions on which they wrote. In part, the logic for grouping them together springs from the unique position from which several of the poets wrote.

Bedford and two other contributors appear to have seen at least Bulstrode on her deathbed. Rather than the distant contribution of Jonson or the bizarre elegy by the openly unacquainted Francis Beaumont, Donne and Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury refer to Bulstrode's troubled state during her illness and shortly before her death, suggesting both were present as she neared the end of her life. When they wrote on her death, they did so with an intimate knowledge of Bedford's grief. For Donne this also creates a contrast with his relationship to Lady Markham's death, allowing his poems on both women to be examined with regard to his relative closeness to the occasions on which he wrote. At the time of Lady Markham's death, John Donne had known the Countess of Bedford for at least two years.[42] He was introduced to her in 1607 by Henry Goodyere, who helped Lady Bedford to secure ownership of Twickenham Park. At the time, Donne was in search of a secular office, and Lady Bedford's influence at court seemed a possible avenue to finding such employment. As Bald notes, during this period, Donne effectively positioned himself as Lady Bedford's self-appointed laureate.[43] As such, when Lady Markham died Donne was compelled to write for Lady Bedford, producing an elegy on her death and the verse letter beginning 'you are the shee that's double shee'.[44] But Donne does not appear to have had much intimate knowledge of Markham's death. The primary evidence for this is an undated letter from Donne to Garrard which has variously been thought to refer to the death of Markham or Bulstrode.

> I have not received that Letter, which by this, I perceive you sent to London; if there were anything in that, by which I might have taken occasion to have done you service before this time, I have a double reason of grief for the want of it. I came from thence upon Thursday, where I left Sir Tho. Roe so indulgent to his sorrow, as it had been an injury to have interrupted it with my unusefull company. I have done nothing of that kinde as your Letter intimates, in the memory of that good Gentlewoman; if I had, I should not finde any better use of it, then to put it into your hands. You teach me what I owe her memory; and if I

[42] Bald, 172–73.
[43] Bald, 177.
[44] Milgate, *The Satires, Epigrams and Verse Letters*, 260. Milgate raises the possibility that the lines were on either Lady Markham or Cecilia Bulstrode, though Donne's reference to Judith makes it more likely that Lady Markham is the subject of the letter.

> pay that debt so, you have a part and interest in it, by doing me the honour of remembring it: and therefore it must come quickly to you.[45]

Gosse assumed the 'good Gentlewoman' to be Lady Markham. Bald, however considered that Jonson's reply to a lost letter by Garrard, presumably soliciting an elegy on Bulstrode's death sufficiently pointed to Bulstrode as the gentlewoman on whose death Garrard had also written to Donne.[46] But Garrard may very well have acted in service of Bedford on both occasions. Furthermore, several details, both of language and circumstance support Gosse's interpretation. One significant point is the time between each woman's death and burial. Lady Markham was buried fifteen days after her death, while Bulstrode's burial fell only three days later. And while Donne does note that his response must be quick, he also exhibits none of the urgency of Jonson, who wrote while Garrard's messenger stood by. Donne instead begs further details. And Donne's own language in the letter is curiously disengaged, given that he had only recently seen Bulstrode and assumed her death imminent as he indicated in a letter from Twickenham to Goodyere.

> I fear earnestly that Mistresse Bolstrod will not escape that sicknesse in which she labours at this time. I sent this morning to aske of her passage of this night; and the return is, that she is as I left her yesternight, and then by the strength of her understanding, and voyce, (proportionally to her fashion, which was ever remisse) by the eavennesse and life of her pulse, and by her temper, I could allow her long life, and impute all her sicknesse to her minde. But the History of her sicknesse, makes me justly fear, that she will scarce last so long, as that you when you receive this letter, may do her any good office, in praying for her; for she hath not for many days received so much as a preserved Barber[r]y, but it returnes, and all accompanied with a Fever, the mother, and an extream ill spleen.[47]

Donne was aware of her illness and had actively written to Bedford the day after seeing her to inquire of her state. And his comment about the consistent relationship between her voice and fashion indicates a high level of familiarity with Bulstrode, making it somewhat bizarre if he

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[45] Gosse, 1:232-233.
[46] Bald, 177-178.
[47] Gosse, 1:232-233.

should then write to Garrard asking what he owed her memory. The date of their deaths also contradicts Bald's assessment. Donne notes that he had left London but had been there Thursday where he left Sir Thomas Roe consumed by grief. Bulstrode has died on the 4th of August—a Friday—and was buried by Monday. For Donne to have received the invitation to write at least four days after she was interred makes little sense, particularly given that when Jonson wrote an epitaph on her death with extreme haste, he did so knowing 'greater wits' had already written poems on her. Markham's death on Thursday, the 4th of May makes far more sense as the subject of Donne's letter. But in this case, her death, and indeed Roe's grief shifts the subject of the letter (and by Bald's account Roe's possible affection) to Lady Markham.[48] With this being the case, Donne's relative proximity to the deaths of Bulstrode and Markham would have therefore been quite different as he sat down to write elegies on their deaths. When Bulstrode lay on her deathbed three months later, his inquiring after her state, which he knew to involve mental anguish, would have allowed him to more sensitively tailor his elegy to frame hers as a good death.

In a period during which bookstalls were flooded with manuals on the art of dying well, the surviving evidence surrounding Markham's and Bulstrode's deaths point to very different deathbed experiences for the two women. As Ralph Houlbrook observes, 'the enduring status of a particular death as "good" or "bad" depended upon selective description and careful interpretation. The experience of death was probably the focus of more intense interest and scrutiny between the Reformation and the Enlightenment than at any time before

[48] Bald, 178; Sir Thomas Roe, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India, 1615-19: As Narrated in His Journal and Correspondence,* ed. H. Milford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1926), 222–23. Bald recounts an instance of Sir Thomas Roe carrying a portrait miniature of a beloved, but deceased woman with him as Ambassador to India, and surmises that the woman was Bulstrode on the basis of his grief in Donne's letter. The possibility of her identity instead being Markham leaves uncertainty about which other marriage contract Bulstrode broke—as alluded to in Jonson's Epigram on the Court Pucelle. It also dulls the scandal of her having had and broken marriage contracts with two men of the same family, Sir John and Sir Thomas Roe.

or since'.[49] And for Bedford, witnessing the deaths of both cousins at her home would have allowed her intimate knowledge of the relative 'goodness' of each women's death. Markham seems to have been of a suitably clear mind before her death. The day before passing, she dispensed her belongings in a three-page will which reinforced her relationships with friends and family, and she requested mourning jewelry to hold her in their remembrance. Against the uncomfortable, enduring association between physical sickness and sin, her presence of mind and acceptance of impending death fit a contemporary model of an acceptable and virtuous death. By contrast, Bulstrode's death seems to have been a distressing and confounding affair. Donne's letter to Goodyere, while none too flattering of Bulstrode, admits that while her voice and temper are 'remisse' to her fashion in such a way he should almost imagine her sickness is in her mind, her physical symptoms left him fearing her imminent death. But it seems that her mind became increasingly troubled. Bulstrode had laboured with illness for quite some time. An undated account by the ill-respected Dr. Francis Anthony describes in detail her suffering illness and passions for a full two months before he claimed to have cured her, at least for a time.[50] But Donne's letter and the Latin heading accompanying the printed text of Cherbury's poem present an account of Bulstrode in a state of acute mental (thus in the terms of *ars moriendi*, spiritual) distress at the time of her death. Cherbury's heading explicitly describes her in a state of unquiet mind and conscience.

Epitaph. Cæcil. Boulſtr. quæ poſt langue-
ſcentem morbum non ſine inquietudine
ſpiritus & conſcientiæ obiit.[51]

[49] Ralph Houlbrooke, 'Good Deaths and Bad', in *Death, Religion, and the Family in England, 1480–1750*, ed. Ralph Houlbrooke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 219.
[50] Anthony, *The Apologie, or Defence of a Verity Heretofore Published Concerning a Medicine Called Aurum Potabile.*
[51] Edward Herbert of Cherbury, *Occasional Verses of Edward Lord Herbert, Baron of Cherbery and Castle-Island Deceased in August, 1648.* (London: Thomas Dring, 1665), 20-21.
'Epitaph. Caecil Boulstr. who, after a languishing
illness, died not without restlessness of
spirit and conscience'

Far from the peaceful ‘good death’ one may have hoped, it seemed Bedford likely looked on to see her friend and cousin die in a more questionable state—one which would have been acutely distressing for her friends and family. And Herbert’s poem at first seems to compound this distress through the gruesome imagery with which it opens ‘Methinks Death like one laughing lies / Shewing his teeth, shutting his eys,’. The importance of the first line was particularly great in the period as verse collectors frequently indexed their collections by first line, thus giving that line value akin to a title. In the second line, however, Cherbury turns and instead presents her as able to surprise death and cause it fear.

> Only thus to have found her here
> He did with so much reason fear,
> And she despise.
> For barring all the gates of sin,
> Death's open wayes to enter in

His suggestion of her invincibility in the face of sin is already weakened by his account of her troubled mind, but no surviving manuscript copy includes this heading, and it certainly would have needed no such contextualising information when it was written and presented to Bedford—those close to her would have already known of her state. And even within the text he imagines her as battered by death’s attempt to use sin to corrupt her:

> She was with a strict siege beset,
> To what by force he could not get,
> By time to win.
> This mighty Warrior was deceived yet,
> For what he, muting, in her powers, thought
> Was but their zeal,
> And what by their excess might have been wrought,
> Her fasts did heal.

His poem outlines a violent assault on her soul, perhaps as a means of defending against the implications of her troubled death, the later printed version providing that missing context for the unacquainted reader. His specific references to both her fasts and appearance of zeal seem to counter one of the most overt surviving sources of criticism about Bulstrode—Jonson’s ‘Epigram on the Court Pucell’. To have noted or even implied her mental (and thereby

implicitly spiritual) anguish at death would seem to do both her and Bedford some disservice, though by all accounts, Cherbury's and Bedford's was and remained a good relationship. Two years later in 1611 another of Bedford's cousins—in this case Cecilia Bulstrode's sister Dorothy—allowed her supposedly unrequited desire for Cherbury to become so overt that her husband Sir John Ayres threatened Cherbury and later made an attempt on his life. Bedford was among those who stepped in to warn Cherbury of ther threat from her cousin's husband.[52] Describing Bulstrode's death as one of a soul tormented by death then implying a victory (and possible deathbed repentance) on her part, his poem reframes hers as a variant on the 'good death' in which a soul is battered and resists temptations.[53] By reorientating her distress as evidence of her repentance, Cherbury could console Bedford and relieve any lingering anxieties about her spiritual state.

1.5 Occasion, proximity, and Donne

In light of Donne's relative proximity to both of their deaths and the state of each woman whilst on her respective deathbed, his commemorations offer some perspective on differences between his approach to the verses for each. Donne's elegies on Markham and Bulstrode have attracted more critical attention than the other contributions, though much of it has been negative. Bald described the verses as 'frigid and artificial' and Summers concluded that Donne's lack of personal sympathy for the subjects of his funeral elegies 'may

[52] Herbert, *The Autobiography of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury*. 129-130.
[53] William Perkins, *A Salve for a Sicke Man. or, A Treatise Containing the Nature, Differences, and Kindes of Death as Also the Right Manner of Dying Well….* (London: John Legat, 1611), 30–31; The con|dition of Gods childrē in earth is twofold. Some are not temp|ted, & some are. Some I say are not tempted, as Simeon, who when he had seen Christ, brake forth and saide,*Lord, now lettest thou thy seruant depart in peace, &c. fore-signifying no doubt, that hee should end his daies in all maner of peace. As for them which are tēpted, though their case bee very troublesome and perplexed, yet their saluation is not further off, by reasō of the violence & extremity of temp|tation. For God is then present by the vnspeakable comfort of his spirit, & when wee are most weake, he is most strong in vs; because his manner is to shewe his power in weakenes. And for this cause, euen in the time of death the diuell receiues the greatest foyle, when he lookes for the greatest victorie.'discussed also by Houlbrooke, 'Good Deaths and Bad', 60-62.

have contributed to the coldness and distance that many critics have noted in them.'[54] This criticism tends to both homogenize his first elegies on the women as Milgate notes 'It must be confessed, however, that Lady Markham and Mistress Bulstrode do not seem to differ in death as they certainly did in life' and it also tend to frame Donne's elegy as a calculated move to win favour from his patron. [55] Grierson suggests that both the elegies by Donne and Beaumont were 'addressed not so much to the memory of the dead as to the pocket of the living'[56] However as W. M. Lebans and Summers note, the uneasiness that arises from the impersonal, didactic nature of the elegy results from its function as neither a private nor an explicitly public memorial.[57] In a sense, the more private task of personal condolence was better served by the verse letter addressed directly to Bedford. Lewalski recognizes the semi-public nature of the elegy through Donne's use of a microcosmic conceit to address 'a general audience who might be concerned with her death.'[58] If Bedford's elegy was not meant as a way to admonish and correct Donne, then it may be that Donne's elegy on Markham and first elegy on Bulstrode ('Death I recant') were intended for a function rather different than that of his verse letter and his second elegy ('Language thou are too narrow'). This is not to say the second Bulstrode elegy was meant to only reach Bedford, but that the circle to whom it extended may instead have been that smaller group closer in to the Countess. Both the text and circulation thereof are in this case important for supporting this

[54] Bald, 178; Summers, 'The Epicede and Obsequy', 287.
[55] Milgate, *The Epithalamions, Anniversaries, and Epicedes*, xxvii.
[56] Grierson, 2:209.
[57] W. M. Lebans, 'Donne's Anniversaries and the Tradition of Funeral Elegy', *ELH* 39, no. 4 (1972): 545–59. Lebans suggests "The *Epicedes and Obsequies* are by no means mere eulogies in the encomiastic tradition; they are full-fledged funeral elegies on the classical model with the complexities that categorization implies. Nor are they all public in character. The " Elegie upon. Prince Henry" is the only public elegy that Donne wrote; Donne was well aware of the distinction between public and private elegy, one of the oldest distinctions in the tradition of funeral elegy, English or otherwise, involving a difference in mood and tone as well as significant differences in emphasis in the constituent parts";See also: Summers, 'The Epicede and Obsequy', 291; Matthew Greenfield, 'The Cultural Functions of Renaissance Elegy', *English Literary Renaissance* 28, no. 1 (1998): 75–94.
[58] Lewalski, *Donne's Anniversaries and the Poetry of Praise*, 50.

possibility. And the text and circulation on the first elegies on each woman also share distinct similarities.

Bald notes that Donne did not seem to know Lady Markham, but there is little other than his letter to Garrard to suggest either that they were necessarily unacquainted. Donne's elegies on Bulstrode have garnered the same criticism for their stiffness, and Donne had most certainly known her quite well as his letter about her voice and fashion indicates. At some point the Donne and Markham families made a connection as John Donne Jr. presented a printed copy of his father's 'Biathanatos' to an 'I. Marckham' (possibly Lady Bridget's son John) in 1647.[59] In his discussion of 'A Letter written by Sir. H. G. and J. D. alternis vicibus' Marotti also suggests an earlier possible familiarity wherein Donne and Goodyere wrote the interlinear poem for Lady Bedford and another member of her social circle, possibly Lady Markham or Cecilia Bulstrode.[60] Whether or not he knew her, the impersonal tone of his poem complements its likely purpose as a semi-public text, meant for a wider audience than Lady Bedford alone. He marks the occasion of Lady Markham's death by addressing theological concerns through what Lebans identifies as the structure of a classical Roman elegy.[61] Donne's elegy opens with a conceit that refigures the relationship between man and death as the constant engagement between the land and sea with God as the mediator. He draws upon the idea from natural philosophy that man is a little world—a microcosm within the macrocosm.[62]

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[59] I. A. Shapiro, 'A "Biathanathos" Presentation Inscription Recovered', *Notes and Queries* 45, no. 1 (1998): 35–36.

[60] Arthur F. Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), 211. This suggestion, however, conflicts with the 1613 date of the poem suggested by Dennis Kay. Dennis Kay, 'Poems by Sir Walter Aston, and a Date for the Donne/Goodyer Verse Epistle "Alternis Vicibus"', *The Review of English Studies* 37, no. 146 (1986): 198–210.

[61] W. M. Lebans, 'The Influence of the Classics in Donne's Epicedes and Obsequies', 127–37. Lebans describes this as the first of Donne's funeral elegies to employ this structure, devoting sections of nearly equal length to lament, consolation, and praise.

[62] Joseph A. Mazzeo, 'Notes on John Donne's Alchemical Imagery', *Isis* 48, no. 2 (1957): 106; Robbins, *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, 736. Robbins explains 'The human microcosm is made of four elements, of

> Man is the world, & Death the Ocean
> to w^ch God giues y^e lower parts of man,
> This Sea environs all, & though as yet
> God hath sett marks, & bounds twixt vs, & it,
> Yet doth it roare, & gnawe, and still pretend,
> and breakes our banck when ere it takes a friend.[63]

In the first section of the poem, Donne describes the vulnerable state of man surrounded by the threat of death. The water erodes the land as death does the living body. In this section of the elegy devoted to lament, Donne's primary concern is spiritual lament rather than sorrow over Markham's death. Donne cautions against immoderate mourning for the deceased by paralleling the threatening waters of the sea with tears. And he does so while positioning Markham's death as a community loss. The sea corrupts the shoreline, as tears of passion corrupt spiritual lament for sinning against God.[64]

> Then our land-waters (teares of Passion) vent
> our water's then aboue our firmament
> (Teares w^ch our Soule doth for her sinn let fall)
> take all a brackish tast, and funerall,[65]

The tears for her death and the water of the ocean share in both their taste and sense of mortal finality. But the instability of the circulated texts confuses this message. Several of the manuscript copies of the poem include a variant of 'Teares w^ch our Soule doth for her sinn let fall' while in several manuscripts across traditional manuscript groups, the line reads, 'for our sinns let fall.'[66] If the mourners are shedding tears for her sins, then, as Janel Mueller reads

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which the heavier lower earth and water, constitute the mortal parts, air and fire the spirit' he cites Donne's Whitsun 1629 sermon, 'The water of death overflows all.'

[63] Trinity College Dublin MS 877, part I, f. 38r-v.

[64] See, G. W. Pigman's discussion of immoderate grief in the context of funerary verse and Christian humanism, George W. Pigman III, *Grief and English Renaissance Elegy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 12–22; Marjory E. Lange, *Telling Tears in the English Renaissance*, vol. LXX, Studies in the History of Christian Thought (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 196–97.

[65] Trinity College Dublin MS 877, part I, f. 38v.

[66] This variant appears in Yale University Library MS Osborn b148 (Y3), p. 120; Bodleian MS Eng. poet. f. 9 (O21), p. 124; British Library MS Harley 4064 (B30), f. 264v; Harvard University Library MS Eng. 966.1 (H3), f. 82v; New York Public Library MS Cat. No. S 191 (Acc. No. 7167) (NY1) p. 96, 2nd collection; Pierpont Morgan Library MS MA 1057 (PM1), p. 103; Trinity College Dublin MS 877, part II, (DT2) f. 259r; V&A Dyce MS 18 (Pressmark Dyce 25.F.17) (VA2), f. 48v.

the line, her sins should represent 'our soul's sin' in order to preserve the didactic nature of the elegy.[67] In the latter case, these excess tears affect the spiritual lament that the mourners should have from seeing her good example and feeling sorrow for their own sins. In either sense, excessive crying over death at all suggests a fear of dying or punishment for sins, or deeper concern about the soul of the deceased rather than godly sorrow.

The mourners' immoderate grief becomes sin by breaching God's promise to Noah to spare the world from another deluge.[68] So just as her death affects the whole of mankind, her mourners' sins of excessive grief further doom all. Read alongside Lady Bedford's elegy, the two poems offer opposing views of the redemptive power of the mourners' tears. Lady Bedford positions the tears as instruments of grace, 'The mourning livery giuen by grace, not thee / Which wills our soules in these streames washd should be.' Donne, however, claims that their excess undermines this redemptive power.

> And euen those teares w^{ch} should wash sin, are sinne,
> wee after Gods No**e**, drowne our world agen.
> Nothing but man, of all envenom'd things,
> doth worke vpon it self wth in-borne stings;
> Teares are false spectacles, wee cannot see
> through passions mists, what wee are, nor what shee.[69]

Donne continues to caution against extreme grief, suggesting it is akin to spiritual self-harm as it interferes with our ability to understand how God acts on the souls of men. It is precisely Donne's handing of mourning across the latter two elegies on Bulstrode which underpins much of Summers' argument for their affiliation with Bedford's 'Death be not proud'. He suggested that of Donne's BoulRec, 'its assertion that immoderate grief is sinful may have

[67] Janel Mueller, ed., *John Donne*, 21st Century Oxford Authors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 448. Mueller suggests that here, 'God's promise of another flood (Genesis 9:11) has the force of an injunction over us.'
[68] Mueller, 448.
[69] Trinity College Dublin MS 877, part I, f. 38v.

struck her as an impertinent criticism of her reaction to Bulstrode's death'.[70] But Donne's denunciation of excessive mourning in his elegy on Markham is a far stronger condemnation of uncontrolled grief and offers template for understanding those later shifts in approach. It also allows the possibility that were Bedford's poem indeed a response to one of Donne's, it may instead have been this poem on Markham. Had his tendency to caution against such grief in 'Death I recant' so displeased Bedford, his openly accusing Markham's mourners of sinning by way of their grief would seem likely to elicit a similar response.

What begins as an apparent victory for death shifts over the course of the poem. Death takes from living men and salvation takes from death. Lady Markham was not subject to the death of the soul by sin because she was 'loth to sin' nor was the truly subject to death because she was not afraid of physical death. Donne then modifies those two purities, her resistance to sin and belief in the regenerative soul. He carefully weighs her exemplary goodness against her natural, human capacity for sin and need for grace. He compares her to symbols of material purity, harmed by contact with external agents, rather than corrupted by inward faults.

> Grace was in her extreamly diligent,
> y^{t} kept her from sinn, yet made her repent:
> Of what small spotts pure white complaines? Alass
> how litle poyson breaks a Chrystall glasse?
> Shee sinn'd but Iust enough to lett vs see
> that Gods word must bee true, all sinners bee.[71]

Donne claims she was so free from sin that she repented for things that were hardly sins, making them sins by insisting on repenting. Yet as James Doelman notes, even to mention these sins is somewhat unusual, and that 'his approach in the Markham poem is noteworthy for its acknowledgment of a woman's religious flaws, despite the elegy's typical rhetorical

[70] Summers, 'The Epicede and Obsequy', 293.
[71] Trinity College Dublin MS 877, part I, f. 39r.

shape of participating in the general praise of the woman,' while he also draws attention to the 'ominous metaphor' of poison cracking a crystal glass.[72] This is a measure different than the ultra-idealised representations of the deceased that appear in his later *Anniversaries*. But Donne insists through this 'extreame truth' she made herself just enough of a sinner for God's word to be true.

> Soe much did zeale her conscience rarifie
> that extreame truth lack'd litle of a lye;
> Making Omissions acts, layeng the touch
> of sinn on things w^{ch} sometimes may bee such.
> As Moyses Cherubins, whose nature doe
> surpass all speed, by him are winged too.
> Soe would her soule alreadie in heau'n; seeme then
> to clyme by teares (the common staires of men)

Her godly sorrow and repentance for her sins would appear to earn God's grace and help her ascend to heaven had God not already bestowed his grace on her.

> Howe fitt shee was for God I am content
> to speake, that Death his vain-hast may repent.
> Howe fitt for vs, howe euen, and howe sweet
> howe good in all her titles, and howe meet
> To haue reform'd this forward heresie,
> *That women can noe parts of friendship bee* [73]

He claims her purity was sustained throughout her life as she passed through the stages of womanhood, as though each virtuous state (maid, wife, and widow) were a title she held. Recalling his focus on friendship in *BedShe* and the women's relationship attested to in her epitaph, he also engages with the *querelle des femmes* topos, making her a reformer by example.[74]

> How morall, howe diuine, shall not bee told
> least they y^{t} heare her vertues thinke her old

[72] James Doelman, *The Daring Muse of the Early Stuart Funeral Elegy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), 221.
[73] This suggestion operates differently here than in his elegy on Cecilia Bulstrode, where he claims that by killing Bulstrode early, Death had robbed itself of potential sinners who may misjudge her reputation or develop unspeakable desires for her.
[74] Milgate, *The Epithalamions, Anniversaries, and Epicedes*, 182. Milgate notes, 'Plato (Laws 873 B) says that friendship is the love of 'the like virtue to the like, and the equal to the equal'. It became commonplace in Neo-Platonic writers that women were therefore incapable of so lofty a relationship. Milgate, Grierson, and Robbins all refer to Montaigne's 'Of Presumption'.

> And least wee take Deaths part, & make him glad
> of such a prey, and to his Triumphs add.

He reaches an absolute insistence of denying death any glory by refusing to quantify her virtues. In doing so he tactfully acknowledges her youth—one of the only instances where he alludes to Markham as an individual. The elegy maintains its formal detached tone through to the conclusion.

Despite his closer relationship to both Bedford and the event of Bulstrode's death, Donne's first elegy on Bulstrode is remarkably formally similar. But disengaging it from Bedford's and re-engaging with the event of her death and his verses on Markham brings forward several differences. The imagery takes a far more violent tone, one which at first encourages consideration of the body at death, similar to the opening of Cherbury's poem with its image of the jaws of death.

> In a rude hunger nowe he drawes
> Into his bloudie, or plaguy, or starued iawes;
> Nowe he will seeme to spare, and doth more wast
> Eating the best fruite, well preseru'd to last.
> But breakes off friends, and letts us piecemeale rott:

Donne then departs from previous model in his description of Bulstrode's sin. Where for Markham he implied a serious of minor, almost accidental sins, he instead conjectures about the potential sins that Bulstrode never committed. Doelman suggests that the poem 'only becomes controversial toward the end where Donne considers what Bulstrode might have become and how she might then have tempted others.' But Donne seems to cautiously address specific aspects of Bulstrode's character which Jonson had denigrated in his vicious epigram on her. [75]Jonsook Lee suggests the Jonson's epitaph is a point-by-point refutation of

[75] Jongsook Lee, 'Who Is Cecilia, What Was She? Cecilia Bulstrode and Jonson's Epideictics', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 85, no. 1 (1986): 20–34.

his accusations in the Epigram, and Donne seems to be executing a similar act of reputational repair for Bulstrode in claiming death erred in deciding to 'kill her younge'.

> What though thou found her proof against the sins of youth?
> Oh everie age a diuerse sin pursueth:
> Thou shouldst have staid and taken better hold,
> Shortly ambitious, couvetous when olde
> Shee might haue prou'de;

Bulstrode's purported ambition according to Jonson encompassed all areas of possible advancement, attempting to elevate her own wit by association with the writers and artists at court, elevate her social position by ingratiating herself to her superiors, and finally attempting closeness with popular clergy by feigning illness and making 'miraculous' recoveries—not terribly out of line Donne's suggestion about the nature of her illness in his letter. But Jonson takes this to include Bulstrode's prior illnesses.

> Steal away
> From court, while yet thy fame hath some small day;
> The wits will leave you, if they once perceive
> You cling to lords; and lords, if them you leave
> For sermoneers: of which now one, now other,
> They say you weekly invite with fits o'th'mother,
> And practise for a miracle; take heed,

Donne also gestures toward her religious devotion and how it might have grown to reach blasphemous excess or pride while at the same time graciously attempting to dispel any lingering concerns about her displays of religious devotion—another source of criticism in Jonson's epigram.[76]

> And such deuotion
> Might once have stray'd to superstition;
> If all her vertues must have growne, yet might
> Abundant virtue'haue bred a proud delight,

[76] What though she ride two mile on holidays
To church, as others do to feasts and plays,
To show their tires? To view, and to be viewed?
What though she be with velvet gowns endued,
And spangled petticoats brought forth to eye,
As new rewards of her old secrecy? (ll. 15-20)

Leaving nothing left unanswered he refigured any attack on her virtue as a moral failing of her accusers.

> Had she perseruer'd Iust, there would haue growne
> Some that would sin, misthinking shee did sinn
> Such that would call her call her Friendship Loue, and faine
> To sociableness a name prohane,
> Or sin by tempting, or not dareing that
> By wishing, though they neuer told her what.
> Thus might'st thou haue slayne more soules, hadst thou not crost
> Thy self; and to triumph, thy army lost.

In this sense, rather than with Markham where he 'invented' her sins as human flaws but extensions of her righteousness, defending Bulstrode against any 'future' potential as a zealot defies Milgate's assertion with regards to Donne's treatment of the two women. And while he does offer a similarly strong caution against excessive mourning 'Yet though these wayes bee lost, thou hast left one / Which is, immoderate grief that shee is gone', unlike his verses for Markham, Donne softens to accommodate a far more forgiving stance on outward displays of sorrow—allowing that the mourners should shed tears, but only those reflecting remorse for their sin or failure to meet the standard of Bulstrode as exemplar, 'But wee may scape that sin, yet weepe as much, / Our tears are due because wee are not such.' Not only does he allow those tears for which Bedford advocates as markers of repentance, but he retracts his claim in the Markham elegy that the tears of friends break a covenant between God and man instead suggesting 'Some teares that knott of friends her death must cost, / Because the Chaine is broke, though no link lost.' In this sense, his second elegy on Bulstrode is consistent with the first, both cautioning against excessive grief and admitting that (proper) grief allows spiritual growth 'And when wee teares, hee mercy shed in this / To raise our minds to heau'en, where shee now is.' He also positions this grief as a debt the community owes on account of her passing 'And wee, her sad glad friends all beare a part / Of griefe; for all would wast a Stoicks heart.'

Donne approached the deaths of Markham and Bulstrode with a greater knowledge of the latter and it appears with a rather different obligation. His debt to Markham's memory allows assigning her a degree of sin, then providing a private, consolatory verse letter to Bedford on her death. But for Bulstrode, his first elegy takes a more defensive tone, redressing the accusations put upon Bulstrode much as Cherbury's and Jonson's epitaphs do. His second, in which he elevates her near to a saint deserving of a holiday, appears to offer a less public consolation (alongside hyperbolic praise) without the reputational repair that defines the first. The circulation of both suggests the second elegy may have been circulated to a smaller group closer to Bedford, further blurring the distinction between public and private text.

1.6 Donne's Verse in Transmission

The manuscript circulation of Donne's verses on Bulstrode and Markham and the patterns of introduced variants point to the possibility that certain of his commemorations were more private compositions than others. While his verse letter to Bedford on Markham's death ('you are that she') is widely surmised to have been a more private text, his second elegy on Bulstrode ('Language thou art too narrow')—while not as restricted at his verse letter—may also have been meant for a more select group. The evidence for this suggestion comes not only from the number of surviving witnesses, but also from the collections in which the verse letter and second elegy appear and the lack of evidence of potential revision. The possibility of revision and wide circulation would also seem to disrupt the notions that Donne' elegies had severely displeased Bedford. His own letters record his severe caution and desire to avoid damaging his relationship with the Countess. Much of the work produced by the editors of the *Donne Variorum* has suggested that Donne revised much of his work, sometimes on several occasions and possibly with a mind to printing his work as he was

known to have considered for a time. His first elegies on both Markham and Bulstrode show suggestive evidence that they were revised at least once, which would seem to contradict his stated desire to remain in her good graces.

Not only was Donne's elegy on Markham the most widely circulated of the poems on her death, but it was also the most frequently copied all of his 1609 commemorative poems. Forty-two manuscript transcriptions survive as well as two copies of the first edition of Donne's poetry with manuscript emendations to the printed text. Many of these witnesses were copied into miscellanies with collections of texts by Donne. Of the thirty-two major manuscript collections of Donne's poetry, twenty-five include his first elegy on Markham. The editors and contributors to the *Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne* transcribed and collated all of the then-known early print and manuscript witnesses of Donne's funerary elegies for their first volume of their edition. This volume, published in 1995, pre-dates subsequent developments to the project including the introduction and use of stemmata, rather than schemata, to track the linguistic provenance of the various witnesses. It also predates the recent discovery of a manuscript collection of verse at Melford Hall, that manuscript now being housed at the British Library. The results of their initial attempt to organize the witnesses by schemata closely parallel the traditional classifications of the major Donne manuscripts. These relationships become additionally clear when comparing the variant texts with established relationships between manuscripts. The familial relationship between witnesses of Donne's elegy on Lady Markham in related texts such as O21 and Y3 is consistent with the familial relationship between other of Donne's poems in these manuscripts.

The Group I manuscripts, including B30, Bodleian, MS Eng. poet. e.99 (O20, Dowden MS) and Cambridge University Library, Add. MS 5772 (C2) consistently show

several unique readings. Within the context of the funerary elegies, O20 is a particularly important manuscript. The book is a quarto manuscript of 99 poems by Donne, collected arranged by genre. Gary Stringer attributes the hand to George Garrard and Daniel Starza Smith supports this attribution. Garrard's transcription of these poems is particularly noteworthy as Janel Mueller notes Garrard claimed little interest in transcribing poems, choosing only to make a collection almost entirely of verses by Donne.[77] Garrard was a friend to Donne during the early years of the latter's patronage relationship with Lady Bedford and was originally tasked with collecting the elegies from Donne and Ben Jonson on Cecilia Bulstrode's death. Garrard's involvement with Donne, Lady Bedford, and the task of assembling a group of elegies lends importance if not quite authority to the text he copied. Similarly, the related text in B30 also suggests a connection to the social circle at Twickenham. The absence of the text in O30 may be in line with the original purpose of the verses. Again, O30 is distinct from B30 in that is it is a smaller collection of verses, the product of a single scribe, and not a substantial collection of Donne's poems. Rather than functioning as a memorial collection of poems on the women's deaths, the funerary elegies included in O30 are, instead, the less-circulated items—Donne's verse letter to Lady Bedford and his second elegy on Cecilia Bulstrode's death. The inclusion of the more intimate verse letter and the exclusion of the popular elegy reinforce both the purposes of each work and the characterization of O30 as a collection of coterie verses.

As messenger for Bedford, Garrard would have at the very least had access to that first elegy Donne had written on Bulstrode's death, and possibly his on Markham's if indeed Garrard's letter to Donne was concerned with her passing, so the inclusion of both elegies

[77] Mueller, xxiii. Mueller notes that in his letter to Thomas Wentworth, 10 November 1634, Garrard claims he 'never had Patience in all my life to transcribe Poems, except they were very transcendant, such as Dean Donn writ in his younger days.'

could find merit on these terms alone. But as a close friend and collector of almost exclusively verses by Donne, the absence of both the verse letter and second Bulstrode elegy from his focused collection reinforces the possibility that these verses circulated much more narrowly or perhaps at a different—likely later—time than the first elegies.

The contrast between the spread of Donne's first and second poems for each woman, with the first often being paired and widely distributed also suggests a parity in the reception of those two poems that masks the differences between them, the circumstances of their composition, and their subjects. Were the pattens of circulation simply governed by the text of each poem or Donne's rising popularity with verse collectors, such discrepancy should not be so pronounced. The event of their death, and by proxy the cultural influence and control Lady Bedford held as patron instead shapes the subsequent history of the texts. Just as Ben Jonson's personally beloved but cruel epigram on Bulstrode fails to survive in a single manuscript—including that of Drummond to whom Jonson proudly read it—Bedford's influence shaped the verse collections of the period as a result of her power and preference, and the esteem (and perhaps also fear) that Jonson and Donne had for her. Without focusing on her position and centrality to the collection of poems, it is easy to mistake Donne for the influential factor in the series of poems studied here. To be certain, as his popularity widened with the explosion of verse collections and exchange in the 1620's and 1630's and his authorship became the impetus for many collections of verse, the organizational logic of these collections allows Donne's funerary verse an artificial centrality in the occasions it commemorates. And for this reason, a return to those manuscripts and to considering the full group of poems becomes vital for recovering and understanding the circumstances of their composition.

Chapter 2: Not bound by rites, but conscience? Jonson's Verses on Cecilia Bulstrode

In early August 1609, George Garrard (1579 – after 1650) sent a messenger with a letter for Ben Jonson reporting Cecilia Bulstrode's death in the Bedford home at Twickenham. Garrard's letter is lost, but Jonson's surviving reply alludes to its contents—news not only of her death, but also of other poets offering memorial verses. Her death on the 4th of August must have been a dreadful blow for Lady Bedford, coming only three months after the passing of Lady Markham. At this point in time, Jonson had lost favour with Lady Bedford, and this new tragedy offered a unique opportunity to redeem himself—one which required a humility rarely associated with his character. As Garrard's messenger waited, Jonson wrote an epitaph on Bulstrode's death. By Jonson's own account, he spent quite a bit of time perfecting the poem as the courier stood by, although none of his drafts survive that might indicate how the poem read in its earliest stages. Once finished, he took a sheet of fine Venetian paper bearing the watermark of a pennant flanked by 'G3' and he folded it once.[1] On one page, he wrote a fair copy of the epitaph and directly below it, a reply to Garrard.[2] Then, just before sending it off, Jonson thought the better of a single word, underlined it, and made a substitution in the margin. With only the fair copy surviving in his hand, we have the briefest glimpse of Jonson revising his verse under the pressure of time and circumstance, but no indication of how it evolved from its earliest stages.

As an artefact, the surviving letter captures a unique moment in Jonson's life. He was at a potential turning point in his soured relationship with Lady Bedford, prompting him to set aside (for a time) his usual bluster. For all the control Jonson asserted over his work and legacy in his 1616 folio, necessity, as in this case, forced his hand. He had been subject to

[1] Bland, 'Jonson, *Biathanatos* and the Interpretation of Manuscript Evidence', 157-170. Bland discusses Jonson's use of this paper at length.
[2] Harvard University Library, Lowell Autograph (Ben Jonson to George Garrard), f. 1r.

similar external pressure when he was compelled to write verses celebrating Robert Carr's marriage to Frances Howard, despite Jonson generally aligning himself with members of the Sidney and Herbert families.[3] His relationships with these families were his most important. He counted Sir Philip Sidney's daughter, Lady Elizabeth Manners, Countess of Rutland, and Lady Bedford among his sometime patrons. Their patronage brought him opportunities to write masques and royal entertainments, and brought him in close proximity with others in Queen Anne's retinue. But at some point, the health of his relationship with Lady Bedford appears to have suffered, as attested by an undated letter to Donne begging him to broker an apology on his behalf.[4] Colin Burrow speculates the letter may have been written in response to an incident involving Jonson's 'Epigram on the Court Pucell'.[5] Jonson had written the epigram on Bulstrode and in it he pillories her character, intelligence, and morals without restraint. And Bulstrode had been shown a copy of his poem.[6] In this sense, the occasion of her death was far more critical for Jonson than for the other poets who wrote on it. As a result, the letter and poem encapsulate two competing aspects of his career. As he engaged in the more global (and competitive) act of writing consolatory verse on the death of a social superior, he was also having to mediate the effects of his own personal missteps, including his failure to control the reach of his work.

When visiting William Drummond in Scotland a decade later, Jonson explained his prior history with Bulstrode—the likely cause of Lady Bedford's distaste for him. He had written an earlier poem on Bulstrode, his 'Epigram on the Court Pucell'. In it he characterises

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[3] McCabe, *'Ungainefull Arte'*, 293–94.
[4] Sir Tobie Matthew, *A Collection of Letters Made by Sir Tobie Mathews Knight* (London: H. Herringman, 1660), 328–29.
[5] Colin Burrow, ed., 'Letter 11, to George Garrard with Epitaph on Cecilia Bulstrode (1609)', *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson'* ed. David Bevington, Martin Bulter, and Ian Donaldson, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), vol. 3:370-371.
[6] Ian Donaldson, ed. 'Informations to William Drummond of Hawthornden' *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson'* ed. David Bevington, Martin Bulter, and Ian Donaldson, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), vol. 5:390.

her as a whore, one whose ‘Chamber be the very pit / Where fight the prime Cocks of the Game, for wit?’. He labelled her a serial breaker of marriage contracts and a failed poet. Lingering on the verse she wrote, he attacks her virtue, sexuality, and wit at once. Her inspiration is depraved and undeserved, gained by violating a muse with ‘tribade lust’.[7] Bald suggests that she may indeed have broken two marriage contracts, one of which was with Jonson’s esteemed friend Sir John Roe (d.1606). Roe too had written sexually charged lines on Bulstrode, dated to 1602, which survive in several contemporary manuscripts.[8] Jonson’s friendship and desire to please Roe may have prompted his attack on her. In Herford and Simpson’s estimation, 'the sheer Brutality of “The Court Pucell” (Und. xlix), falls little short of Martial's verses to Galla; and more cannot be said.’[9] Despite having written this and—as it later appeared—having been pleased with his epigram, on receipt of Garrard’s letter containing news of her death, he chose to praise her, seizing the chance to reverse the charges he levelled in the epigram. The earlier epigram and the later epitaph are linked through their shared subject but—like their opposite estimations of her character—found divergent textual afterlives. These afterlives reflect Jonson’s skilful manipulation of both performance and physical publication (scribal and print), as well as a conflict between his desire to share his work and a keen awareness of his own financial and social precarity. Jonson uses the material potential of a letter to perform an act of deference for his then disenchanted patron, recognising (if somewhat protesting the fairness of) his role in the fracturing of their relationship. In this sense he makes Garrard and the letter his intermediaries, a role he imagines also for himself as he identifies as a manuscript poet for an elite set of recipients, and then leverages this status to position himself as intermediary between that literary

[7] Colin Burrow, ed., ‘The Underwood’ *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. David Bevington, Martin Bulter, and Ian Donaldson, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), vol. 7:194-5.
[8] Bald, 178.
[9] C. H. (Charles Harold) Herford and Percy Simpson, eds., *Ben Jonson. The Man and His Work: The Second Volume* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1925), vol. 2: 357.

community and other, excluded readers and writers. The transmission of Jonson's epitaph also shows him engaging in this work. The variants which demarcate specific lines of transmission suggest that Jonson wrote the poem and sent it to Bedford, but then later revised and shared it, with the witnesses descending from the text sent to Bedford and from the possibly revised text charting how the poem moved outward from both Jonson's hands and from those of someone in Bedford's retinue. Despite composing the poem for arguably the most culturally influential non-royal woman at court, the text he sent to Bedford via Garrard moved in surprising directions. One copy ended up with Sir William Drummond, who despite being an aristocrat, had no apparent direct connection to Bedford and her kin, but did have a keen interest in Jonson as a poet. Drummond's witness of the poem, however, appears to have descended from the text Jonson had quickly altered and sent to Bedford, and not from the one he seems to have retained and revised. A copy of the Bedford variant also ended up in the hands of a London apothecary whose connection to the group, while still unclear, does suggest an overlooked path by which persons far outside of an aristocratic network may be tied to their deaths. Members of the medical community who would attend these elite persons up to the intervention of a priest marks an overlooked site of direct and necessarily intimate connection between the highest-ranking members of aristocratic households and members of the London professional world. Just as Donne called upon Dr Simeon Fox during his illness in 1623, Nicholas Hare left bequests to Fox and to Dr William Harvey, and Fox served as witness to Lady Markham's will, these individuals may be a connecting link between seemingly distant realms of courtiers and the emerging verse collectors among the middle class.[10] Ultimately, despite Jonson's positioning himself as a connection between this elite world and those without it, the occasions of illness and death made permeable the aristocratic household and the literary circles it may otherwise have kept contained.

[10] Bald, 448–52.

2.1 Jonson's Epigram: Performance/Inscription

Certainly, Jonson knew the peril involved when he libelled Bedford's companion and kinswoman. If his account to Drummond can be trusted, he never intended the poem to be shared beyond a strictly controlled audience and was an innocent party to its further dissemination, for as Drummond recorded: 'That piece of the pucelle of the court was stolen out of his pocket by a gentleman who drank him drowsy, and given Mistress Bulstrode; which brought him great displeasure.'[11] For the gentleman to have known about the poem and that Jonson had it on his person, it seems he must have recently shown or read it to several people (but was wise enough to hold onto the text, not allowing any copy to circulate). It is a nearly absurd instance of literary theft, Jonson being pushed to inebriation and then having the physical text stolen. Still, regardless of the truth of the story, he somehow failed to prevent it from being made public a second time, and to a very undesired audience. Evans thought it more likely that he shared the text and then tried to control its circulation, but this is difficult to reconcile with his deep interest in Martial's writing on plagiarism and literary theft.[12] Jonson was aware of the dangers of manuscript circulation, and he would have understood the futility of halting the rhizomatic spread of a text once it had entered those channels.

For all his caution and the glowing (if characteristically indistinct) praise he offers Bulstrode in the later, corrective epitaph, Jonson did not lay his scandalous epigram aside after her passing. Drummond reports that Jonson read his 'Epigram on the Court Pucelle' to him among several other pieces during his 1619 visit.[13] That he chose to carry this ten-year-

[11] Donaldson, 'Informations', 390.
[12] Robert C. Evans, *Ben Jonson and the Poetics of Patronage* (Lewisburg: London: Bucknell University Press, 1989), 80-81.
[13] Donaldson 'Informations', ll.71—2.

old poem on a deceased minor courtier when travelling to Scotland, then selected it among three poems to share with Drummond, suggests that he remained proud of the piece. Perhaps he thought it the sort of exercise in wit that would amuse other men; certainly, by this point it did not carry the same threat of scandal. Given the information Jonson felt compelled to share about Bulstrode, it seems he thought Drummond knew little of her, thereby diminishing the potential for complications even further. Even if Jonson did not regard his epigram as formally excellent, his fondness for it is all the more evident when considering his audience, a fellow poet to whom he shared lengthy criticisms of other writers. No written copy survives among Drummond's papers, so perhaps Jonson still feared the unchecked spread of his epigram. In this instance, performance and material text function with poetry in opposition to how he sees them operating with his plays. Joseph Loewenstein asserts that he reclaimed performed and poorly received dramatic texts by printing them and offering his own supporting materials, criticizing the performers, and laying to rest any corrupted versions. But perhaps with the epigram, he heeded the advice Horace offered aspiring poets, withholding his verses from written dissemination for nine years.[14]

Verse read out by Jonson himself to a select audience of one would not suffer delivery from poor actors nor be miscopied by inattentive verse collectors, and his curated audience would be unlikely to misinterpret his intentions. But his decision to read the poem aloud in order to maintain control of it required sacrifice, undermining its nature as an epigram, *ἐπίγραμμα*—an inscription. George Puttenham's account of the form noted

> *Epigramme* is but an inscription or writting made as it were vpon a table, or in a windowe, or vpon the wall or mantell of a chimney in some place of common resort, where it was allowed euery man might come, or be sitting to chat and prate, as now in our tauernes and common tabling houses, where many merry

[14] Loewenstein, 75.

> heades meete, and scrible with ynke with chalke, or with a cole such matters as they would euery mā should know, & descant vpō.[15]

Thus Jonson belies that nature both in terms of its material presentation and, as a consequence, its possible audience. When at his death, he gave some of his papers to his executor, Sir Kenelm Digby, the epigram was likely among them. No manuscript copy survives, and amid a culture of collecting which celebrated libellous and bawdy verse, his lines on Bulstrode as a 'court pucell' would seem well-suited for wide circulation—ripe to be seized upon for all the 'wrong' reasons. Since it was only posthumously printed in *The Under-Woods Consisting of Diverse Poems* (1640), nothing can be definitively said about Jonson's intention to publish the work, despite his readily apparent fondness of it. By the time of its publication, Lady Bedford had since died, and so too had the threat of further displeasure or loss of favour following yet another, wider 'publication' of his poem. Jonson's motives upon giving his papers to Digby do not establish which items, if any, he might have wished printed. But while she was alive, Jonson fully respected how alignment with powerful families and patrons could require him to censor his output in terms of texts he might allow into manuscript circulation. But by reserving his epigram for private performance, he restricted it from re-inscription to preserve authorial control and circumvent what was effectively social censorship.

2.2 Autograph/Epitaph/Epistle

In contrast to the restricted performance and print publication of Jonson's epigram, his epitaph on Bulstrode circulated widely in contemporary manuscript collections but remained unprinted until 1930. Twenty-one witnesses survive, including the autograph. It was among the five most widely circulated of his non-dramatic verses, making its exclusion

[15] George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie Contriued into Three Bookes: The First of Poets and Poesie, the Second of Proportion, the Third of Ornament* (London: Richard Field, 1589), 43.

from his 1616 folio and the *Under-woods* even more curious.[16] Perhaps given his attachment to this 'Epigram on the Court Pucell', he would not wish to print lines in which he recants his attacks at the request of a powerful patron. To do so would underscore his own vulnerability. His decision to mock Bulstrode in verse had already cost him Lady Bedford's favour. To print his epitaph praising her in death would publicise his own his hypocrisy. Jongsook Lee argues that the two poems might coexist without undermining Jonson, with the epigram being a general attack of a certain type of court woman and the epitaph being a specific redemption of Bulstrode among those women.[17] Jonson's explicit concern for the opinions of the living, as expressed in his letter to Garrard, remain somewhat less compatible with overwhelming grief. His lamenting a failed chance at redemption—'Would God I had seen her before, that some that live might have corrected some prejudices they have had injuriously of me'—further suggests that the catalyst for his having written the second poem was at least equally the influence of Bedford as it was his friendship with Garrard.[18] But to Drummond, Jonson seemed undeterred in revealing exactly who he pilloried in his epigram, having clearly told him that he wrote it on Bulstrode. Even his attempts to redeem her in the epitaph do so by shaming other members of the court in which Bedford was currently active.

His epitaph on Bulstrode is brief, but his description of her lies in stark contrast to his Court Pucelle. In life, as the 'pucell', he said of her 'with tribade lust she force a muse, / And in an epicene fury can write the news / Equal with that for which the best news goes, / As airy, light, and as like wit as those?' (7-10) but in the later epitaph he reinvents her as wiser than Pallas. Once dead, she embodies not only chastity but exceeds all else in her refinement.

> Epitaph.
> Stay, view this stone: And, if thou beest not such,
> Read here a little, that thou mayst know much.

[16] This estimation of the numbers of surviving witnesses of each poem is taken from the entries listed in CELM.
[17] Jongsook Lee, 20–34.
[18] Burrow, 'Letter 11', 370-371.

It couers, first, a Virgin; and then, one
That durst be that in Court: a vertu'alone
To fill an Epitaph. But she had more.
She might haue claym'd t'haue made the Graces foure;
Taught Pallas Language; Cynthia modesty;
As fit to haue encreas'd the harmony
Of Spheares, as light of starres; She was earthes Eye:
The sole Religious house, and Votary,
Wth Rites not bound, but conscience. Wouldst thou All?
She was 'Sell Boulstred, In w^{c}h name* I call
It Vp so much truth, as could I here pursue
Might make the Fable of Good Women true./[19]

As Lee observes, Jonson carefully reverses the very faults that he ascribed to her in life. Lee argues that rather than an attack and act of remorse, the twinned verses are epideictical—the epigram being a more general list of vices and the epitaph their contrast in Bulstrode.[20] Even his use of her diminutive of nickname, 'Sell' in the epitaph, reads as a reference to the vulgar epigram. In the epigram, his choice of 'pucell' among many possible offensive labels for a woman specifically recalls her diminutive, signposting the exact person he is writing about to those that knew her. But by more openly acknowledging her within the body of the epitaph, he more clearly ties these favourable attributes to her. Philip West observes that 'to have one's name recorded by Jonson is to have done something to rise above the general level of humanity, whose low condition Jonson satirizes, namelessly, in the collection's other verses.'[21] But West also notes that Jonson was open, to the point of apology, that he had sometimes praised in verse—including memorial verse—some less suitable figures.[22] Jonson must have felt confident that Bedford's understanding of praise within epitaphs—one often achieved by elevating the deceased above all others—would allow her to overlook his decision to amplify Bulstrode's virtue by uplifting her as a bastion of purity amid the seediness of the court which Bedford was very much engaged in as Lady of the Bedchamber.

[19] Harvard University Library, Lowell Autograph.
[20] Jongsook Lee, 27.
[21] Philip West, '*Epigrams* and *The Forest*', in *The Oxford Handbook of Ben Jonson*, ed. Eugene Giddens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013-2025), 7, accessed 21 September 2023.
[22] West, 2-3.

And two of the surviving manuscript witnesses with texts descended from the autograph also suggest that Garrard felt compelled to show it to Bedford.

Colin Burrow notes that of the 600 surviving witnesses of Jonson's verse, '[t]he textual problems surrounding Jonson's poems are great, and many of them are insoluble. The largest problem is that the problems are all so different.'[23] But some information can still be derived from this surviving manuscript evidence for this poem. Of his epitaphs and occasional verses for high-ranking members of court, quite a few never entered contemporary print and several survive only as autographs. But none of the unprinted pieces survive in quantities rivalling his epitaph on Bulstrode. Only nine of Jonson's poems survive in his hand, and these nine autograph verses offer a foundation for understanding his epitaph on Bulstrode and how he recorded and presented texts for specific audiences. Burrow notes several commonalities between his surviving autographs in that they are 'all in some sense 'presentation' copies.' But he also suggests

> The term 'presentation manuscript' is a tempting one to apply to such artefacts; however, it is too grandiose a term for copies which were sent to particular addressees, probably to mark particular occasions in the life of the addressee or in the relationship between poet and patron. They are not 'presentation manuscripts' in the sense of being finely transcribed or bound copies. It might be preferable to term them 'epistolary manuscripts'.

Referring to his autograph epigram for Horatio Vere in the Conway Papers, British Library, Add. MS 23229 (B11) Burrow notes that all Jonson's' surviving verse autographs 'are on single sheets, the majority of which show fold marks as though they were enclosed with letters.'[24] The Garrard letter, however, is the only of these surviving poems which shares the page with a letter from Jonson.

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[23] Colin Burrow, 'The Poems: Textual Essay', *The Cambridge Works of Ben Jonson Online*, 5.-6, accessed 20 October 2018, https://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/k/essays/The_Poems_textual_essay/.
[24] Burrow, 'The Poems' 5-6.

Jonson's epitaph on Bulstrode seems the extreme surviving example of one of his 'epistolary manuscripts' both for sharing the page with the letter which contextualizes it and for how Jonson leverages Garrard as a mediator to bring both verse and message to Bedford's attention. The specific audience for the epitaph also bears heavily on how the material text might be read. The most established argument suggests that Garrard was writing on behalf of Lady Bedford, soliciting poets to write memorial verses.[25] There is some room, however, to argue that Bedford was not the catalyst for Garrard's request. Garrard was first cousin to Sir John and Sir Thomas Roe. As noted in Chapter one, the undated letter from Donne to Garrard detailing Sir Thomas Roe's extreme grief over the death of a gentlewoman caused Bald to speculate that Roe and Bulstrode were lovers at the time of her death.[26] And although in light of the other evidence surrounding the letter and the women's deaths, it seems unlikely that Bulstrode was the subject of Roe's great sorrow, it remains possible that Garrard may have encouraged Jonson to write for the benefit of someone else, perhaps a grieving friend or lover. But the text of Jonson's reply also seems to counter this possibility. His concern lingers on how the poem will be received, with particular attention to some unnamed persons who at the time held a negative view of him.

> See what the obedience of friendship is, and the hazard it runs. This I have done, straitened with time (as your man knows) to let you know your power in me. If it be well (as I think it is, for my invention hath not cooled so much to judge) show it, though the greater wits have gone before. It hath somewhat in it *moris antiqui*, and suggesting the suddenness of it may pass. For till your letter came, I was not so much as acquainted with the sad argument, which both struck me and keeps me a heavy man. Would God I had seen her before, that some that live might have corrected some prejudices they have had injuriously of me. By your next commodity write me your liking of it, and some news.[27]

Jonson's language recalls an undated letter he sent to Donne in which he laments his compromised position with a gentlewoman: 'My Lady may believe whisperings, receive

[25] Bald, 177-178; Burrow, 'Letter 11', 370-371; B. N. De Luna, *Jonson's Romish Plot: A Study of 'Catiline' and Its Historical Context* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 156-158.
[26] Bald, 177–78.
[27] Burrow, 'Letter 11', 370-371.

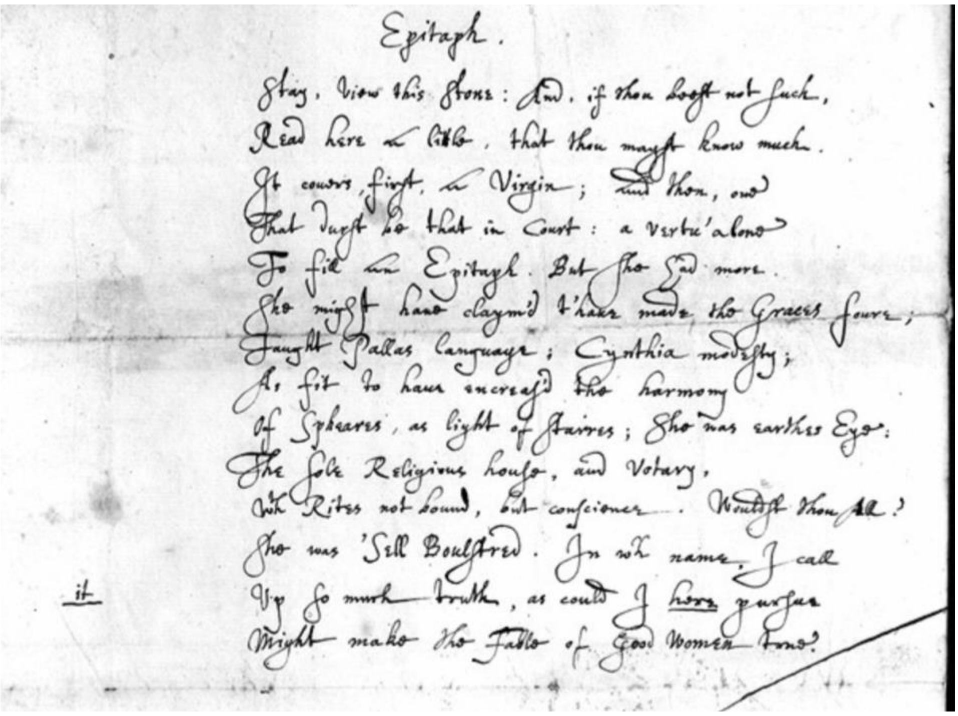
tales, suspect and condemn my honesty, and I may not answer, on the pain of losing her; as if she, who had this prejudice of me, were not already lost.'[28] Bald, and De Luna, believe that the letter to Donne is related to the Bulstrode epigram incident, and the Lady in question is Bedford.[29] Additionally, Jonson shows concern over his friendship with Donne in the same letter. Donne was close enough with Bedford at the time of Bulstrode's death that he wrote to Goodyere from Bedford's house at Twickenham, concerned that Bulstrode would not survive much longer. The parallel between Jonson's letters and the parties involved support Lady Bedford as the catalyst for Garrard's request.

In the text of Jonson's letter, he writes of course—literally—to Garrard, not Lady Bedford. His decision to place both the poem and letter on the same side of the same leaf may be a practical measure due to the brevity of each and perhaps the shortness of time. But Burrow notes that his other poems, particularly his occasional verses, are folded as though enclosures to accompany letters. Instead, he here makes the letter and its verse companions on the same page. When he sent Donne's 'Satyres' to Lady Bedford, he wrote verses to accompany them, tying his own work to Donne's and allowing it to act as mediator for the message. Dianne Mitchell also considered that 'Jonson's epitaph and letter were carefully designed to form a coherent reading experience.'[30] Mitchell's reading of the material text is such that by placing poem and letter on the same page, Jonson was inviting Garrard to read the poem with the surrounding letter giving 'emphasis on the perspective of a select reader, implying that such a reader may be trusted to recognize motivations which do not necessarily

[28] Ian Donaldson, ed., 'Letter 10, to John Donne (1609)', *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. David Bevington, Martin Bulter, and Ian Donaldson, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), vol. 7:369.
[29] De Luna, 178.
[30] Dianne Marie Mitchell, 'Unfolding Verse: Poetry As Correspondence In Early Modern England' (PhD Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2017), 40.

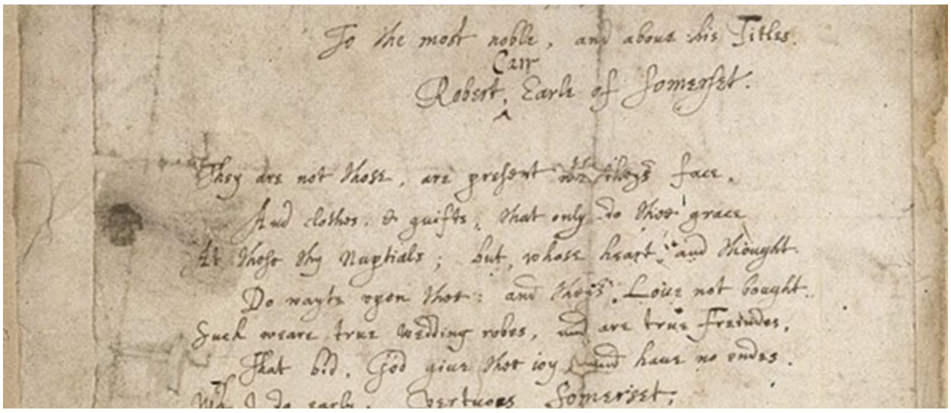
cohere with the panegyric labor of group mourning.'[31] Essentially, by placing the letter and poem on the same page, Jonson was making the combined texts into a private communication, one which would allow Garrard to see that his motivation for writing was for Bedford's favour, and that he was reluctant to perform the office. But to accept this view requires setting aside practical and material considerations. The most pressing of these is simply that the relative privacy of a letter in the period was not assured. Diverse methods of encoding and sealing letters were available to ensure some letters did stay private, but the many copies of letters that appear even in collections of verse attest both to the cotemporary appreciation for epistolary skill and to the diverse readership a letter might be assumed to encounter. And within this culture, Jonson would have faced some degree of risk in sending a letter critiquing Bedford's agenda to Garrard as he collected verses for her—not least the risk of further derailing his effort at reconciliation. With regard to the material text, other details further indicate that the letter was likely meant for an audience larger than just Garrard. In addition to changing one word in the copy of the Bulstrode epitaph sent, Jonson made small, non-substantive changes, capitalising the first letter of two words.[32]

[31] Mitchell, 45.
[32] All (l. 11), Fable (l. 14).


Epitaph.
Stay, view this stone: And, if thou beest not such,
Read here a little, that thou mayst know much.
It covers, first, a Virgin; and then, one
That durst be that in Court: a vertu' alone
To fill an Epitaph. But she had more.
She might have claym'd t'have made the Graces foure;
Taught Pallas language; Cynthia modesty;
As fit to have encreas'd the harmony
Of Spheares, as light of Starres; She was earthes Eye:
The sole Religious house, and Votary,
With Rites not bound, but conscience. Wouldst thou All?
She was 'Sell Boulstred. In which name, I call
it Up so much truth, as could I here pursue
Might make the Fable of Good Women true.

(fig 3) Harvard University Library, Lowell Autograph

He makes similar changes in two other manuscripts. One of these was the poem written out of necessity and presented to the Earl of Somerset on his wedding day.[33] In the autograph copy Jonson sent to Somerset, he emphasised the 'T' in Titles in the heading, and retroactively capitalised the 'F' in 'Friends' within the body of the text.

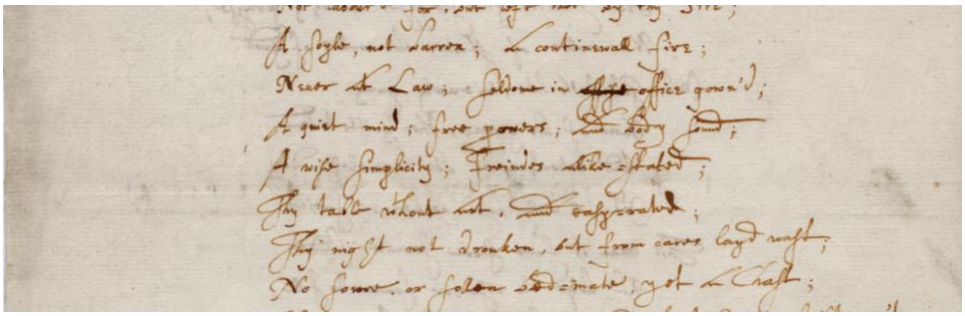

To the most noble, and above his Titles.
Carr
Robert, Earle of Somerset.

They are not those, are present wth theyr face,
And clothes, & guifts, that only do thee grace
At these thy Nuptials; but, whose heart, and thought
Do wayte upon thee: and theyre Love not bought.
Such weare true wedding robes, and are true Friendes,
That bid, God give thee joy, and have no endes.
... vertuous Somerset;

(fig. 4) British Library, MS, c 28, m 11

[33] British Library, MS, c 28, m 11. 'To the most noble and above all his titles Robert, Earl of Somerset' emphasizing the T in 'Titles' in the heading, and F in 'Friends' (l.5). Dulwich College, Alleyn Papers, vol. 1, no. 135, fol. 259 Martial, Epigram 10.47 translated ('The things that make the happier life are these'), l.7, ('Friends').

Similarly, Jonson also makes a similar correction to ‘Friends’ in his autograph translation of Martial. The manuscript in question, given to Jonson’s patron, the actor Edward Alleyn (1566–1626), also includes a copy of Henry Wotton’s ‘The Character of a Happy Life’ (‘How happy is he, born or taught’) below his translation of Martial. Grace Ioppolo suggests that it was perhaps a gift on his opening of Dulwich College, and unlike Burrow, considers it a presentation manuscript based on the flourished, if occasionally inconsistent letterforms.[34]



(fig. 4) Dulwich College, Alleyn Papers, vol. 1, no. 135, fol. 259

His formal changes to presentation parallel the concern over granular detail that he shows for his printed texts. Perhaps notably, he made no such alterations to the copy of Wotton’s poem in the manuscript given to Alleyn. But regarding the Garrard letter, both his placement of the letter and poem, and his stylistic changes to the text of the poem mirroring those in the presentation copy to Alleyn, raise the possibility that this ‘epistolary manuscript’ would have enabled or indeed required Lady Bedford to read the poem *in situ* alongside his lament. Just as in the Alleyn manuscript, where he has paired two poems on happiness, drawing attention to the thematic link between verses by different authors, Jonson encourages a twinned reading of letter and epitaph. This possibility is further aided by Jonson’s requests in the letter ‘if it be well…show it’—presumably to its intended audience. If his epitaph on the death of Vincent Corbett is any comparison, he could have readily expected that his verses

[34] Grace Ioppolo, ‘“Extraordinarie & Rare”: Ben Jonson’s Manuscripts’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Ben Jonson*, ed. Eugene Giddens (Oxford: Oxford University Pres, 2013-2025), 4, accessed 8 April 2023, https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199544561.013.26.

would be transferred to a funerary placard (at the very least, they would have necessitated rewriting separately from the letter).[35] To have attended so closely to capitalization and presentation within the poem suggests a concern with formal presentation that extends to the encompassing letter. And his request that they be shown nonetheless changes the tone of his letter. Of equal note, Jonson designates no addressee in the text of his letter. His other surviving letters, or contemporary copies thereof suggest he consistently followed the standard practice of opening with 'Sir' or 'Madam' as the occasion required, and rather the absence of either invites a broader possible intended audience. Writing to Bedford in this mediated way was not without precedent. McCabe attributes similar activity to Donne, that he 'sent his verses to Bedford through his friend under covering letters she was supposed not to see but expected to read—a "private" correspondence fabricated to witness his sincerity.'[36] By placing them directly on the same side of the same leaf, however, Jonson takes Donne's practice of the 'covering letter' to an extreme, combining poem and letter as an epistle on the same page, and thereby precluding any possibility that his message might fail to reach Lady Bedford.

As a text presented (albeit indirectly) to Lady Bedford, his letter becomes a tacit apology, disguised as or at the very least carefully fitted into a genuine lament about Bulstrode. Jonson expresses contrition without grovelling and gestures to the 'power' held over him by the person he was writing for—Lady Bedford. For although the request came from Garrard, it was ultimately Lady Bedford for whom Jonson, Donne, and others were in service. With Bulstrode having died at the Bedford house at Twickenham, Lady Bedford would once again have seen to her funeral arrangements and been recipient of poetic tributes to her cousin. Just as when Lady Markham died at Twickenham a few short months earlier,

[35] Yale University Library Osborn MS fb.230.
[36] McCabe, 210.

Bedford had a memorial plaque engraved for her and had both Markham and Bulstrode interred in nearby St. Mary's Church. As Jonson shows himself so capable of scripting as a dramatist, the letter is the material equivalent of staging a conversation to be overheard by another party.[37] Jonson manipulates the medium, translating this performance onto the page, thereby allowing him to beg forgiveness while avoiding an open confession or humiliating himself.

2.3 The Textual History of Jonson's Epitaph

Jonson's epitaph is unique among the verses written on Bedford's kinswomen, both for its author having written the alternate, contrary epigram on the same subject during her life, and for its existing in an autograph copy. The autograph copy in turn allows a better assessment of the quality of the surviving witnesses and their degrees of separation from the original than does any other poem in this group of funerary verse. Tracing the changes introduced in transmission offers evidence both of possible revision and of how Jonson's unprinted verse for an elite patron reached audiences situated outside the typically envisioned networks of manuscript circulation.

After Jonson sent his epitaph to Lady Bedford, the text began circulating in verse miscellanies, and it continued in transmission for at least three decades. The twenty-one surviving manuscript witnesses can be divided into two groups, which appear to represent an early and later version of the text. The early version most closely aligns with the autograph copy Jonson sent to Garrard, and preserves the last-minute intervention wherein he changed 'here' in l. 13 to 'it'. In addition to the autograph, this early group has five further witnesses:

[37] For discussion of Jonson's use of overheard conversations in the staging of his dramatic works, see, Ian Burrows, ''[Overhearing]': Printing Parentheses and Reading Power in Ben Jonson's Sejanus', *Early Theatre* 20, no. 2 (2017): 99–120; Jane Rickard, 'Seventeenth-Century Readers of Jonson's 1616 Works', in *Ben Jonson and Posterity: Reception, Reputation, Legacy*, ed. Jane Rickard and Martin Butler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 85–104.

British Library Egerton MS 2230, f. 35v (B23); British Library, Harley MS 4064, f. 261v (B30); Bodleian Library, Rawl. poet. 31, f. 36v-37r, (O30); Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. poet. 116, f. 55r (O33); and National Library of Scotland, MS 2060, f. 164r, (SN2).

The group which I here refer to as the late group consists of all the remaining fifteen manuscript copies. These can then be divided into three distinct subgroups, to which the majority of later manuscripts relate. While it may be that the text in this group was taken from one of Jonson's initial drafts of the poem, it is not the version first published to its intended audience. The only evidence that it may have been an earlier draft is the reversion to 'here' in l.13. There remain, however, a number of plausible explanations for this reversal. It is possible that the change was introduced in circulation. Or, as Burrow notes, it may represent an authorial revision in which Jonson changed his mind about the last-minute emendation.[38] The two additional variants that distinguish texts in the late group are the use of 'so' in place of the second 'that' in l.4, and the reworking of l.11 from 'Wth Rites not bound, but conscience. Wouldst thou All?' to 'Not bound by rites, but conscience, wouldst thou all'.

The first of these changes may have been scribal, but for the substantial second and third emendations, the consistency of the texts in each group and the lack of copies that reflect any intermediate stages of mid-transmission evolution strongly favour an argument for authorial revision or a single instance of reworking the poem. The timing of such a revision or reworking is uncertain. Jonson would likely have understood that his verses would be recopied. Certainly, he at least would know they would be recopied from the body of his letter into a format more appropriate for the funeral. The uses and presentations of funerary verse varied from collected volumes of funerary verse to single sheets, those by students from

[38] Burrow, 'The Poems', 6.

the university might be hastily pinned to the funeral pall of their former classmate, others read or thrown into the grave as Thomas Smyth records of the verses written on John Nichols, Vicar of Long Ashton.[39] Or perhaps it was collected with other verses and presented to attendees at the funeral, just as his epitaph on Vincent Corbett survives on a formal, professionally inscribed funerary placard alongside verses by Selden and others.[40] But the existence of so many 'early text' witnesses strongly suggests that no substantial reworking occurred to the text sent to and presumably used by Garrard.

Jonson did revise his poems—including those written for patrons—on several occasions, presumably to prepare them for print publication, and it is possible that Jonson revised the Bulstrode epitaph for a potential 1612 book of epigrams. B30 and O30 show significant variants in several texts which appeared in his 1616 folio, including the text of his country house poem 'To Sir Robert Wroth' ('How blessed art thou canst love the country, Wroth').[41] And there has long been speculation that he printed a short collection of epigrams earlier, based on an entry in the Stationers' register.[42] Drummond mentions a book of Jonson's epigrams in his list of 'bookes red be me / anno 1612'. Each of the nineteen other books on his list refers to a printed work published before 1612. The same is true with regard to the medium and publication dates for his lists of books for 1606 -1611. However, in 1613, he again lists 'Jhonson's epigrammes' among the books he read as well as 'Jhone Dones lyriques' and Sir William Alexander's *A Doomsday*, which was only first printed the following year in 1614. The list shows a degree of carelessness, with Sir John Davies *Nosce*

[39] University of Nottingham MS Pw V 37, p. 20.
[40] Yale University Library Osborn MS fb.230.
[41] Michelle O'Callaghan, '"Those Lyrick Feasts, Made at the Sun, the Dog, the Triple Tunne": Going Clubbing with Ben Jonson', in *'Lords of Wine and Oile': Community and Conviviality in Robert Herrick*, eds. Tom Cain and Ruth Connolly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 84.
[42] Loewenstein, 130.

Teipsum, Bartas, and Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* erroneously listed twice.[43] Nonetheless, the appearance of Donne's verse on it suggests that Drummond was also occasionally recording the manuscripts he read. But Tara Lyons' recent work on early catalogues and administrative records of the Bodleian shows evidence more directly indicating the existence of a printed text of Jonson's epigrams predating the 1616 edition of his works.[44] Even if he had printed such a collection, his 1616 edition offers some evidence for whether his epitaph on Bulstrode would have been included. The majority of his occasional poems were grouped in *The Forest*, and *The Epigrams* largely given over to that form, but his epitaph on Bulstrode was not among them. His tendency to revisit and revise works remains a compelling explanation for the differences which so clearly delineate the two groups of texts, but even if he did so, no direct, autograph evidence survives. What does survive is contextual evidence, including the repeated appearance of the later text in sequence alongside verses by Nicholas Hare (as discussed in Chapter 3). The close connection between these pieces may indicate that he shared a reworked copy with perhaps a friend or relation of Bulstrode associated either with the Inns of Court or with Hare's associates made abroad.

The relative rarity of early witnesses and their connection to the autograph text allows close study of how Jonson's poem for a high-ranking member of court might escape its intended audience. And the sites where it survives blur the delineations between the coteries he and other writers catered to (or constructed), London literary networks, and the professional classes. These networks of transmission are often viewed separately, with amateur verse collectors in particular assumed to be far outside the more cohesive and

[43] National Library of Scotland MS 2059, f. 362-7.
[44] Tara L. Lyons, 'New Evidence for Ben Jonson's Epigrammes (ca. 1612) in Bodleian Library Records', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 114, no. 3 (September 2020): 343–64; Tara L. Lyons, 'Reading a Lost Book: Ben Jonson's Epigrammes (c.1612) and Disposable Authorship', *English Literary Renaissance* 53, no. 1 (January 2023): 1–34.

socially restricted groups around the court and Inns. McCabe's study of the coteries around Pembroke and Bedford positions them as imagined structures, conceived in part by and for writers seeking to elevate themselves by their association with groups of distinguished patrons.[45] This is not to ignore the very real cultural influence of patrons like Bedford, and the social and literary networks surrounding them. For Jonson especially, praising these individuals and their milieu allowed him to mediate between a highly exclusive world and the writers and readers outside of it. The divisions he makes between these networks parallel the distinctions he makes between the desirable and undesirable readers he addresses in his printed and staged texts—texts which he also arranges to foreground his association with these same patrons.[46] But to isolate the members of these high-ranking groups from society at large is to indulge a fantasy which devalues their cultural influence and ignores engagement of marginal figures in collecting, transmitting, and preserving verse. The witnesses of Jonson's early text represent the social circle around Bedford, an aristocratic professional writer, and a London pharmacist. But in each case, idiosyncrasies in the material text and the socio-cultural status of the party represented underscore the permeability of these groups of verse collectors.

2.4 The Early Group: Collections Associated with Bedford

Of the five copies of Jonson's early text, two manuscripts appear closely related: B30 and O30. Burrow regards these among the most important manuscript witnesses of Jonson's work, and the sole witnesses of several verses now attributed to him. The volumes are particularly important to this study because of their texts relating to members of Lady Bedford's circle. Peter Beal, Michelle O'Callaghan, and Henry Woudhuysen have written

[45] McCabe, 199-213.
[46] Garth Bond, '"Rare Poemes Aske Rare Friends": Ben Jonson, Coterie Poet', *Modern Philology* 107, no. 3 (2010): 383.

extensively on the pair, though with differing views on the purpose of O30.[47] But all agree that the manuscripts conspicuously preserve texts related to Lady Bedford, her friends, and her family. Despite being perhaps the best representation of the literary network around Bedford, O30 is a retrospective picture of this group, and one constructed by someone outside of it. The texts included represent a real series of exchanged verses, but they are selected and presented roughly two decades later by a professional scribe. B30 is quarto manuscript, now bound in a composite volume. It contains a larger collection of verse than O30, in what appears to be at least two professional scribal hands. O30 is a considerably more formal folio manuscript bound in limp vellum. It is the work of an unknown professional whom Peter Beal has influentially dubbed the Feathery Scribe. Feathery was prolific, operating throughout the 1620s and 1630's, often in the service of Ralph Starkey, but O30 is one of the few collections of verse surviving in his hand.[48] The quality of the texts of Bulstrode's epitaph in the manuscripts is fair. Despite the professional hands in both, the scribe of O30 changes 'earths' to 'earth' (l.9) and 'bound' to 'ffound' (l.11), while the scribe of B30 records 'it' as 'yet' (l.11), possibly from a lost exemplar reading 'ytt'. Still, each of the corruptions is attributable to a simple scribal misreading and the texts are otherwise remarkably close to Jonson's autograph. As with the later edited verses to Sir Robert Wroth which also appear in these manuscripts, they preserve several texts later revised for printing by Jonson. Beal noted the much of Feathery's output catering to the antiquarian leanings of his clientele.[49] And O30 appears to follow this trend, preserving both early texts and long since dissolved centre of literary exchange. In the golden age of manuscript verse collection,

[47] Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and Their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England*, The Lyell Lectures, Oxford 1995–1996 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 58–108; O'Callaghan, 'Collecting Verse'; Woudhuysen, 185–86.
[48] Beal, *In Praise of Scribes*, 99–104.
[49] Beal, 105–7.

O30 resists the cultural currents of author-based verse collection. It places Jonson's early text within the coterie context he sought when writing.

The texts of Donne's verses collated from these manuscripts also show a close relationship to one another, as do the witnesses of the elegy attributed to Lady Bedford. While each manuscript collects a number of poems not found in the other, O'Callaghan has identified a sequence of thirty-eight works consistent across both. The likely source of these texts was a series of booklets and loose papers, and textual variants exclude the possibility that either manuscript was directly copied from the other. O'Callaghan has also called attention to the specific nature of the works collected, and the authors associated, many of whom were related to the milieu around Bedford.[50] That the early text of Jonson's epitaph is among them is testament to the relative success of his poem with its intended recipient. Whether or not his tacit apology restored him to Bedford's good graces, his lines became part of a larger group representative not only of Bulstrode's death, but of Bedford's literary influence. Furthermore, textual and socio-bibliographic proximity to the autograph reinforce the narrative suggested by Jonson's reply to Garrard, that Bedford was indeed the intended recipient of his lines.

The aesthetics of O30 are striking. As mentioned, structurally, it is similar to another verse collection, produced around the same time, Houghton Library, MS Eng. 966.1 (H3). Although each is written in a different hand, both are folio manuscripts of around fifty leaves, bound in limp vellum, and the hand in each is even and professional. But despite their similar dates of production and outer homogeneity, the content and agenda of each varies widely. H3 is a collection of seventy-seven poems, of which Donne wrote seventy-two. The corruptions in the text and its close relationship to two other cotemporary volumes which anthologise

[50] O'Callaghan, '"Those Lyrick Feasts, Made at the Sun, the Dog, the Triple Tunne"', 85–89.

Donne's verse place it far from the rare, Sidney-Pembroke aligned verses in O30. Despite having clearly been derived from the same source as B30, O30 excludes much of the verse by Donne and includes more by Jonson, thirteen to Donne's eleven. But the majority of verses in it were written by members of the Bedford family: Lady Bedford herself, her brother Sir John Harington, Sir Edward Herbert, and Benjamin Rudyerd. And even the hand, Feathery's typical, highly stylized secretary, marks it as something more consciously formal, encoding the social value of Bedford's milieu directly on the page.

Despite the formal qualities of O30 and its representation of the writers and courtiers assembled around Bedford at Twickenham, the coterie it represents is one finely tailored from the outside by the unknown compiler. The source texts for the group must have necessarily provided many of the headings as they are consistent in B30. And the prevalence of Jonson which cements his place within this group, both in the poems included as well as on the page as an addressee, must also originate from a source close to Bedford. The scribe of O30 realises a finely balanced representation of the literary engagements around Bedford in the selection of verses, distilled and refigured in folio through his professional hand. The early source texts underlying O30 and B30 attest to the existence of this literary network, but the foregrounding of it decades later by a professional London scribe speak just ask much to the importance of the coterie as a concept for writers in the period. While much of the activity of verse collectors resulted in the wide exchange of increasingly corrupted texts by Donne and others, O30 appears to follow the antiquarian leanings of Feathery's clients, foregrounding the influence of elite patrons and writers, perhaps in reaction to an age in which desirability of certain authors increasingly shifted the modes of collection.

2.5 Drummond, a Writing Reader of Jonson's Epitaph

If the autograph sent to Garrard supplies the clearest example of how the elegies on Bulstrode and Lady Markham were first shared, the witness of Jonson's epitaph among the papers of Sir William Drummond offers unusual clarity about the culture of collecting which continued to preserve and disseminate the texts well after 1609. Drummond's surviving papers document in remarkable detail his habits as a reader and collector of literature (as briefly discussed above), as well his activity as a poet overseeing the print-publication of his own work. They provide an opportunity to understand how one of Jonson's contemporaries and known associates gathered and studied the work of other writers generally, and Jonson specifically. This thereby offers a unique frame in which to understand one site of collection for the early text of Jonson's epitaph. Furthermore, Drummond's papers place the epitaph in context not only with other verses on Bulstrode, but alongside those records of Jonson's visit which remain the most enduring account of his character.

Jonson's interactions with Drummond seem contrived to fulfil his role as intermediary between close knit—if externally conceived—coteries and aspiring writers. And Drummond in turn was receptive to Jonson's performance, recording his observations and constructing Jonson's authorial persona amid his scattered notes and verse. These notes record second hand glimpses of a literary culture which Drummond engaged with from the margins, as he sat both within and without the traditionally demarcated networks of English courtiers and poets. In one regard, he would seem to have had closer and more direct connections with the court, particularly during his uncle Sir William Fowler's (d.1612) tenure as secretary to the Queen Anne. But Drummond resided largely in Scotland where, following the death of his uncle, he began to publish English verse through the presses in Edinburgh. Robert MacDonald notes that despite following his uncle Fowler and the Castalian poets in his early

years—thereby tying himself to a distinctly Scottish literary tradition—when Drummond printed his verse, 'he turned his face south and sought to be accounted as accomplished as those English poets he admired so much.'[51] And in his private papers, he collected and preserved both Jonson's verse and an account of the socio-cultural environment in which his verse was written.

Much of the extant scholarship on Drummond focuses either on his engagement with continental poets or on his *Informations* on Ben Jonson. In the case of the former, his decision to print his work and the partial survival of his library documenting these literary influences seem a primary factor for scholarly interest. Over 500 books, both print and manuscript, survive from Drummond's library. These volumes account for roughly half of the books he owned during his life and the remaining of these were donated in pieces to institutional libraries in Edinburgh and Glasgow.[52] Among these, his manuscripts and papers survive largely in folio composite volumes, with some smaller booklets bound in. They include drafts of his own work, collected verse, translations, copies of letters, and notes of his conversations with Jonson and others. Apart from the booklets, there is little evidence of how Drummond ordered his papers. Those given to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries were a collection of loose papers and booklets with no inventory, later bound by the society in fifteen volumes. Their content, however disorganised, allows great insight into his various literary transactions as producer and consumer. The manuscripts hold explicit evidence of Drummond's activity as a reader and book collector. In SN2059, Drummond documented the books he had read each year from 1606 to 1614. He also made an inventory of the books in his library as of 1622. His several lists divide the books by language and subject, usually

[51] Robert H. MacDonald, ed., *Library of Drummond of Hawthornden*, 1st Edition (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971), 22.
[52] MacDonald, 46-49.

recording the price paid for each volume.[53] And he was an active user of these texts, annotating the printed plays of Jonson, Dekker, and Shakespeare.[54] Beyond his extensive knowledge (and often barely concealed repurposing) of continental verse and his engagement with English drama, Drummond's collections also show a particular interest in English verse.

Drummond's interactions with verse, particularly in his manuscripts, provide a template for understanding how a poet in the period might engage with the process of bringing their work to the printed page, and within that professional framework how they might collect and respond to the work of their contemporaries. In addition to more common markers of the writing process—drafts and reworked texts—he retained papers that reveal his concern for the aesthetics of the material product of his labour and the economics underlying that product. MacDonald notes that Drummond at one point expounded upon his nuanced use of certain printers' devices to the Earl of Perth, his sometime recipient of books.[55] But he involved himself as well with the design of the page, as attested in his manuscripts by sketches of arrangement and borders for the half title page of the first printed edition of *The Cypress Grove* (1623).[56] His concern for the cost of bringing his verse to print, however reveals the extent to which he saw the material form as a potential signifier of meaning. A list in SN2 details his account for an order of four different sizes of paper. It appears from this that he was responsible for paying for this material for 67 books.[57] Below the figures, he listed some of the intended recipients. These are possibly the copies of his *Flowers of Scion*

[53] David Laing, 'A Brief Account of the Hawthornden Manuscripts in the Possession of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; with Extracts, Containing Several Unpublished Letters and Poems of William Drummond of Hawthornden', *Archaeologia Scotica* 4 (1857): 57–116.
[54] Dermot Cavanagh, 'William Drummond of Hawthornden as Reader of Renaissance Drama', *The Review of English Studies* 66, no. 276 (1 September 2015): 677.
[55] MacDonald, *Library of Drummond of Hawthornden*, 12.
[56] National Library of Scotland MS 2062, f. 31v.
[57] National Library of Scotland MS 2062, f. 100r.

which he described having paid to print in his 1623 letter to Sir David Lindsey.[58] Elsewhere he divides those of his books which he is having bound as gifts, noting nine that would have gilt bindings and eleven with other bindings, including one given to the Earl of Perth.[59] Drummond's concerns here align with those of most professional writers in the period who used their printed books to create or reinforce social connections. But Drummond takes them a step further, in ordering different sizes and grades of material for both book and binding. It is also possible he also used print for small runs of single verses, as attested by the single surviving broadside of his verses on Euphemia Kyningham ('This Beautie faire, which Death in Dust did turne').[60] Despite his hereditary title and estate, he used the material of the book as a poet seeking patronage might, only his delineations between different formats and paper quality for copies of the same book extend beyond the usual bounds of customization. Alongside his possible use of print for restricted publication of memorial verse, Drummond's view of print as a medium seems at odds with the strong delineations Jonson asserts between print and scribal publication.

His close involvement with the printing of his works mirrors the tight control Jonson appears to have exercised over the earlier portion of his 1616 *Works*. Drummond's surviving papers contain lists of faults from his printed editions, and as MacDonald notes, his solutions to them recruited the printing house to correct their own errors.[61] In several instances he had errata slips printed and pasted over errors in the text, with those errors being corrected in subsequent editions.[62] But for Drummond, this involvement in the proofing and correcting of

[58] Alexander Crawford Lindsay Earl of Crawford, *Lives of the Lindsays: Or, A Memoir of the Houses of Crawford and Balcarres*, 2 vols (London: J. Murray, 1849), vol. 2: 4–5.
[59] National Library of Scotland MS 2062, f. 135r.
[60] R. H. MacDonald, 'Drummond of Hawthornden, Miss Euphemia Kyninghame, and the "Poems"', *The Modern Language Review* 60, no. 4 (1965): 494–99, https://doi.org/10.2307/3720146.
[61] National Library of Scotland MS 2062, f. 102v.
[62] L.E Kastner, M.A, *The Poetical Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1913), vol. 1:lxxiv.

his work helped draw him closer to his Scottish colleagues and further allows his surviving papers to act as an archive of his professional connections. It seems Drummond sent proofs of his verses to Alexander. Michael Spiller identifies a letter from Alexander in which he responds to one such a proof from Drummond, noting 'I have rather marked the faults than mended them; some of the Printer, some of the Accent, and others in the Congruity according to the phrase here.'[63] And paper bound into Drummond's manuscripts may indicate either a similar exchange, or else point to his presence within the print shop—a possibility supported by David Masson's research on Drummond.[64] Drummond recorded some notes on what appears to be a proof of another text. The text is from, *Ta ton Mouson eisodia. = The Muses welcome : to the high and mightie prince Iames by the grace of God King of Great Britaine[…]*, a collection of verse on King James' visit to Scotland in 1617 which included Drummond's 'The Fourth Feasting' (1617). The poems were bound together and printed in at least two editions. The half sheet in SN2 is printed only one side. It appears to be a proof, possibly of a now-lost edition as the extant printed texts all include borders as well as minor changes to the use of capitals, italics, and ligatures.[65] Drummond used another copy of the same page to jot notes which were later bound into SN2062.[66] The text comes from the verses contributed by the Scottish poet John Leech (1590-1630), who was a member of a literary circle that included both Drummond and Alexander.[67] For Drummond, print did not necessarily result in a large, unchecked audience, but reinforced socio-literary ties with his Scottish contemporaries. Despite his higher social status, his commercial engagement follows that of a professional poet in its broader motions, but the specificity of his printed output is at

[63] Michael Spiller, '"Quintessencing in the Finest Substance": The Sonnets of William Drummond', in *Langage Cleir Illumynate: Scottish Poetry from Barbour to Drummond, 1375-1630*, ed. Nichola Royan, 193-206 (Amsterdam: Rodophil, 2007), 198.
[64] David Masson, *Drummond of Hawthornden: The Story of His Life and Writings* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1873), 56.
[65] National Library of Scotland MS 2060, f. 140v.
[66] National Library of Scotland MS 2062, ff. 163a-164a.
[67] Morgane Decastiau, 'Les Eclogae Piscatoriae de John Leech: Édition, Traduction et Commentaire' (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Université Catholique de Louvain, 2017), 7–8.

odds with the medium and notion of print as a means of mass production. And his proximity to the print shop also created new methods of collecting verse. The proof sheets on which he wrote his own notes preserve early or lost copies of texts by his contemporaries in much the same way that his access to the court allowed him to copy an early witness of Jonson's epitaph on Bulstrode and hear his earlier epigram on her read aloud. But his connections to other writers also illustrate his access to verse in the English court. Most of Fowler's surviving papers are collected with Drummond's. Sebastiaan Verweij suggests that 'Drummond took a keen interest in his uncle's literary activities, and perhaps as a consequence, the two men's manuscript collections merged in the early seventeenth century.'[68] The connection between the men, both through family and literature is itself a witness to the literary exchange enabled by James' accession to the English throne, and the early text witness of the Bulstrode epitaph may be a reflection of how close the two literary cultures were drawn together in the first decades of the Stuart reign.

As a poet, Drummond collected verse, and he refined his own. Kastner observed that he was unparalleled in his borrowing from continental poets and his manuscripts are filled with pages of notes about potential poetic subjects and metaphors. Even the printed half-pages of Leech's verse are saved presumably for his ideas for future verse written hastily on the other side. Just as he translated and used continental literature, Drummond collected English verse as a tool to refine his own. He gathered excerpts of texts for commonplacing, with a particular focus on Jonson and Donne. SN2 contains two sections, each of which runs to several pages, headed like a commonplace book, and collects lines from Donne and Jonson respectively. In each case, the author's name serves as a page heading and the organising

[68] Sebastiaan Verweij, *The Literary Culture of Early Modern Scotland: Manuscript Production and Transmission, 1560-1625* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 82.

topics appear in the left margin of each page. But as Mark Bland argues, Drummond's commonplacing removes the cohesive context Jonson works to create.[69] In this sense, his actions as a consumer of text only nominally promote Jonson as an author while undermining his corpus. Drummond's excerpts and commonplaces closely follow the text, orthography, and pointing in Jonson's 1616 *Workes*, suggesting that he was actively fragmenting the texts rather than exclusively copying extant manuscript fragments. Yet when he copied Jonson's presumably unprinted epitaph on Bulstrode, his source closely followed the text Jonson sent to Garrard. The uncertainty remaining is the specific source of Drummond's witness. To some extent it could indicate the strength of Drummond's social proximity to court, as he has access to this early text which saw limited circulation. The likeliest source of his text would seem to be Fowler, whose direct access the Anne's circle would put in in Bedford's proximity (as well as Bulstrode's). And his connection to Drummond both as kin and fellow poet creates a dual link between the literary producers and collectors in the London court and those in Edinburgh. Drummond's witness, now bound in SN2, is among a small group of verses including fragments and full texts by Donne. The uncertain history of how the leaves were originally assembled obscures the original size of the group of poems, if the leaves were indeed folded together as watermark evidence suggests.[70] And the texts gathered there also suggest a coherence. Poems by Donne, beginning on the following leaf (f.165r) include 'Sorrow, who to this house scarce knew the way' (*Sorrow*), fragments of his first elegy on Bulstrode, 'Death I recant and say unsaid by me' (*BoulRec*), and the full text of his second elegy on her, 'Language thou art too narrow' (*BoulNar*).

[69] Mark Bland, 'Further Information: Drummond's "Democritie, a Labyrinth of Delight" and His "Certain Informations and Manners of Ben Jonson"', *Text* 17 (2005): 145–86.
[70] The lack of a corresponding leaf without a watermark suggests that at least one page is missing, either at the beginning or end of the group. Watermarks are found on ff. 165 and 166. F. 164 is without.

The remaining texts separating Jonson's verse from Donne's are a single, possibly unique poem, 'Life, natures debt and soules exile' and a fragment of a funerary song. Immediately following Jonson's epitaph, Drummond copies lyrics for the first three parts of John Danyels 'Mrs M E her funeral tears for the death of her husband' ('Grief keep within'). Only one other manuscript records a portion of the song, in this case only the first verse, and its text and line breaks follow the only contemporary printed text of Danyels' song.[71] The witness in Drummond's manuscript varies considerably from the printed text in its second verse. It also appears to have been somewhat reworked as it instead addresses a deceased woman. In its placement, between Jonson's epitaph and Donne's elegies on Bulstrode it is effectively wrapped up in the verses mourning Bulstrode. But unlike every other surviving copy of the poem, Bulstrode's name is replaced by ellipses in Drummond's witness, removing all trace of her from the sequence of untitled verses. Rather than a lacuna awaiting some future detail, the ellipses recall means of pseudo-censorship meant to hide names in print. Drummond was almost certainly copying from a manuscript source as evidenced by the error introduced by a brevigraph in l.4. Without reference to Bulstrode in the title or the text, all connection is lost with the wronged figure from Jonson's epigram. But if Sir Tobie Matthew's letter about the marriage contract between one Bulstrode and Daniel, did indeed refer to Cecilia, the lyrics from an unprinted version of John Danyel's funerary song may have a greater significance, tying her death to that of the family Danyel (Daniel) family of court entertianers. This family included not only the musician John, but Jonson's sometime professional nemesis Samuel Daniel. The implications of such a match, particularly in light of her breaking a contract with his close friend Sir John Roe may cast a different light on the exclusion of her name in Drummond's papers. Drummond's copies of the aforementioned poems in SN2 also include no attributions, though his conversation with Jonson does refer to

[71] Bodleian, MS Eng. poet. f. 16.

him writing an epitaph on Bulstrode. The absence of any mention of Bulstrode in the titles, or any attribution to Jonson, is more striking situated among papers that include autograph verses from Jonson, a small study of his finest lines, and dozens of anecdotes about Jonson's outlook on poets and poetry. But Drummond's own collection is a miscellany which lacks obvious coherence, structured more like the booklets and loose papers thought to have underpinned the circulation in that period. While he copied the epitaph by Jonson alongside those by Donne, the accumulation of his papers surrounding the epitaph contextualise it alongside an account of its creator. Drummond's papers operate as an archive suggestive of that process of transmission and Drummond as an accidental archivist, much as his interest in English poets made him an inadvertent biographer of Jonson. At the same time, they appear to represent an especially close link via Fowler between the elite Scottish and English literary networks.

2.6 The Verse Collection of Richard Glover, London Apothecary

Elsewhere among the surviving early witnesses of Jonson's epitaph, one manuscript may give a rare sense of how verse spread outside of the commonly imagined groups of writers and courtiers in the period. Although social or professional proximity cannot be upheld as definitive evidence of a text's closeness to the original, when beginning with a known autograph text, the social and professional context of close witness may demonstrate the fluidity of literary networks in the period. The manuscript, British Library MS Egerton 2230 (B23) offers a possible clue to its prior owner—if the eighteenth-century inscription can be trusted. If accurate, the likely owner and possible compiler of the manuscript falls outside of the elite consumers towards whom Jonson directed his manuscript verse. Yet the engagement between members of the London medical profession and writers like Donne,

Jonson, and Hare might assist in seeing how the peripheries of more elite literary culture could intersect with the professional class.

The quarto volume has been rebound with new endpages added, on which subsequent owners scratched poetry and recorded what they knew of its provenance. The first of these added pages bears the inscription '*E Libris Richardo Glovero pharmacopol. Londinense pertinantibus* 1638' in an eighteenth-century hand. Beal notes the possibility that the date may be in a different hand.[72] Two pages later, a retrospective record of ownership notes 'I was informed by the bookseller of whom I bought this book; that it belonged formerly to a literary gentleman who lived in Burton Crescent and who died about six months ago. 3rd Aug^{t}. 1835'. Several other names in eighteenth century hands suggest that the reference to Glover is an accurate provenance record. Perhaps it was copied from the now-lost original endpages in much the same way that other provenance information is recorded on the pages that follow. The case for its accuracy is all the more compelling in that the Society of Apothecaries holds no record of an eighteenth-century London apothecary by that name. But one prominent Richard Glover (c.1587 -d.1648) was practising the trade in London throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. Although the date may point to another Richard Glover (d.1638), a member of the Inns of Court from St Bartholomew's in the West, the listed occupation makes this first Richard Glover, of St Katherine's Creechurch, the most fitting candidate for the book owner in question. His position within professional and corporate communities and their proximity to contemporary literary and theatrical networks underscores the permeability of each.

Records of Glover's family are very few. Richard Glover was likely born around 1587, assuming the standard ages and lengths of service applied to his later apprenticeship,

[72] 'British Library, Egerton 2230' *CELM.*

and the inclusion of a half-sister in his will suggests that one of his parents had remarried. A Richard Glover attended Christs College Cambridge, matriculating in December of 1602, but this may have been the aforementioned Glover who later entered Lincoln's Inn. Aside from his wife Anne (d.1658), the apothecary Glover's only known relation is Martin Bond, MP for the City of London (1624-25). Despite this dearth of family information, what does survive are records which richly document his professional and religious life.

Glover's early career began as it did for many young men in London. He joined the Worshipful Company of Grocers as an apprentice to William Checkley, and was freed in 1611.[73] But his future in the company came into question as concerns grew about ill-trained apothecaries practicing as members of the Grocers. The College of Physicians, which had an interest in controlling the trade in medicines, pushed for this trade to be regulated outside of the Grocers company. In 1617, a charter was drawn for a Society of Apothecaries to work alongside, if partially under, the College of Physicians. The cleaving of medicines from the responsibilities of the Grocers had not been without significant opposition, and the apothecary members of that company were divided on whether to leave and join this new society. Glover opted to join those leaving along with his former Master, though Checkley later became an innkeeper while illicitly practicing as apothecary.[74] Glover signed the charter as a founding member of the Society of Apothecaries and quickly established himself among its most active members. Beginning in the 1620's, he was frequently among the small group of standing officers who attended each meeting with the master and wardens. At the same

[73] David Jacques, *Essential to the Practick Part of Physick: The London Apothecaries, 1540-1617* (London: Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London, 1992), 23.
[74] 'CHECKLEY, William | British History Online', Physicians and Irregular Medical Practitioners in London 1550-1640 Database, accessed 12 May 2023, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-physicians/1550-1640/checkley-william.

time as he began undertaking this corporate service in the society, he also found a professional position as the apothecary for St Bartholomew's Hospital, beginning in 1619.

In both aspects of his professional life, Glover was directly involved with figures close to contemporary writers, specifically those contributing to the group of poems written for Bedford, including Hare, Jonson, and Donne. These connections, though a step removed, may help to explain how a copy of Jonson's early text made its way into Glover's manuscript. But they also reveal the extent to which London professionals were producing and consuming literature. At St Bartholomew's, Glover worked under Dr William Harvey (1578-1657) whose research on the circulation of the blood revolutionised early modern medicine. In addition to his writing and printing medical texts, Harvey amassed a library of his own, though it appears to have been at least partially destroyed when his rooms at Whitehall were ransacked at the outbreak of the Civil War.[75] Evidence of his direct literary connections include his friendship with Nicholas Hare, who included Harvey in his will.[76] Although Harvey was frequently away from the hospital, he and Glover collaborated on establishing recipes and formulary.[77] And new regulations brought in 1634 by Harvey show his active involvement while president of the hospital during Glover's career.[78] Among the small permanent staff at the hospital, Lucy Munro has identified one woman associated with London theatrical communities. Frances Worth (1602) married Thomas Holcombe, a young actor with occasional parts at the Globe and Blackfriars. After his early death, she then

[75] Arthur Thomson, 'The Consummation of William Harvey', *The British Medical Journal* 2, no. 5263 (1961): 1303–9; see also: 'Harvey, William (1578–1657), Physician and Discoverer of the Circulation of the Blood,' Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed 10 November 2022, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12531.
[76] National Archives, Will of Nicholas Hare of Inner Temple, City of London. PROB 11/139/11.
[77] Evidence of their collaboration can be found in the Governors' Minutes for St Bartholomew's Hospital, 1640 (SBHB/HA/2/1, f. 438v). Monday 23 March 1639. 'This day it is ordered and agreed upon that the scurvy grass drink shall henceforth be made by the Apothecary with the help and assistance of the Matron according to the direction given and agreed upon by Dr Harvey and Dr Clarke, physicians, Mr Edwards, and Mr Glover (Apothecary), in this form following…'
[78] C. R. B. (Charles Raymond Booth) Barrett, *The History of the Society of Apothecaries of London* (London, E. Stock, 1905).

married Ellis Worth, who performed at the Red Bull and Fortune playhouses, as a member of Queen Anna's Men, the Revels Company, and Prince Charles's Men.[79] Worth was employed for 'the cure of scald heads', apparently a valued skill as she considerably out-earned both Glover and Harvey.[80] So among the seven members of the medical staff at St Bartholomew's (Harvey, four surgeons, Glover, and Worth) there were two known connections to London literary producers.

Even Glover's familial connection with the MP Martin Bond is mixed with his career at St Bartholomew's. Bond worked alongside Glover, serving as treasurer for St. Bartholomew's hospital for twenty-two years before his death in 1643.[81] Bond was also involved with a number of other trades and companies. Like his father, London alderman William Bond (d.1576), Martin Bond was a member of the Haberdashers Company and served as its Master in 1624. But he was also involved in schemes that laid the foundation for imperial expansion: the East India Company, Sommer Isles Company, Virginia Company, and Merchant Adventurers. Munro draws a connection through women including Worth between the theatre and emerging colonial projects. For Bond, his interest put him in the company of patrons—including Lady Bedford—who was involved in these colonial projects.[82]

From its very inception, the Society of Apothecaries drew practitioners connected with major literary patrons and writers. Much of the impetus for its foundation came from Théodore de Mayerne (1573-1655), the King's physician who also treated Donne and

[79] Lucy Munro, 'Engendering the Stage', *Engendering the Stage* (blog), accessed 7 January 2023, https://engenderingthestage.humanities.mcmaster.ca/blog/.
[80] Norman Moore, *The History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* (London: C.A. Pearson, 1918), 229-230.
[81] Moore, 232.
[82] Misha Ewen, 'Women Investors and the Virginia Company in the Early Seventeenth Century', *The Historical Journal* 62, no. 4 (December 2019): 853–74.

attended Lady Bedford on several occasions in 1619. As a founding member of the society, Glover's name appears on the charter engineered by Mayerne alongside the names of many others, including John Wolfgang Rumler (d. circa 1650) who in 1619 had just returned from Aberdeen and come to England in the entourage of King James. Rumler was the apothecary first to Anne of Demark, beginning in 1604, then to the King from 1607. His intimate access to the royal court also allowed his attendance at masques, and he was with Charles I at Kenilworth in 1624 when Jonson staged his *Masque of Owls*. But Rumler and Jonson were by this point already well acquainted. As cosmetics fell under the apothecaries' trade, it was perhaps only natural that Jonson would seek the skill of the court apothecary for the theatrical makeup used in his masques. As early as 1620, Rumler was trying to control by patent the manufacture of 'mercurie sublimate', which could be used as a bleaching agent for the skin.[83] And indeed, Rumler is the 'Master Wolf', the 'court lycanthropos' Jonson credits for the blackface stage makeup used in *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* (1621).[84]

> ...But lest it prove like wonder to the sight
> To see a gypsy, as an Ethiop, white,
> Know that what dyed our faces was an ointment
> Made and laid on by Master Wolf's appointment,
> The court lycanthropos, yet without spells,
> By a mere barber, and no magic els.
> It was fetched off with water and a ball...

Beginning in 1637, Glover served as Renter Warden for the society, before advancing to the position of Upper Warden. As Upper Warden in 1638, Glover worked directly under Rumler, then Master of the Society.[85] By 1646, Glover was elected Master himself, a testament both to his authority within the society and his skill as an apothecary. The close professional relationship of the men at the top of their trade, and the overlap of this trade with the interests

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[83] Andrea R. Stevens, '"Assisted by a Barber": The Court Apothecary, Special Effects, and The Gypsies Metamorphosed', *Theatre Notebook* 61, no. 1 (1 February 2007): 2–12.
[84] Sujata Iyengar, *Shades of Difference: Mythologies of Skin Color in Early Modern England*, Illustrated edition (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 188–90.
[85] Guildhall Library MS CLC/L/AA/B/001/MS08200/001; CLC/L/AA/D/001/MS08202/001.

of the theatre offer yet another possibility of how literary and professional networks in London intermingled in the period.

As a member of the council in the Society of Apothecaries, Glover had long been involved with bringing cases of illicitly practicing apothecaries in front of the College of Physicians. This responsibility was in the interest of both the Society and the College, although their motives elsewhere were often at odds. But in this shared endeavour, Glover worked directly with the College censors and president. Throughout much of the 1620's, Dr Simeon Foxe served as a censor for the College and he and Glover worked together to try these would-be practitioners of the trade. Their professional relationship continued during Foxe's tenure as president of the college from 1634-1640. Foxe, son of Martyrologist John Foxe was a close friend of Donne, and had attended him in his illness. Like Harvey, Foxe was also a friend to Hare and a beneficiary of his will. Both Simeon and Simeon's nephew Thomas worked on occasion at St Bartholomew's and Thomas was a frequent correspondent of Sir Thomas Roe's. Letters from Roe to Thomas Foxe discuss Donne by name and Foxe's own letters to his uncle Simeon give an account of Jonson's presence in Oxford.[86]

Glover kept a copy of the two-volume folio edition of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* in his home, and if his and his wife's bequests are any indication, the Glover family had amassed a sizable library of which Foxe's was the most important. In her will, his wife Anne set the book aside from the rest of their library, intending to give it to her niece, as the couple had no surviving children of their own. Both Glover and his wife at their deaths gifted bibles to the poor in such a way that suggests they were knowledgeable and confident consumers of printed books. Richard, in his will requests that twelve bibles of the 'newest and best

[86] British Library Harley MS 416, f. 226.

translation, well bound vp' be given to the literate poor in their parish of St Katherine's Cree, designating the price he wanted paid for each.[87] A decade later, Anne requested some sixty bibles of the same price to be distributed in a similar way in four parishes where she had lived or owned property.[88]

Having some sense of Glover's own network and how he may have accessed texts, the manuscript can also offer further insight into how a verse collection might develop. Structurally, the manuscript seems to have been purchased as a blank volume rather than constructed from loose papers. The compiler leaves several large sets of blank pages and ink transfer from the seventeenth-century hands within it align with its current bound structure. In content, it includes poems by some of the most collected poets in the era, including Donne, Herrick, and Jonson. As previously noted, it includes the elegies on Lady Markham and Lady Rutland by Beaumont (see chapter 4) which appear to have come from the same source as the poems by Herrick—a source related to the manuscript compiled by scholar and Oxford publisher Christopher Wase (1625-1673), MS Rawl. poet. 117 (O34). Christopher was the son of John Wase, about whom the only surviving information is his registry at Gray's Inn as John Wase, Gent in March of 1621.[89] John was the second son of Christopher Wase. (d.1605) a prominent London goldsmith and a Governor of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. If Wase's notebook was partially compiled by his father, John Wase, as Beal suggests, it might represent precisely the sort of manuscript circulation expected, with the Inns of Court remaining at the centre of these various London networks. But in fact, the Wase manuscript seems to point to something else entirely. The first gathering includes a catalogue of books owned by its compiler, the page is divided lengthwise with a line and a separate list falls on

[87] National Archives PROB 11/203/555.
[88] National Archives PROB 11/274/553.
[89] Joseph Foster, *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn,* 165.

each page. Below the first, is written 'Eton' and above the second a note that these were 'Cambridge bought'. The list is in Christopher Wase's hand and aligns with his known educational history. But in the first, marking his days at Eton, he includes 'this paper booke in lether'.[90] While he may have copied the poem from a source in the Inns of Court, Wase was likely compiling the book shortly before Glover's death, either while Wase was at Cambridge or after he joined the Inns of Court. Rather than texts only flowing outward from the Inns to the professional classes, it is equally likely that the movement of texts occurred in both directions.

B23 is unusual as a collection in part because of the number of verses by Thomas Bastard, several of which vary from the printed text of his poems. But it also appears to include several groups of unique verse.[91] B23 also shares one poem with only B30, O30 and HH5. In this case, the text in HH5 diverges considerably from the remaining three. But more strikingly, it is the same poem which begins the collections in O30 and B30. These witnesses further strengthen the surprising relationship between these manuscripts - one likely owned by a London apothecary and two tied to a collection of early texts connected to Lady Bedford and her circle.

Among the poems by Jonson, one dramatic verse in particular seems most out of place, given its source context within Jonson's *Epicene.* The entry, a song from Act I, Scene I ('Still to be neat, still to be drest') comes as Clerimont describes his disgust over the overly made-up woman and offers his song in praise of natural beauty.

> Still to be neat, still to be drest,
> As, you were going to a feast;

[90] Bodleian MS Rawl. poet 117, f. 1r.
[91] Unique in that no other print or manuscript copy appears in the Union First Line Index or in any of the first line indices I have compiled for unindexed manuscripts.

> Still to be pou'dred, still perfum'd:
> Lady, it is to be presum'd,
> Though arts hid causes are not found,
> All is not sweet, all is not sound.
> Giue me a looke, giue me a face,
> That makes simplicitie a grace;
> Robes loosely flowing, haire as free:
> Such sweet neglect more taketh me,
> Then all th' adulteries of art.
> Thy strike mine eyes, but not my heart.

True-wit's response counters that a woman's beauty is just as great with these trappings, so long as the secrets of her art remain unknown. As proof, he asserts the example of the painted statues at the newly rebuilt Aldgate, which had been hidden behind canvas whilst they were painted.

> Many things, that seem foul, i'the doing do please, done. A lady should indeed study her face when we think she sleeps; nor, when the doors are shut, should men be enquiring; all is sacred within, then. Is it for us to see their perukes put on, their false teeth, their complexion,their eyebrows, their nailes? You see gilders will not work but enclosed. They must not discover how little serves, with the help of art, to adorn a great deal. How long did the canvas hang afore Aldgate? Were the people suffered to see the city's *Love* and *Charity* while they were rude stone, before they were painted and burnished? No. (Epicene, 1.1, ll. 90-98)[92]

The garishly painted statues at Aldgate were added by none other than Glover's kinsman Martin Bond when he oversaw the rebuilding of the gate and laid its first stone in 1608. As B.J. Sokol notes of this passage in the play, Jonson 'must be sarcastic as the scene is dominated by the censorious song 'Still to be neat…' sung by a page boy who has been sexually abused by one of the oily-faced ladies.'[93] Effectively, Glover's own collection includes a decontextualised verse used to pillory the aesthetic taste of his close kinsman. Like the epitaph on Bulstrode, the song was one of Jonson's most widely circulated verses in manuscript, surviving in twenty-one witnesses. Glover need not have known the context to

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[92] David Bevington, ed., 'Epicene' *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. David Bevington, Martin Bulter, and Ian Donaldson, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), vol. 5:397.
[93] B. J. Sokol, 'Painted Statues, Ben Jonson and Shakespeare', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 52 (1989): 250.

have collected it if he were the compiler. The text in its dramatic setting incorporates Glover's professional and familial world into the literary. If as Loewenstein argues, Jonson's revision of his printed plays underscores his desire for the right readers who would understand his art, then surely someone with the taste of Bond would fall outside of this realm. The presence of the early text of the epitaph within the Glover manuscript only underscores this anxiety wherein the elite group Jonson projects into existence on the printed page fails to hold within a culture of collecting manuscript verse.

When Jonson wrote both of his poems on Bulstrode, presumably in the first decade of the seventeenth century, he was already a successful writer of masques and plays. He was not, however, Ben Jonson of the *Workes*. No massive volume bore his name, self-testifying to his importance as an author. Even after that first publication of his works, he remained embedded in a system over which his control remained remarkably limited given his proximity to and associations with the aristocratic elite. Whatever power Jonson might have commanded on the page, he inhabited a world in which patrons, often female patrons like Lady Bedford and Lady Rutland, exercised considerable and demonstrable power. In this context, the implication of his decision to write both poems and print neither during his lifetime speaks directly to his troubled relationship with both patronage and commercial systems. Despite his decision to keep both from print, each underwent wholly disparate modes of publication. Jonson's verses on Bulstrode and their respective afterlives represent with unusual clarity his attempts to use medium and access to build his persona as a writer while navigating delicate patronage networks. The sites of collection for Jonson's early text represent the range of outcomes, from desirable to unexpectedly revealing. O30 appears to represent antiquarian interest in a collection that values the aristocratic coterie over the non-aristocratic author. Although it shifts focus away from author-centred collecting, the

manuscript represents in a single volume the coterie network that Jonson sought to promote and his established place within it. In SN3, Drummond's access to an early text of the epitaph reinforces connections to and his social parity with Jonson's English aristocratic superiors. Through his efforts to align himself with a public identity as a poet in English, Drummond becomes an erstwhile biographer, writing Jonson's life and authorial persona among collected verse and drafts of his own verses. Jonson effectively acts as intermediary in the reverse of his normal position. Rather than presenting his access to elite networks of courtiers in the service of aspiring (or envious) lesser writers, Jonson expounds at length about the artistic merits of fellow poets underscoring his breadth of knowledge about and access to their community—and he does so in service of a Scottish aristocratic writer of English verse. Glover's manuscript demonstrates an uneven access to rarer poems (in the case of the early text of Bulstrode's epitaph) or highly corrupted verses (in the case of Beaumont's elegy on Lady Markham) and proliferation of unique poems, demonstrating that members of London's professional class were active collectors of verse, not removed from, but engaged with the literary networks at the Inns and the court. So, although Jonson may not have written his epitaph on Bulstrode with each part of this varied audience in mind, the reach of his text reflects the cultural influence of the women who occasioned it and inscribes his name alongside their legacies.

Chapter 3: Nicholas Hare and the Literary Context of Huntington MS HM198.2

One way—and perhaps the simplest way—that multiple hands may appear mixed together on pages of verse collections is that a person would copy out poems, starting some on a fresh page and leaving the remaining space below prior text blank. A later individual might then copy out additional verses in those blank spaces. Just such an activity seems to have taken place over the final gatherings of Edinburgh University Library MS Laing III 493 (EU3). Between f. 86r and 111v, multiple hands are at work, with Hand A recording mostly verses by Donne. Then beginning on f. 94r, Hand B copies several poems sequentially in the residual blank spaces over a span of different pages. The first two of these ('I had no being til I saw her eyes') and ('When by thee I careless devising sit') are attributed by John Carey to minor Inns of Court poet Nicholas Hare (1581-1622).[1] These are followed by Jonson's epitaph on Bulstrode, entered into the space immediately preceding Donne's elegy for Lady Markham. The next poem copied by Hand B, entered in a space just after Beaumont's epistle to the Countess of Rutland ('Madam, so may my verses pleasing be'), is another by Hare—his epitaph presumed to be on Bulstrode.

> Here do repose, but in lamented waste
> and figure out the sisters needelesse hast
> those Limbs, w^{ch} had heauen timelie glorified
> But like the spiritt they owed had neuer died
> here lies the least of her whose noblest partes
> obtaine a Tombe wthin our broken harts

This six-line epitaph has a more tenuous connection to the group, as also does Hare. While he was associated with Cambridge and the Inns of Court in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, his connection to the women's deaths or to Lady Bedford's circle is less apparent. Michelle O'Callaghan observes that the poem 'circulates without title and

[1] John Carey, 'The Poems of Nicholas Hare,' *The Review of English Studies* 11, no. 44 (1960): 365–83.

could have been written for either Bulstrode or Markham.'[2] In the surviving manuscripts, nothing beyond its proximity to other verses on the same subject, suggests it was written on either of the women's deaths. Yet that proximity may still be a fair indication of its purpose. Marotti explains that poems written by Inns of Courts poets 'were preserved in a number of manuscript collections surviving from the period where the juxtaposed texts often reflected the social proximity of their authors.'[3] Tracing Hare's social circle and connections to Bedford's family and the literary figures surrounding her offers reasonable support to assume he might have felt compelled to write on the death of Bulstrode. Looking at the texts that surround it and other of Hare's verses in manuscript, however, suggests a mode of circulation that would seem to bypass what Steven May refers to as the 'triad' of the Inns of Court and Universities and reveals (or belies) some points of contact in Hare's socio-literary network.

Turning back to EU3, the poems which follow next are Jonson's 'On Something that Walks Somewhere', ('In court I met it, in clothes brave enough') and another of Hare's poems ('If each man's fault were in his forehead writ'), followed by a devotional poem entitled 'Sibella Delfica of our Lady' ('The inspired maid that sent into the light'), which appears in only one other manuscript—Huntington MS HM 198.2 (HH5)— also the largest known collection of Hare's verse. The final entries by hand B are two Italian poems ('*Nera sì, ma se' bella, o di Natura*' there titled '*Sopray una mora*' and '*Sciolta il crin, rottai panni e nuda il piede*' titled '*Sopray una bella mendicate*') by Giambatista Marino (1569-1625) and his friend and protégé Claudio Achillini (1574-1640).[4] The variants in the Marino poem suggest that the text was copied from a manuscript source rather than the printed text which appeared in his volume *La Lira* (1614). Because of their friendship and Achillini's adoption

[2] O'Callaghan, 'Lucy Russell'. In the actual manuscripts, it could be on any woman.
[3] Marotti, 'The Circulation of Verse at the Inns of Court', 54.
[4] Edinburgh University Library, MS Laing 493, III, f. 111v.

of Marino's style, the two are often found together across Italian manuscript sources. The Burley manuscript, Leicestershire Record Office MS DG7/Lit. 2 (LR1) compiled by William Parkhurst also includes the two poems. Parkhurst was Henry Wotton's secretary in Venice and was in Italy from at least 1604 through 1610, with a brief return to England in April of 1608.[5] His witness of the Marino poems shares several of the same variants with EU3, though in Parkhurst's manuscript, the verses are found in separate sections, surrounded by other works of the same author. Their presence and their variants may suggest access to Italian verse collections. Certainly, for Parkhurst this would have been reasonable given his time in Italy. It may also explain why his manuscript contains a fragment of a poem from a group attributed to Sir Tobie Matthew (1577-1655) which find their sole complete witness in HH5. While the scribes and owners of EU3 remain unknown, there is something suggestive about the appearance of manuscript descendants of Italian verse alongside a rare devotional poem and so many of Hare's poems, including those written in the earlier part of his life. These settings are all the more instructive when viewed alongside Hare's previously unexplored biographical documents outlining his connections to and entirely different sort of network—one of English Catholics, art collectors, and merchants living in Italy in the first decade of James I's reign. Through these means, focusing on the manuscript contexts of Hare's verse allows a glimpse of how literary, social, and kinship networks overlap on the pages of manuscript verse collections.

The social-bibliographical provenance of HH5 also raises questions over the extent to which a verse collection may reflect the religious leanings of its compiler—and perhaps more fundamentally—to what extent the religious leanings of a family can be assumed to consistently reflect those of its individual members. From the outset, the two Tobie

[5] Peter Redford, ed., *The Burley Manuscript* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 21.

Matthews' would seem an excellent example of how far a son might stray from the beliefs of his father—the elder Tobie Matthew (1546-1628) being the Archbishop of York, and the younger Sir Tobie Matthew converting to Catholicism and being ordained as a Catholic priest while in exile. The example is particularly apt, as the younger Tobie Matthew and his verse form part of the backdrop against which Hare's life and his epitaph on Bedford's kinswoman rest. Although Matthew was exiled for his Catholicism, he was later knighted by James when his religious affiliation made him well-positioned for negotiating the Spanish Match on the crown's behalf. In this way, occupying a position on the fringes of one group facilitated the transfer of verse across ideological lines. In a similar sense, as English Catholics sourced art and books from the continent and funneled it back to England (often into the hands of Protestants and high-ranking officials), their religion—a liability at which made England an unsafe—granted them safety on the continent. Edward Chaney notes, a reputation for 'virtuosity' and 'cosmopolitanism' might be gained by sourcing art for these major collectors, and such a reputation became an important source of real and social capital for those recusants abroad.[6] As appears in a close study of Hare's own associates, the manuscript evidence which remains also preserves vestiges of these networks of Catholics and the kinsmen and patrons who protected them operating in England and Europe. It also hints at a path of circulation outside of the 'triad' and one made up of those cosmopolitans abroad, their patrons in England, and the merchant class connecting them. Finally, it points to a figure who operated as one such connoisseur and his previously unidentified connections to both worlds. One result, in a material sense, is the curious juxtaposition of verses written on the kinswomen of a massively influential Protestant courtier with poems written by Matthew,

[6] Edward Chaney, *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion: Richard Lassels and 'The Voyage of Italy' in the Seventeenth Century* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1985), 9; See also: Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 2014); Edward Chaney and Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, *The Evolution of English Collecting: Receptions of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, Studies in British Art 12 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003).

who was described by Wotton as the leader of a 'certain knot of bastard Catholics' using their cosmopolitanism to endanger the souls of Englishmen abroad.[7] The recovered biographical evidence presented for the first time here points to Hare engaging closely with Catholics while in Italy but claiming innocence of his intentions. While, as May observes, the massive rate of loss for manuscripts from the period can easily skew patterns one might deduce from the contents of a single manuscript, Hare's letters alongside this manuscript effectively dismantle the attempts of his friends to paint him as a staunch Protestant after death.

3.1 Revisiting the Minor Poet Nicholas Hare

Carey's seminal study of Hare sought to 'retrieve from complete oblivion a member—admittedly a humble one—of that brilliant Inns-of-Court literary set,' placing him alongside Donne, Beaumont, Davies and others.[8] His proposed poet was the son of John Hare, bencher in Inner Temple and Clerk of the Court of Wards and Liveries. Working from an elegy ('Whether these Honours, or else Love it be') attributed only to 'N H' in *Certain Elegies done by Sundrie Excellent Wits* (1618) Carey identified a group of nine poems across seven manuscripts, many of which are subscribed with the initials or cipher 'N H'. One of these ('Not in the dust wee tread but mounted high') in British Library, Egerton MS 923 is subscribed 'N. Hare'.[9] Carey found only one 'N Hare' in the University or Inns of Court registers around the turn of the century. This Nicholas Hare matriculated at Christ's College Cambridge in 1598-9 and was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1596.[10] And he established Hare's long-standing family connection to the Inns of Court, most notably through his father

[7] Wotton to Salisbury 26 August – 5 September 1608, PRO SP 99/5 f. 172.
[8] John Carey, 'The Poems of Nicholas Hare', 365.
[9] British Library, Egerton MS 923, f. 18r. Cited in Carey, "The Poems of Nicholas Hare", 366.
[10] John Peile, *Biographical Register of Christ's College, 1505-1905, and of the Earlier Foundation, God's Hose, 1448-1505* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), 227, 230, Peile notes that the registers for 1591-9 have some inconsistency due to a sections of repeated and partially erased entries. William Henry Cooke, *Students Admitted to the Inner Temple. 1547-1660* (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1878), 143; Carey, 'The Poems of Nicholas Hare', 366–67. 'Inner Temple Admissions Data,' accessed January 2, 2020, http://www.innertemplearchives.org.uk/detail.asp?id=11283.)

John (d.1613), his uncle Hugh Hare (d. 1620), and his great uncle Sir Nicholas Hare (d.1557). Hare's actual level of sustained engagement with the Inns of Court or the Court of Wards is uncertain. Carey reports that Hare worked alongside his father in the Court of Wards for some time beginning in 1604 and again around 1618, but Bell doubts that Hare actually fulfilled any of his duties as a clerk.[11] In April of 1610, less than a year after Markham's and Bulstrode's deaths Hare departed England to travel the continent.[12] Once abroad, his social circle expanded.

Carey relates some of the contacts Hare made and the places he travelled during the period from 1610 through 1613. Much of Carey's evidence comes from the letters exchanged between John Chamberlain and Sir Dudley Carleton, particularly in terms of his companions. These include a Mr Bowes and Mr Willoughby, with whom Hare travelled to Jerusalem. Carey also suggests that Hare learned of his father's death while in Venice with Sir Dudley Carleton in June of 1613, where he had the opportunity to meet Thomas Carew several months later and possibly Inigo Jones who was traveling with Lord Arundel. Carey also draws on Hare's 1621 will for information about his later circle of friends, including Izaak Walton, John Donne, and his executor Captain John Harvey (d.1646, later Sir John Harvey, Governor of Virginia).

In addition to the detail provided by Carey, Alice Maladorno found evidence in the University of Padua archives that Hare also visited Padua at least twice. His first visit was an extended stay in 1610-1611 during which in October of 1611 he was elected *consiliarius* by

[11] H. E. Bell, *An Introduction to the History and Records of the Courts of Wards and Liveries* (Cmabridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 28.
[12] Carey, 'The Poems of Nicholas Hare', 368.

the university's council.[13] She also expanded on Hare's movement in Italy, including a trip to Rome mentioned in a letter from Sir Robert Chamberlain to Carleton. Thomas Birrell suggested that Hare may have been with John Morris during part of his Grand Tour as he later gave Morris some of his books.[14] Like Carey, R.C. Bald was interested in Hare for his connection to Donne and his circle. Bald further identified Captain John Harvey as the later Governor of Virginia. He also observed that Donne was directly engaged in attempts to recover Hare's testamentary legacy for the poor of St Dunstan's in the West from Harvey, though apparently without success.[15] But beyond Carey's notice of his immediate connection to Walton and Donne, Hare's place within contemporary social and literary circles has remained largely unexplored, as have the implications of his movements on the continent. There is also a multitude of sources that are curiously absent from the existing scholarship on Hare; these include five surviving letters by Hare, a manuscript elegy on his death, and additional correspondence from fellow English travelers and statesmen. These additional sources contribute to a fuller account of his life and social circle as well as suggesting a possible cause for his apparent change in fortunes during his time in Italy. A closer look at his companions shows that Hare was intimate with several known English Catholics, and his letters to Carleton show an increasing anxiety about the consequences of his actions and associations. Moreover, his place within overlapping literary and recusant circles emerges both in his biography and in the manuscripts that preserve his verse. His changing circumstances and reputation may also have affected how those manuscripts position his verse. If he did have any direct connection to Markham or Bulstrode, however, it would have necessarily predated his time abroad, likely stemming from the acquaintances he made in the university and Inns of Court.

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[13] Alice W. Maladorno, 'Un Poeta Inglese Minore: Nicholas Hare (1582-1622)', *Quaderni per La Storia Dell'università Di Padova* 8 (1975): 93.
[14] T. A. Birrell, *The Library of John Morris* (London: The British Library Publishing Division, 1976), xiii.
[15] Bald, 457–58.

Hare's education at Cambridge and in the Inns of Court placed him directly in what are typically considered two of the most active social and literary communities of the period. His company there may also help explain why Hare would write on Bulstrode's or Markham's death, despite having no clear connection to Lady Bedford. Hare attended Christ's College alongside John Markham, who Venn suggests is probably John Markham of Sedgebrook, and thereby the brother of Sir Anthony Markham (1572-1604), Lady Bridget's husband.[16] John Molyneux, who matriculated at the same time, was also connected with both the Harington and Markham families through marriage.[17] He first married Sir Anthony Markham's sister Isabel, and later, Lady Bridget Markham's widowed sister Anne Harington following the death of her first husband, Thomas Foljambe (d.1604).[18] Molyneux, like Hare, was also admitted to Inner Temple in the year after Cecilia Bulstrode's brother Henry Bulstrode (1578-1643).[19] Marotti notes that while many funerary verses were 'designed to affirm or attempted to establish ties of social, political, or economic patronage; others were composed to declare in-group allegiances of various sorts—to family, to a network of friends or colleagues, to a political faction or program.'[20] Hare's involvement in these communities would itself have been a reason for him to write on the death of a fellow student's kinswoman. Just as Garrard solicited lines on Bulstrode from Ben Jonson, it is reasonable that other family members also sought verses from poets in their network of friends. His father's friend and compatriot in the Court of Wards, Richard Chamberlain (d. 1661) had

[16] John Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses; a Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900* (Cambridge, University Press, 1922), part 1, vol. 2:141; Peile, 227, 230-231.
[17] John Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses; a Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900* (Cambridge, University Press, 1922), part 1, vol. 3:198.
[18] Sir Clements Markham, *Markham Memorials* (London: Spottswood & Company, 1913) 24.
[19] Cooke, *Students Admitted to the Inner Temple: 1547-1660,* 140, 144.
[20] Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, 129; Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, 35–36.

negotiated a marriage between his daughter Margaret and Cecilia Bulstrode's brother Edward (1588-1659), likely around 1606, thus representing another possible connection between Bulstrdoe and Hare's immediate social circle.[21] In addition to these members of Lady Bedford's extended family, Hare was also at Cambridge and the Inns with other contemporary poets and playwrights. Hare matriculated at Christ's College alongside Henry Reynolds of Belsted, Suffolk (1581-1632), who then entered Inner Temple a year after Hare.[22] This Henry Reynolds appears to be a different Henry Reynolds than the poet addressed by Michael Drayton, or the Henry Reynolds found at James' early court. He was, however, the author of an elegy on Nicholas Hare that survives in three contemporary manuscripts.[23] In her effort to untangle the lives of several Henry Reynolds', Mary Hobbs identifies the elegy writer as the same Henry Reynolds of Belsted whom Hare had known at least since his time at Cambridge. She uses as part of her evidence Reynolds' reference to his and Hare's 'co=educatione,' proposing that this referred to their years at the Inner Temple and Cambridge, and that they must also have shared a familial relationship of some kind.[24] Hare's will, in which he refers to Reynolds as 'my Cosen Henry Reynolds' indeed supports both Hobbs' identification of this as the correct Reynolds, and her suggestion of a double affinity between them.[25]

Mark Bland notes that, following Carey's estimate that Hare came to London from Cambridge around 1602, this would have also put him at Inner Temple alongside Dudley North, 3rd Baron North (1581-1666) and John and Francis Beaumont. Bland conjectures that

[21] 'Bulstrode, Edward (c. 1588–1659), Judge', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed 20 April 2020, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3929.
[22] Cooke, *Students Admitted to the Inner Temple: 1547-1660.* 144.
[23] British Library Add. MS 25303, f. 99v; Add. MS 21433, f. 171; Harley MS 3910, f. 48.
[24] Mary Hobbs, 'Drayton's' Most Dearely-Loved Friend Henery Reynolds Esq.'', *The Review of English Studies* 24, no. 96 (1973): 414–28.
[25] National Archives, Will of Nicholas Hare of Inner Temple, 7 January 1622, PROB 11/139/11.

this group may also have included Ben Jonson on account of his developing friendship with Francis Beaumont.[26] Hare's time at Cambridge may also have provided his introduction to Tobie Matthew and his later continental companion, George Gage (d. 1638). Matthew attended Oxford but was incorporated at Cambridge in 1600. Peile lists an entry for one 'Gage' in the corrupted register for 1597-8 which he suggests might be one of the six sons of Robert Gage and Anne Pemberton.[27] Venn, however, connects this with an erased entry for George Gage in the corrupted register. Although Gage was from a known recusant family, Matthew had not yet converted to Catholicism when he was incorporated at Cambridge.[28] But whether or not Hare had already met the two in England, his circle certainly expanded to include them once he left for Italy.

3.2 Hare's Entanglements Abroad

Hare's contacts abroad show an increasing involvement with recusant circles. For the two associates reported by Carey ('Mr Bowes' and 'Mr Willoughby'), records of 'Mr Bowes' are scarce. He is briefly mentioned in a letter from Sir Isaac Wake in Venice to Carlton who was in Padua for the autumn of 1613. Wake's letter offers little detail, only noting that Wake had correspondence for Bowes and a 'Sgnr Gregorio'.[29] Lee identifies 'Mr Willoughby' as Richard Willoughby who lived in Padua and whom Sir Henry Wotton described as 'an infectious Papist of a still and daungeruse temper in that place where oure

[26] Bland, 'Francis Beaumont's Verse Letters to Ben Jonson and "The Mermaid Club"', 140.
[27] Peile, 227.
[28] Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses; a Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900*, 187; 'Gage, George (c. 1582–1638), Diplomat and Businessman', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed 27 April 2020, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10270.
[29] Wake to Carleton, 27 Sept/7 Oct 1613, PRO SP 99/13 f. 298. This is likely the Gregorio that Lee identifies as Gregorio de Monti, secretary at embassy in Venice, Carleton, Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain……134 n.3.

gentlemen make commonly some aboade.'[30] That Hare spent time with Willoughby was not unusual. Logan Smith notes that Thomas Coryate met with Willoughby during his visit in 1608.[31] Lord Arundel also associated with him, to the extent that in November of 1613, Carleton reported that Willoughby considered returning to England with Arundel.[32] As Wotton mentioned, Willoughby's presence in Padua would have made him a contact for many visitors from England and Carleton reported in 1612 there were some seventy Englishmen currently in Padua and Venice.[33] He took care to note that some of them were 'young men of principal houses, who cause no scandal in matters of religion.'[34] The presence of so many English visitors in Padua might then initially make Hare's contact with Willoughby seem even more unremarkable. Registration with the University of Padua was not uncommon for visiting Englishmen at the time, but aside from those who went on to become physicians, actually engaging with the University was. As Andrew Thrush observes, of the twenty-three men admitted to the university who later sat in the Commons, only one became a physician, further noting that actually taking up study there 'was liable to be construed back home as evidence of Catholic sympathies' whereas 'nominal admission to Padua was instead one of the accepted ways for young Protestant Englishmen travelling in northern Italy to avoid the clutches of the Inquisition.'[35] As a fair example, English physician William Harvey had filled the role of *consiliarius* of the English nation at the University

[30] Carleton, *Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, 1603-1624; Jacobean Letters*, 151, 152 n.7; Henry Wotton, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, ed. Logan Pearsall Smith, 2 vols, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), vol. 2:114. Wotton to Winwood 25 April/5 May 1617, PRO SP 99/22, ff. 50-51.
[31] Henry Wotton, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, ed. Logan Pearsall Smith, 2 vols, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), vol. 1:60,.
[32] Wotton, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, 2:114. Carleton to John Chamberlain 4 November 1613, PRO SP 99/14 f. 104.
[33] Historical Manuscripts Commission, 'Sir Dudley Carleton, Ambassador at Venice, to the Doge, c.1612', *Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, K.G., K.T., Preserved at Montagu House, Whitehall* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1899), vol. 1:120; Jonathan Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors: English Students in Italy, 1485-1603* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 139.
[34] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *The Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry,* 1:120.
[35] Andrew Thrush and John P. Ferris, *The House of Commons: 1604 – 1629* (Canbridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

between 1600 and 1603, but Harvey had no such religious loyalties.[36] But his name and makeshift arms appear twice in the Palazzo Bo alongside those of Hare and Willoughby, who did not take degrees as physicians. Despite not doing so, Willoughby was highly engaged with the university and served as *consiliarius* in 1584, 1585, 1587-8, 1591, 1593, and 1595, witnessing the doctorates of numerous Englishmen including John Fryer and William Harvey.[37] In this sense, that Hare also was elected *consiliarius* in 1611 seems curious, if not openly suspect—especially as Hare had no need to undertake the study of medicine, having a highly lucrative seat in the Court of Wards awaiting him in England. Thus, while making Willoughby's acquaintance may have been standard, Hare's subsequent involvement in university politics without studying medicine and his journeying together with Willoughby into the Holy Land was far from the sort of unremarkable contact that other English visitors might have had. Hare's first companions and engagements then marked the start of a chain of actions and associations which seem to have appeared scandalous enough for Carleton to report them in his letters to John Chamberlain.

As of Carleton's letter in August 1612, Hare and Willoughby had parted ways in Cyprus (though Hare's return to Padua in 1614 may have afforded them another meeting). Carleton wrote that Hare headed next to Naples via Malta. He also mentioned that Matthew and Gage were planning either to risk a journey to Jerusalem or to travel to Naples for the winter.[38] When both parties arrived in Naples is uncertain, but Hare spent at least two months in Messina, likely *en route* from Malta.[39] Carleton reports that many of the Englishmen there had gone to Naples to 'owtride theyr sorrow' in the wake of Prince Henry's death.[40] And

[36] Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors*, 244.
[37] Woolfson, 283.
[38] Carleton to Chamberlain 12 August 1612, PRO SP 99/10 f. 190. The letter itself is dated 14 August 1612.
[39] Hare to Carleton 9 July 1613, PRO SP 93/1 f. 34.
[40] Carleton to Chamberlain 12 Dec 1612, PRO SP 99/11 f. 174.

while Carey places Hare with Carleton in Venice in the spring and summer of 1613, it seems he instead remained at Naples.[41] For on 19 of March, Hare wrote from there, likely to Carleton, that Sir Robert Chamberlain was 'determined to abide in Naples this somer, as likewise my selfe now am,' thereby delaying a planned trip to Florence where he had already sent many of his belongings.[42] His companion in Naples, Sir Robert Chamberlain (1586-1615), was the great-grandson of Sir Leonard Chamberlain through his father Robert and his grandfather Francis. Sir Robert was heir to the manor of Shirburn, Oxfordshire, and came from a long line of Roman Catholics.[43] Despite the family's history of recusancy, Chamberlain was made Knight of Bath by James I in 1603 alongside several dozen prominent men including Ralph Hare (Nicholas' uncle) and Edward Herbert (later first Baron of Cherbury, brother of the poet George and contributor himself of lines on Bulstrode).[44] Sir Robert was also related to John Hare's friend and colleague Richard Chamberlain. Richard's father Edward Chamberlain was the younger brother of Sir Robert's great grandfather (Sir Leonard Chamberlain).[45]

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[41] Carey, 'The Poems of Nicholas Hare', 368.

[42] J Hare to [unspecified] 19 March 1613, PRO SP 93/1, f. 48r. The State Papers Calendar records this as being from J. Hare, presumably Nicholas' father, but a survey of documents from the Court of Wards signed by both, and the hand and signature consistent with Nicholas Hare's other letters makes abundantly clear that the letter is from him. The signature 'N Hare' matches those on the surviving letters from Nicholas and the contents of Sir Robert Chamberlain's letter of 26 March of that same year also suggest that the letter of 19 March was from Nicholas.

[43] 'Parishes: Shirburn | British History Online', accessed 20 April 2020, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/oxon/vol8/pp178-198#highlight-first. Bodleian, MS Top. Oxon. c206, f70

[44] Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James The First, His Royal Consort, Family, and Court*, 1:226. Nichols erroneously identifies this Robert Chamberlain as Sheriff of Oxfordshire in 1592; however, his tomb in St. Bartholomew the Great records that Chamberlain was a Knight of Bath and died 'vixit annos circiter XXX.' Perhaps Nichols was referring to the Sir Robert Chamberlain whose 1602 death is marked by a memorial in All Saints Church, Shirburn.

[45] William Dugdale and Wenceslaus Hollar, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated : From Records, Leiger-Books, Manuscripts, Charters, Evidences, Tombes, and Armes…* (London : Printed by Thomas Warren, 1656); Bell, 28–29; 'Chamberlain, Edward II (by 1509-57), of Fulwell, Oxon. and Astley, Warws. | History of Parliament Online', accessed 30 April 2020, https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/chamberlain-edward-ii-1509-57.

In April of 1604, Sir Robert Chamberlain was granted a license to travel for three years.[46] Chamberlain was reported for having been in Rome in April of 1608 in a list of names including those of Matthew and Gage.[47] His name was also associated with a letter, now lost, which King James considered libelous.[48] In 1610, Chamberlain was again granted a license to travel to Europe and Sir John Digby reported his arrival in Madrid in early January of 1612.[49] Chamberlain had family in Europe, most notably his distant kinswoman Jane Suárez de Figueroa (née Dormer), Duchess of Feria (1538–1612) who hailed from another leading Oxfordshire recusant family and Chamberlain appears to have visited her just after arriving in Spain. According to Henry Clifton's 1643 biography of Feria, she told Chamberlain from her deathbed, 'what I wish is that you look to it, to stand strong in the Catholic Faith. I know well that Catholics suffer great troubles in England; but take care that you lose not the goods of heaven for the goods of the earth.'[50] Whether or not Chamberlain followed this advice, he spent much of his time abroad sending news to Carleton, including information about his Catholic friends. In his surviving letters, Chamberlain reports on Hare's movements alongside those of Matthew and Gage.

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[46] Mary Anne Everett Green, ed., 'License to Sir Robt. Chamberlain to travel for three years, April 14, 1604,' *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of James I, 1603-1625, preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office, 1603-1610* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1857), vol. 7:94.

[47] Historical Manuscripts Commission, 'Simon Willis, April 1608', *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury, preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire: Addenda 1605-1668*, ed. G. Dyfnallt Owen, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1976) vol. 24:146-147.

[48] Historical Manuscripts Commission, 'Sir Thomas Lake to the Earl of Salisbury. From the Court at Thetford, 17 April 1608) *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury, preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire: Ad. 1608*, eds M. S. Guiseppi and G. Dyfnallt Owen, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1968), vol. 20:137-138.

[49] Bodleian MS Top. Oxon c206, f. 69. Sir John Digby to Salisbury, 4 Jan 1612, PRO SP 94/19 f. 1. Alan Davidson suggests that his travel abroad may have prevented his appearance of the recusant rolls of 1612. A. Davidson, 'Roman Catholicism in Oxfordshire from the Late Elizabethan Period to the Civil War (1580-1640)' (Ph.D Thesis: University of Bristol, 1970), 113.

[50] Henry Clifford, *The Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria*, ed. Edgar Edmund Estcourt and Joseph Stevenson (London: Burns and Oats, Ltd., 1887), 194.

Writing from Naples on 26 March 1613, Sir Robert Chamberlain explained to Carleton, 'Since my coming hither I haue beene possessed by frends Mr: Hare Mr: Mathew and Mr: Gage, the two last staying their iourney to Rome for my sake.'[51] The significance of Hare's inclusion in a circle with Tobie Matthew and George Gage would not have escaped Carleton. The Gages were a notorious Catholic family and George's uncle John Gage (1537-1598) had been imprisoned in 1580 for his faith.[52] In the same letter where Carleton mentioned their travel to Naples, he referred to Gage as 'a sworne brother of the same profession.'[53] Carleton also, for a time, questioned the religious leanings of another of Hare's friends in Naples, William Cecil, Lord Roos (1590-1618).[54] Roos, like Sir Robert Chamberlain, had known Matthew in Italy at least by 1608.[55] Hare's association with Chamberlain, Matthew, Gage, and Roos continued throughout his stay in Italy with Carleton being well aware of their proximity, for Carleton wrote to Hare and Sir Robert Chamberlain with the expectation that they would be sharing information and letters. The correspondence from Chamberlain and Hare to Carleton confirms that they informed both one another and Lord Roos.[56] Hare's earliest surviving letters date from this period. The first two are letters to Carleton, each running to several pages and reporting news about the present tensions on the Continent. Though only one is fully legible, it bears none of the fearful or depressive nature of his later missives but is instead punctuated with the account of an interrupted beatification and humorous observations on the excesses in foreign courts.[57]

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[51] Sir Robert Chamberlain to Carleton 26 March 1613, PRO SP 93/1, f. 32.
[52] 'Gage, John (by 1537-98), of Firle, Suss. | History of Parliament Online', accessed 27 April 2020, https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/gage-john-1537-98.
[53] Carleton to [John] Chamberlain 14 August 1612, PRO SP 99/10 f. 190.
[54] Carleton to Chamberlain 24 December 1613/3 January 1614, PRO SP 99/18 f. 153.
[55] John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad 1604 - 1667 (Revised Edition): Their Influence in English Society and Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 77.
[56] Hare to Carleton 9 July 1613, PRO SP 93/1, f. 34v, To Sir Robert Chamberlain and Mr. Hare 4 May 1613, PRO SP 92/1/2, f. 144r.
[57] J Hare to [unspecified] 19 March 1613, PRO SP 93/1, f. 48r. Hare to Carleton 9 July 1613, PRO SP 93/1 f. 34 This document is heavily dampstained.

Shortly after Chamberlain wrote about Hare and others in Naples, Hare's father died in England. Word of John Hare's death reached Carleton by way of a letter from John Chamberlain, who also reported that John Hare left Nicholas only the reversion of his position in the Court of Wards and £300, both conditional upon his returning to England.[58] As Carey points out, Chamberlain's news is not entirely accurate as there was no money left to Hare. Carey notes that in John Hare's will, he left Nicholas only the reversion of his position at the Court of Wards, with the condition that he was not to replace any of the other clerks and that he work under the guidance of his cousin Hugh Audley (13 January 1577 – 15 November 1662) and his father's clerk and friend Richard Chamberlain.[59] Carey suggested that while John Chamberlain was incorrect about the money, 'it is pretty clear that John Hare did not feel particularly pleased about his elder son's desire to see the world.'[60] In December of 1612, John Hare wrote his will in which he clarified that his property would be settled in a separate deed.[61] But while Carey suggests that Chamberlain was wrong about the conditions in the will, the deed, drawn up by John and his brother Hugh Hare on 2 January 1613, is of perhaps greater interest than the will, for not only does it largely exclude Nicholas, more importantly, it places conditions on his inheritance similar to those described by Chamberlain. Nicholas was granted use of the manor at Southmere in Norfolk for two years, on the condition he returned to England. The deed stipulates that if Hare—then thirty years old—was still alive at the end of the two years, he would continue to be granted the manor for a period of threescore years, so long as he continued to live and abide in England. Clearly, by the time he wrote the deed and will, John Hare felt an urgent need for his son to leave Italy and return to England. The further stipulations in the deed act as a way to ensure Nicholas' continued obedience. The only other mention of Nicholas is in regard to manors of Walton

[58] Chamberlain to Carleton 10 June 1613, PRO SP 14/74 f. 2.
[59] Carey, 'The Poems of Nicholas Hare', 368–69; National Archives PROB 11/122/15.
[60] Carey, 368.
[61] National Archives PROB 11/122/15.

Walpoole and Walsoken which Hugh and John Hare granted to John's second wife Margaret Hare and their son Hugh Hare (1606-1667, later 1st Baron Coleraine). In the absence of any heirs from the younger Hugh Hare, they stipulated the property should bypass Nicholas and be granted to any male heir he might have.[62] That John Hare assumed his son might not outlive his early thirties raises questions, as does the short period which he would grant him use of the property. One explanation might be concern over his mental state. Between 1612 and 1632, Sir Henry Spelman (c.1562-October 1641), disturbed by how buildings of religious houses had been given over as private homes after the dissolution of the monasteries, began looking into the subsequent family histories of their owners (particularly in Norfolk).[63] The Hare family was in possession of the former Cistercian nunnery of Marham Abbey, which although minor, made it a target for Spelman's interest. In his account, one of the misfortunes suffered by the Hare family—no doubt as divine retribution for their possession of Marham—was that 'John Son of John and Brother of Richard, was Clerk of the Court of Wards, and had Issue Nicholas, who was Lunatick, and died without Issue'.[64] Spelman was in contact with Sir Raphe Hare in the 1620s and may have acquired this news directly from him. But he may also have been influenced by local gossip, his religious conviction, or perhaps both. But for Hare's family to have proceeded with declaring him as 'lunatic' in a legal sense would have presumably prevented John Hare from using inheritance to try and compel his son's eventual obedience, for it would have reverted any of Nicholas Hare's assets to the control of the Court of Wards. Whether or not Hare was so afflicted, his will, and his later correspondence with Carleton, are permeated with a deep melancholy and longing for death which point squarely to a man who at the very least was suffering great distress which plagued him in the middle and end of his life. But there is little indication that this distress

[62] London Metropolitan Archives, Inquisition Post Mortem: John Hare NA C142/323/181.
[63] 'The History and Fate of Sacrilege', *Catholic World* (Mahwah, United States: Paulist Press, June 1889).
[64] Sir Henry Spelman, *The History and Fate of Sacrilege: Discover'd by Examples of Scripture of Heathens and of Christians, from the Beginning of the World Continually to This Day* (London: John Hartley, 1698), 274.

preceded his effective disinheritance, which marked a distinct change in fortunes for Nicholas. In his diary entry for 31 March 1604, John Manningham described Hare as 'a gallant yong gent like to be heir to much land.'[65] It also seems that Nicholas was, for a time, party to John and Hugh Hare's land dealings. A 1606 bargain and sale to Sir Arthur Ingram lists Nicholas as an initial purchaser of the land and a beneficiary of the sale.[66] Although Nicholas had seemed destined for a large inheritance, John Hare's will dismantled any such hopes. Instead, it seems likely that John learned of his son's inclination towards Catholicism and used his will to pressure Nicholas into returning to England and to Protestantism. While surely painful for Hare, his father's actions were also ones of expediency. Were Hare deemed a recusant then the large portfolio of land that John Hare and his brothers amassed could be confiscated. And there was no shortage of men who were willing to accuse others of recusancy in order to benefit by the receipt of such lands. Sir Stephen Lesieur, who later sued to try and obtain a portion of Nicholas Hare's clerkship, was granted confiscated recusant lands in the first decades of the seventeenth centuries, and he was frequently reporting on suspected English Catholics while abroad.

By the 9th of July, 1613, Hare had learned of his father's death.[67] Given that John Chamberlain knew details of the will and trust deed a full month earlier, it is likely that Hare had learned of both the death and his diminished inheritance as well. Hare wrote Carleton on 16 July:

> Yr laste of ye 29th of Iune found mee much indisposed and weake of bodie, as likewise not meanlie afflicted in mind: the concurrence of such violent greifes (either of wch were scarce to bee borne single) hauing depressed mee so lowe, that there wanted mee nothing but deathe wch is the laste lyne of misfortunes pour in acheuer de peindre. wch priuation if I were nowe to suffer, I cannot tell whether it would prooue more acceptable to my selfe or some others yt awaite my despoyles; wch couetous atten=tion of theirs though I cannot hinder, yet I

[65] BL MS Harley 5353, f.118r. Also cited in Carey, 'The Poems of Nicholas Hare,' 367.
[66] London Metropolitan Archives ACC/549/150.
[67] R. Chamberlain to Carleton 29 June/9 July 1613, PRO SP 99/13 f. 73.

> will seeke to produce and drawe out to as great a lengthe as I maye, and will euen against my appetite studie to liue, and erect my selfe whose better part was groueling amidst these of mee vnlookt for, and vnhoped for calamities. [68]

The tone is a notable departure from Hare's earlier letters to Carleton, including his letter on 9 July. Rather than the detached observations he sent before, Hare's brief, emotional note finds him physically ill, questioning whether he or his 'detractors' would benefit more from his death. The 'violent greifes' Hare suffered may have been both death of his father and his near exclusion from his will. They may also have been due to his actions abroad and the reprecussions (or threat thereof) resulting. It is evident Hare felt preyed upon. He framed himself as the victim of 'couentous attention' he hoped to avoid. Given his sustained company with Gage, Matthew, Chamberlain, and Roos and given his conspicuous exclusion from the deed and will drawn up by his father, it is highly likely that news of Hare's sustained companionship with English Catholics and their sympathizers had reached England. In an earlier letter from Italy to John Chamberlain, Hare suggests that at least one of his associations there is for the purposes of gathering intelligence.

> I shall then heere onelie relate to you what is said by ye wiser part of those whome I use to heare, and yet perhaps that beeing heard and brought to a good examen, will bee found as materiale as ye censures of ye com̄on man, I meane materiale of ye com̄on Italian account. The opinion then of ye secretarie of state, of ye Prior of England, of Antonio Taxis, and some others wth whome I haue found myself, is (or at least they appeare to thincke so) yt the K. of spaine will neuer permitte yt same possesse ye marquisat: yt hee hath hetherto appear'd neutrall, nor discouerd howe hee will incline:[69]

And he indeed may have been genuinely engaged in work of this sort just as so many of his compatriots were compelled. That his letters are full of military and political news, particularly in early letters to Carleton and John Chamberlain, is of little surprise given their recipients. Maintaining some outward appearance of cooperation—with both parties—was also necessary to preserving his connections at home and abroad. Sir Robert Chamberlain and

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[68] Hare to Carleton 6/16 July 1613, PRO SP 99/13, f. 92r.
[69] J. Hare to [Unspecified] 19 March 1613, PRO SP 93/1 f. 48.

Tobie Matthew engaged in like behaviour in their letters to Carleton. But the content of Hare's letters, however, shifts over time, particularly in the wake of John Hare's passing.

Sir Robert Chamberlain's description of Hare's mental state after learning of his father's death suggests that Hare was highly anxious about his circumstance. Rather than describing Hare as a grieving son, he writes 'Heere is newes come of Mr Hares fathers death, but ~ y^{t} he is distracted betweene doubt and feare of it.'[70] Hare's state seems to have persisted into August. A heavily dampstained letter in Italian, presumably to Isaac Wake, begins '*tristi sono senti gli giorni miei*.'[71] Though much of the letter is illegible due to damage, the portions which can be gleaned suggest a lament both of his father's death and of the situation surrounding it, particularly with regard to himself. While some familial relationship may have sheltered suspected recusant members, not all stood up the strain, as Matthew found out when his father's kind correspondence ceased and he was disowned. But Matthew had come to the continent wealthy and was highly successful at exploiting his connections and connoisseurship to survive there. Hare seems not to have been so fortunate. Nonetheless, he did not hasten home.

Hare had initially planned to go to Florence in late September, but in October of 1613, five months after receiving news of his father's death, Sir Robert Chamberlain reported that Hare had gone to Rome. Chamberlain also told Carleton that while Matthew and Gage were currently with him in Florence, they too were soon departing towards Rome.[72] Despite having

[70] R. Chamberlain to Carleton 29 June/9 July 1613, PRO SP 99/13 f. 73.
[71] Hare to Wake 6 August 1613, PRO SP 93/1 f.39. The legible parts of Hare's letter speak directly to his deep grief in the wake of his father's death 'Pieti a tristi sono stati gli giorni miei, et se credessi che dovessere andar sejorando come d'un tempo in qua hanno principiata a par do mi d' so frienda secolare….altro pensiero non retorni in raccione datione che le buona morte.' (My days have been pitiful or tragic, and if I believed that they would continue to deteriorate as in the past they began to make me think of my secular friend... no other thought would return to my mind than a good death.)
[72] J Hare to [unspecified] 19 March 1613, PRO SP 93/1, f. 48r.; Robt. Chamberlain to Carleton 12 October 1613, PRO SP 99/14, f. 29v.

visited in 1608, Chamberlain was cautious to tell Carleton that he himself 'tooke an extrauagant way for my iourney, and was somewhat y^e^ longer in it to auoide Rome.'[73] As travel into Rome was explicitly forbidden, Hare's decision to travel there did little to ease his difficulties. He seems to have been acutely aware of the precarious situation he had created for himself. In December, after arriving in Florence, Hare wrote to Carleton proclaiming his innocence despite the appearance of his visit to Rome and his interactions there:

> I come w^th^ these freelie to accuse my selfe for but onelie hauing bine so long in a place of contrabande; to w^ch^ course I recurre knowing y^t^ excuses haue euer of the lame in them, joind y^t^ I am the most imperfect at them of anie man y^t^ liues. I studie to no mans good opinion but y^t^ of y^r^ Lordshippe, in w^ch^ if I shall find my selfe to stand cleere I discount all censure and interpretations of others.

Clearly, Hare saw no point in denying that he had made the illegal journey and had spent his time consorting with Catholics. Instead, he claimed he was simply doing what any gracious visitor might with no damage to his Protestantism. Hare's letters show deep caution in their detail, in general he carefully avoids specific terms, never putting down in ink any destination or company that might arouse suspicion, and he does so even in defense of the accusations he feels have been leveled against himself, writing:

> There is a race in Italie whose discourse if it bee but ciuillie attended too (w^ch^ pro more loci must some=times bee done) leaues this apersion vppon a man, y^t^ hee is thought conforme in judgement w^th^ them, or at least hee shall bee stiled tractable, thoughe hee haue bine farre from lending consent to anie particle y^t^ maye haue proceeded from them̄; neither will a fold so taken bee easily effaced but before an equall iudge: what maye haue bine said of mee to my prejudice in y^t^ kind will bee all nothing when I shall againe haue the honour to appear before y^r^ Lo^pp^ and make the course of my actions speake mee as I haue bine bred, and none of these transmutable metals.'[74]

Hare concluded by apologising for breaking his promise to visit Carleton in Venice by Christmas and told him he hoped to be in Venice in four to six weeks. But by mid-January, his reputation seems to have suffered further damage, reported to him by Carleton. His

[73] Robt. Chamberlain to Carleton 12 October 1613, PRO SP 99/14, f. 29r.
[74] Nic. Hare to Sir D. Carleton 21 December 1613, PRO SP 99/14, f. 278r.

response took a more urgent tone, and, using politely indeterminate language, he asked the ambassador himself to help repair his public image:

> I vnderstood by y^{r} laste, howe opinions in both extremes haue latelie treated mee, w^{ch} in y^{e} middle of my innocence I stood expecting, but could forethincke no remedie or cure but y^{e} well suffring them; till some judi=cious person whose voice had power to prescribe, might likewise haue leisure to weigh more at hand, and by his deliuerie of what hee should find, vndeceiue y^{e} credulitie and weaknesse of those y^{t} define vppon re=ports onelie.

In his letter, Hare framed the current attack on his reputation as part of his extended experience 'vnder varied disciplines of calumniers.'[75] These earlier attacks on Hare may relate to the unwanted attention he complained of in July of 1613. The letters make clear that Carleton was aware of the damaging rumours about Hare. Hare seems to have felt he could trust Carleton, both to believe in his honesty and to help clear his name. Perhaps, Hare was successful in convincing him that he had not converted. It is surely significant - and suggests that Hare was more naive than he was culpable - that when Carleton reported to Salisbury in March of 1614 on the great confluence of English men defying the ban on visits to Rome, Carleton noted that Arundel was among these travelers but did not include Hare's name and suggested that the majority of these men were not going with a mind to convert. However, he explicitly mentioned Gage and Matthew as exceptions. They confirmed his suspicions that May when Matthew and Gage were ordained as Catholic priests by none other than Cardinal Bellarmine.[76]

Despite his troubles in Italy, or perhaps as a result of them, Hare remained on the continent for at least a year following his father's death. Maladorno places him among the 'swarme' of English at Padua in the summer of 1614, where Stoye likewise places Gage and

[75] Nich. Hare to Carleton 12 January 1614, PRO SP 99/15, f. 302.
[76] 'Matthew, Sir Toby [Tobie] (1577–1655), Writer and Courtier', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed 18 April 2020, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18343.

Matthew.[77] In November of 1614, Sir Robert Chamberlain reported that Hare would be travelling to Paris with Lord Roos before returning to England.[78] Maladorno points out that Carleton's letter on the same ironically mentions that Hare's return was in part financially motivated.[79] When he arrived in England is uncertain. Carey reports that by 1618, he was again in his clerkship, though Bell maintains that Hare never served as clerk before and suggests that Chamberlain and Audley had obtained the office.[80] The following year, Hare's uncle, Hugh Hare, died, excluding Nicholas from his will and leaving a substantial portion of his £80,000 estate to his younger half-brother.[81] Carey suggested that his exclusion from Hugh Hare's will may have resulted from the publication of Nicholas' 'flippantly immoral' verse, but supposed, 'very likely he disapproved of Nicholas for other reasons as well.'[82] As evident in the deed from 1613, Hugh Hare was party to John Hare's concerns, therefore he would already have known his brother's reasons for displacing Nicholas as his chief heir well before Hare's poem reached print.

The last group of acquaintances associated with Hare are the individuals listed in his own will, written on the 18th of December, when Hare described himself as a parishioner of St Dunstan's in the West. Carey mentions most of these figures including a reference to John Donne—'the Deane of Pawles for the tyme being' - as well as Captain John Harvey, his executor, and Izaak Walton, one of the witnesses to his will.[83] His beneficiaries included two doctors: 'Dr Harvey' (likely William Harvey), and 'Dr Fox' (very likely Simeon Foxe, Donne's friend and physician). Foxe likely knew Donne by this time as he treated him in his

[77] Maladorno, 94; Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad 1604 - 1667 (Revised Edition)*, 74.
[78] Maladorno, 94.
[79] Maladorno, 95.
[80] Bell, 28.
[81] Carey, 'The Poems of Nicholas Hare', 369.
[82] Carey, 369.
[83] Carey, 71.

sickness in 1623 and Donne continued to call on him until his death.[84] Alongside Walton, the witnesses to his will include Thomas Grinsell and 'Tobie Mathewe scr:' and 'Rich Lane sv^{t} to the sd scr'.[85] This Tobie Matthew was not Hare's friend from Italy, as letters reporting his arrival at Dover from Calais indicate that he did not arrive until the 28th of December.[86] Jonquil Bevan found another reference to a scrivener named Tobie Matthew in a lay subsidy roll from 1625 alongside those of Walton and Thomas Grinsell, where Walton was described as a draper and Grinsell as a seamster.[87] Drapers Company records also list a Tobie Matthew as Master and Richard Lane as Freeman in 1627.[88] Although this Matthew was not the Hare's Catholic friend, Matthew and Lane further link Hare to Walton's social circle through the Drapers Company and to the London professional world. Hare's connection with multiple men within this this socio-literary circle are striking given the earlier turmoil surrounding his religious leanings. Perhaps Hare saw Donne as a particularly sympathetic friend since he retained ties to Catholics—including Tobie Matthew—while serving the Church of England. As it stands, Hare never seemed to have taken possession of any of the family lands. While he was certainly not destitute, giving bequests totally some £1596 (many to his Godchildren), he seems to have had no wife or children and no access to the massive portfolio of land which instead went directly to Hugh Hare, 1st Baron Coleraine.[89] Even his last wishes met with opposition as Bald notes that Donne was engaged in trying to negotiate Hare's intended gift to St. Dunstan's from John Harvey. And the churchwardens records also include an entry for an extra copy of Hare's will to be made, likely as a part of their suit.

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[84] Bald, 451–52, 510.
[85] National Archives, Will of Nicholas Hare of Inner Temple. City of London 7 January 1622, PROB 11/139/11.
[86] Commissioners of the passage at Dover to Lord Zouch. 29 December 1621, PRO SP 14/124 f. 194; Lord Digby to Lord [Zouch] 31 December 1621, SP 14/124 f. 197.
[87] Jonquil Bevan, 'Henry Valentine, John Donne and Izaak Walton', *The Review of English Studies* 40, no. 158 (1989): 183.
[88] 'Livery Companies - 1627', accessed 3 March 2020, https://www.londonroll.org/event/?company=drp&event_id=DRHT1294.
[89] National Archives PROB 11/139/11.

While, as executor, Harvey impeded Hare's legacy in terms of legal bequests, he also actively advanced Hare's personal legacy both as a devout (if reformed) Protestant, and as a man of letters. In his missive informing Carleton of Hare's death, his friend and executor John Harvey made a point to describe Hare's performance of piety in his final days: 'he endured his great and sharp affliction with exceeding much patience often comforting and strengthening himself with reading the story of Jobb.' Curiously, Harvey also found it prudent to tell Carleton that 'hee was earnestly sollicited by som of his ancient accquaintances to haue admitted of Romish priests to conferr with him, but hee resolued them that hee would die in that religion in which hee was bredd and borne.'[90] Harvey's decision to recount this seems especially pointed and may have been a response to Carleton's own earlier anxieties in Italy about his recently departed friend. In a letter to John Chamberlain in 1622, Carleton credited Harvey for protecting Hare from his own 'hypocondriacal humor' which 'might haue caried him some such way as the L^{d} of Barkshire is gon, and as owr strange Bishop is going through ambition and auarice.' Carey noted that Berkshire had committed suicide and the 'strange Bishop' referred to Mark Antonio de Dominis, the self-exiled archbishop of Spalato who had recently preached an overtly Roman Catholic sermon at the Mercers chapel.[91] Carleton's concern with de Dominis, however, was likely centred on his decision to return to Italy and Catholicism in early 1622.[92] Carleton had helped arranged De Dominis passage to England on account of his anti-papal views and de Dominis' ultimate rejection of the Church of England and return to Italy and Catholicism could not have reflected well on Carleton.[93] Carleton goes on to reiterate the severity of de Dominis' actions

[90] John Harvey to Carleton 4 February 1622, PRO SP 14/127 f. 97r, cited as f. 68 in Carey, 'Poems of Nicholas Hare', p. 371.
[91] Carey, 'The Poems of Nicholas Hare', 370. Carleton to Chamberlain, 9 March 1622, SP 84/105 ff. 221v.
[92] 'Dominis, Marco Antonio de (1560–1624), Archbishop of Spalato and Ecumenist', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed 26 April 2020, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7788.
[93] Anthony Milton, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 228.

and that he 'dowbtles will speede no better then a certaine French Abbot de Boys, executed at Rome while I was at Venice for hauing vsed more libertie in his sermons at Paris than agreeth wth the strict tenets of Poperie.' In 1611, De Bois had preached against the papacy at Paris but had later decided to return to Rome and was given letters guaranteeing his safe passage. Carleton reported that despite these guarantees, he was captured by the inquisition and quietly executed and buried.[94] De Dominis had also been arranging for his own safe return to Italy, which Carleton seems to have found effectively suicidal. Carleton's comparison of Hare and de Dominis again raises the likelihood that Carleton found Hare's inclination towards Catholicism incredibly damaging, equating it with literal suicide.

The group of Catholic 'ancient accquaintances' to whom Harvey refers may have included persons other than just his friends made in Europe; the members of this circle had dwindled greatly by the time of his death. Tobie Matthew may have been one of the friends who sought to see Hare on his deathbed. Matthew reached Dover by the 28th of December and Hare was buried on 10 January. On 19 January, John Chamberlain noted his death, so Matthew certainly had time to reach Hare in London—and perhaps could count on a friendly reception not just from Hare, but also from Hare's vicar and their mutual friend, Donne. Gage, however, was abroad, involved in attempts to broker the Spanish Match and did not start towards England until 1625.[95] Sir Robert Chamberlain disappeared in 1615, supposedly on a ship returning from the Holy Land; his remains were never found and there was some suspicion that he may have been murdered.[96] Willoughby had died in Padua in April of 1617, leaving most of his legacy to Catholic interests.[97] Lord Roos had passed away in 1618. Given

[94] Edmund Sawyer, *Memorials Of Affairs of State In The Reigns of Q. Elizabeth and K. James I.: In Three Volumes*, 3 vols, (London: Ward, 1725), vol. 3:311.
[95] Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *Narrative of the Spanish Marriage Treaty* (London: Camden Soc., 1869).
[96] Bodleian, MS Top. Oxon. c206.
[97] Robert D. Black, 'Boccaccio, Reader of the Appendix Vergiliana: The Miscellanea Laurenziana and Fourteenth-Century Schoolbooks.', in *Gli Zibaldoni Di Boccaccio. Memoria, Scrittura, Riscrittura. Atti Del Seminario Internazionale Di Firenze-Certaldo (26-28 Aprile 1996)*, ed. Michelangelo Picone and Claude Cazale Berard (Firenze: Franco Cesati, 1998), 137.

how few of his long-term Catholic friends remained alive, Harvey's letter seems to strongly point to Matthew.

Harvey's contribution to Hare's personal reputation also included the funerary monument commissioned for him. Hare was buried at St. Dunstan's in the West in St Anne's chapel and his funeral was the most expensive on record for the period covering 1620-1623.[98] The funerary monument arranged by Harvey underscores Hare's place within an educated and literary class.[99] Hare's literary activities and connections are also reflected in a single inscribed book and in the verses written on his death—as well as the manuscripts that preserve his poems. Birrell listed Hare as one of the contributors to John Morris' library, as shortly before his death, Hare gave Morris a Vulgate Bible. Birrell also notes that, 'from the inscription, it is clear that Morris acquired other books from Hare's library.' Birrell recorded evidence of ownership found in other books owned by Morris, but none appear to have an inscription made by Hare himself. [100] At least one other 16th century book survives with the inscription 'Nic: Hare' under which the inscriber wrote 'pret[ium]' and the amount for which

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[98] London Metropolitan Archives, P69/DUN2/A/001/MS10342.

[99] Carey, 'The Poems of Nicholas Hare', 372.
M. S. Nicholai Hare
Viri morum suavitate & elegantia, animi candore & magnitudine, ingenii denique Acumine & judicii gravitate, Incomparabilis; Disciplinarum & Linguarum, tam quae ad Artes, quam quae ad Aulas spectant, cognitione ornatissimi. Cuius Egregias & Raras Animi dotes, Anglia, Belgia, Gallia, ipsaque Italia iamdudum suspexere & stupuere. Qui desiderio sui apud amicos, omnesque bonos relicto, obiit, Eheu! nondum quadragenarius, Anno M.DC.XXI. Johannes Harvey, Amico dulcissimo & B.M. in perpetuam grati animi memoriam P. Magnificentius positurus, si ei suam ipsius pietatem magis quam amici voluntatem exequi licuisset. Vale, anima candidissima, vale, tuorum quos dolore & luctu conficis AEternum desiderium, vale, Patriae & seculi summum ornamen'
('A gentleman of manners with charm and elegance of spirit, with candor and great refined genius, with judgment with gravity. An Incomparable man with the most accomplished knowledge of Disciplines & Languages, both those belonging to the Arts and those belonging to the Courts. He had long been esteemed and loved in England, Belgium, France, and Italy outstanding and rare courage. He died of his desire to be with his friends, and all the good who had already left left, Heu! In the Year 1621. John Harvey, sweetest friend in lifelong gratitude to the memory. He would stnd more magnificently if he had been allowed to execute him for his own piety rather than his friend's will. Farewell, the brightest soul, of you whom with pain and mourning make up the AEternal longing, farewell to the highest ornament of our Country and Age')

[100] Birrell, xvi. Birrell records two inscriptions, one from a prior owner in 1570, and Morris' inscription 'Johannes Mauritius ex dono viri cl. et amici summi Nicholai Hare 1621, cum aliquot aliis ex eius mortui Bibliotheca.('John Morris, as a gift from my esteemed friend Nicholas Hare in 1621, along with several others from his Library after death.')

he acquired the book. This book, an English translation of Martire's *Decades of the New World* (1555), also includes a poem ('As in Christmas men eate pies') written on the flyleaf and accordingly attributed to Hare, although the hand varies considerably from the other inscription.[101] Unfortunately, it seems that although no identification accompanies the poem, it is unlikely that the book belonged to the Inns of Court poet Nicholas Hare. Auction records, as well as bookseller and library catalogues record three further books bearing the same inscription ('Nich: Hare, pret:' and the corresponding price paid for the volume), and all were printed well after Hare's death. The inscription of this sort found in a 1640 Jonson folio at the Huntington Library, for example, shows both the same format and identical hand as the other volumes bearing this same inscription. So too does a copy of John Speed's *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (1646), the auction listing for which traces the provenance to one Nicholas Hare of Harpham, Norfolk, presumably a later kinsman.[102] Despite the lack of surviving evidence about his library and habits as a consumer of literature, the funerary verses on his death paint him as a reluctant central figure in a group of literary friends.

The elegy ('Let blood co=educatione, loue consent') is which survives on several comteporary manuscripts is attributed therein to his fellow student and kinsman Henry Reynolds. Reynolds and Hare seems to have been very close, at least towards the end of Hare's life, as Reynolds received the largest bequest (£500) in Hare's will. The verses emphasizing their double bond survive in three manuscripts associated with the Inns of Court.[103] Reynolds' poem celebrates Hare's mind, his learning, and his skill as a poet:

> Veiw they then some of y^{t} vaste wealthe of thine
> wherein the smalest parte. alas was mine,:
> parts that distributed might haue formed ten

[101] Jason Scott-Warren, "Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (2010): 378. Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *Decades of the New World*, trans. Richard Eden (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1555), Huntington Library, RB 17938.
[102] Christie's *Cartography,* London 5 June 2000, Sale 6346, Lot 20.
[103] British Library Add. MS 25303, f. 99v; Add. MS 21433, f. 171; Harley MS 3910, f. 48.

for them alone (so styld) accomplysht men.
Laborious iudgment, faithfull memorie
in all best Tongues there all variety:
ffancy & imāginatione raysd soe hyghe
and of extensure such as the broade skie
Large earth, wilde, deepes, & wide ayre vnconfinde[104]

The elegy is characteristic of the laudatory funerary verses written on contemporary poets. It recalls much of the same language found in the elegies on Francis Beaumont found in British Library MS 25707, including Thomas Pestell's lines.

Yf thy most ample witt,
Or just soe much, God tooke and parted it
To dramms, and grains, the purest, and the best
wou'd furnish fortie Colleges at least[105]

Reynolds also closes his elegy with the same language found in poems on Beaumont and Donne, where the elegists lament that their attempts at verse will not live up to those written by the deceased ('how happy were wee or but euen to see /thy Elegy trew wryt and wrytt by thee.')[106] The failure of the poet's friends to live up to the deceased poet's art becomes the only adequate way of expressing both their loss and his ability, as for Carew on Donne:

I will not draw the envy to engrosse
All thy perfections, or weepe all our losse;
Those are too numerous for an Elegie,
And this too great, to be express'd by mee.
Though every pen should share a distinct part,
Yet art thou Theme enough to tyre all Art; (ll. 87-92)[107]

Reynold's elegy also offers a glimpse of Hare's state towards the end of his life. While he makes the conventional gestures to Hare's virtues, his poem takes an unusual turn in suggesting that his subject spent his last years largely withdrawn from society. Hare's 'modestye' becomes 'retyrednesse' and 'sollitude', and that against the wishes of his friends:

soe greate thou hadst, but yet soe good a minde:

[104] British Library, Add. MS 25303, f. 99v.
[105] British Library, Add. MS 25707, f. 44r.
[106] British Library, Add. MS 25303, f. 100r.
[107] Rhodes Dunlap, Rhodes, ed. *Poems of Thomas Carew with His Masque Coelum Britannicum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949), 74.

as thoughe thy virtues did admitt noe want
yet was thy modesty prædominante
or rather iudgment raysd to such a heyghte
as did decline for to support the weight
Like full growne Corne w^{ch} once maturely earde
hangs downe the head that late alofte it reard:
or purple issue of the fruitfull vyne
w^{ch} rypened onse By Phoebus seruent shyne
stretches his greenes about him, and wthin
enshades himselfe not caringe to be seene.
But as the more in thy retyrednesse
thou du'st enioy thy selfe and wee the lesse
could enioy of thee; hadst thou yet but lefte vs
some shadowes of what thy sollitude berefte vs[108]

Hare's apparent reclusiveness and dislike of the public eye coincide with the 'rueful self-righteousness' and 'assertively antimaterialistic attitude' that Carey found in both Hare's will and his elegy ('Not in the dust wee tread, but mounted high'). Carey attributed these sentiments to Hare's exclusion from his father's and uncle's estates.[109] His effective disinheritance by both his father and uncle were two substantial blows only five years apart. The damage to his reputation while in Italy, whether from his time in Rome, his associates, or some other cause seemed to have hindered him until death.

Carey's assessment of Hare is that of a minor poet, inexplicably disinherited by his family and resigned to obscurity by an early death. He suggests that Hare's name did not survive because when he died in 1622, '[e]leven years were still to pass before the publication of Donne's poems set the example for the gentlemen-poets of the early 1600's to go to press.'[110] But Hare's name did not die out even in print. When Henry Lawes sought to honour the father of one of his pupils, (in this case Hare's half-brother Hugh Hare, 1st Baron Coleraine), he did so through dedicatory verses about his son Henry Hare, 2nd Baron Coleraine (21 April 1636 – 15 July 1708). Printed in the third volume of his *Ayres and*

[108] British Library, Add. MS 25303, ff. 99v-100r.
[109] Carey, 'The Poems of Nicholas Hare', 369–70.
[110] Carey, 372.

Dialogues (1658) Lawes honours the son by praising his show of those virtues held by his uncle the poet Nicholas Hare, and lamenting his death, even though nearly four decades had passed:

> Therefore I intended to offer unto your Lordship some of your own Conceptions tun'd by my Notes: as also some others written by that rare Gentleman Mr. Henry Hare, your Lordship's most hopefull Son, who eminently expresses both your Lordship and your Brother Mr. Nicholas Hare, whose Memory is still precious among all ingenuous Souls.[111]

While obviously an exercise in flattery, that Lawes would write this and claim Hare's memory remained active, in the minds of artists helps to suggest the extent to which he was associated with literary circles likely extending beyond his know associations with Reynolds and Donne. It also suggests that he was not entirely as obscured as it seems.

3.3 Nicholas Hare's Verse in Circulation

In contemporary manuscript verse collections, Hare was far from obscured. The manuscript contexts of his surviving poems, including his brief epitaph on Bulstrode, reflect both Hare's involvement in a significant contemporary literary community; through proven and highly suggestive connections which explain his contribution of the verse memorialising of Bulstrode; and at the very least a close association with leading Catholics abroad which very likely contributed to his troubled and 'obscured' last years. Carey found five manuscripts which preserve verses by Hare, but there are at least seventeen and possibly twenty-two more if the title of one poem in London Metropolitan Archives, ACC 1360/528 is to be trusted.[112] The title given there attributes the elegy canonically considered Donne's

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[111] Henry Lawes, *Ayres and Dialogues, for One, Two, and Three Voyces by Henry Lawes ... ; the Thirde Booke.*, 3 vols (London: Printed by T. H. for John Playford, 1658), vol. 3:147.

[112] The additional manuscripts are Harvard MS Eng 626 (H1) ; Bodleian MS Eng poet. c. 50 (O13) ; Rosenbach MS 239/23 (R4); BL MS Harley 4888 (B31); London Metropolitan Archives ACC 1360/528 (LM1); Folger MS V.A. 96 (F2); Huntington MS HM 172 (HH3) Cambridge Add MS 8468 (C9); Trinity College Cambridge MS R.3.12 (CT1); Harvard MS Eng. 966.5 (H6); Huntington MS EL 6893 (HH1). Additional manuscripts which only have a copy on *ElVar* include United States Air Force Academy, Colorado, Mapletoft volume (AF1); BL Add. MS 10309 (B2); Huntington MS HM 198.1 (HH4), New York Public Library, Arents Collection, Cat. No. S191 (NY1), and Victoria and Albert Museum, Dyce Collection, Cat. No. 18, MS. 25.F.17 (VA2).

(*ElVar* 'the Heavens rejoice in motion') directly to Hare. And there is good reason to support this reattribution as the manuscript not only includes a unique elegy on Donne's death, but it also includes several other of the rarer verses by Hare.[113] And it was owned by Christopher Clitherow (c.1578–1641), whose many appointments included Master of the Ironmongers' Company (1618, 1624), Deputy-Governor and Governor of the East India Company (1624, 1638), Lord Mayor of London (1635), and Master of the Eastland Company (1630s). But Clitherow was also a London merchant by trade, and through this and his appointment would have had multifaceted connections to Donne and his associates.[114] So with the two printed poems found by Carey, and twenty-two manuscripts containing a total of forty-three witnesses, Hare begins to emerge as a much more widely circulated poet than originally estimated.

Once again, as with the poems by Bedford and Jonson, Donne's influence also affects the circulation of Hare's epitaph on Bulstrode. To the three witnesses Carey listed of Hare's epitaph on Bulstrode, five more can be added.[115] One of the most striking features of these additional manuscript sources is the lack of overlap between those preserving Hare's epitaph and those preserving his other verse, with the exception of *ElVar*. Certainly, its inclusion in C9 and H6 is a result of Donne influence. But a survey of the Bedford group poems and the locations of witnesses reveals a more distinct pattern with regard to Ben Jonson's epitaph on Bulstrode, rather than Donne's verses on Bulstrode and Markham. Of the

[113] Daniel Starza Smith, Matthew Payne, and Melanie Marshall, 'Rediscovering John Donne's Catalogus Librorum Satyricus', *The Review of English Studies* 69, no. 290 (1 June 2018): 455–87. Smith and others have accepted this reattribution to Hare.
[114] Angus Vine, 'London's Literary Merchants', City of London, n.d., https://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/things-to-do/history-and-heritage/london-metropolitan-archives/collections/www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/things-to-do/history-and-heritage/london-metropolitan-archives/collections/londons-literary-merchants.
[115] Carey located the poem in Huntinngton MS HM 198.2 (HH5), f. 113v; Edinburgh University Library MS Laing III, 493 (EU3), f. 99r; Bodleian MS Ashmole 38 (O3), p.171 and it also appears in poem appears in Cambridge University Library MS Add. 8468 (C9), f. 50; Trinity College Cambridge MS R.3.12, (CT1), p. 240; Harvard University Library MS Eng. 966.3 (H6), p. 171; Huntinton Library MS EL 6893 (HH1), f. 26v; Bodleian MS Don. b.9 (O8), f. 34v.

eight manuscripts, four are major collections of Donne's work (but in one, Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.3.12, CT1, Hare's is added later by an unrelated hand), and Donne's elegies on the women appear in a total of five of the manuscripts that contain Hare's. But the closer association exists between Hare's and Jonson's epitaphs. Only two witnesses of Hare's epitaph fall in manuscripts that do not include Jonson's. One of these is in the Donne-centred collection (CT1) attributed to Elizabeth Puckering's scribe. In this manuscript, however, the poem is not collected with the others, but is copied by a different hand at the end of the volume redirected (albeit very clumsily) to a man by changing 'her' to 'him' but forgoing any alteration to the 'sisters needless haste'. But in the six manuscripts which do contain Jonson's and Hare's elegies, the poems are copied sequentially in four of them. Of these, only EU3 gives the appearance of separation, but as noted, the consistency of the hand suggests they were entered in sequence if not directly beside one another.

The two remaining are Nicholas Burghe's miscellany, Bodleian MS Ashmole 38 (O3), and Huntington MS HM 198.2 (HH5). By far the more important of these in this case is the latter, which contains the most complete collection of verses attributed to Hare and which Carey also considered the superior manuscript to use as copy text for Hare's verses. But the variants in Jonson's poem in the manuscripts is particularly revealing. In all six, the version of Jonson's poem that appears places them among less-corrupted witnesses of Jonson's revised text. Of course, there may have been lost collections with Hare's and the earlier version of Jonson's text. But the consistency of Hare's verse in and out of sequence with Jonson's revised text raises the possibility that Jonson shared his revised text with the same people or person for whom Hare likely composed his original—likely one of his Inns or University contacts. But its inclusion separate from Jonson's in O3 and HH5 suggests that the 'triad' may not have been as influential for sourcing texts as it appears elsewhere.

The most signifigant of the collections, HH5, is an octavo manuscript, apparently the product of some five different scribes. The various hands in the manuscript are professional legal and court hands. These hands and the some of verses they copied do suggest some points of contact with the Inns of Court and the secretariats thus associated, but to some extent this is nearly unavoidable in a such a large collection. Bland notes that the papers used also indicate a production in parts. Watermarks found in different sections include a crown paper with the arms of Burgundy, as also found in other manuscripts with poems on Markham and Bulstrode, including Trinity College Dublin MS 877.1; a dragon and castle watermark similar to that found in Bodleian MS Mus. 34478; and the fine-grade Venetian G3 pennant. This Venetian paper is found in manuscripts produced by the Feathery Scribe, Ben Jonson, and Sir Edward Herbert, all dating to the first decades of the seventeenth century. In addition to being use in a roughly contemporary period, these particular papers are notable not only for how they appear to divide the production of the manuscript—they were among the finest writing papers available in England during this period and the section containing them would have likely been compiled by or at the direction of whomever selected this paper. Bland estimates the manuscript was composed between 1610 and 1618. Peter Beal estimates a later date of production, roughly 1620-1633. The poems transcribed do not specifically point to such a late date of composition, though as with Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 31, a collection exclusively of early 17th century verses—even one with strikingly archaic orthography—may not necessarily date to the same period. A large section of MS HM198.2 is one of only two sources for many of the poems by Dudley North, 3rd Baron North. It also contains the only complete copy of Francis Beaumont's first verse letter to Ben Jonson. Beaumont, like Lord North and Nicholas Hare, was a member of Inner Temple with deep family connections to the institution. The fourth section of the manuscript is largely devoted

to a collection of Catholic poems which appear to have almost no other surviving witnesses. Chief among these is a largely unique set of 29 religious (Catholic) and personal poems which Anthony Petti attributed to Sir Tobie Matthew.[116] But the manuscript is, on the whole, rather unlike other specifically Catholic verse collections from the period due to the rather small percentage of it given over to devotional poems. While other such miscellanies, including Constance Aston Fowler's (Huntington MS HM 904) are interspersed with personal, popular, and religious verses, the religious segment of HH5 is rather self-contained.[117] But where they do appear, the verses suggest some level of contact, a point within the larger network of the owner/compilers with persons outside of the permissible state religion. Considering the networks and communities through which verses were shared then offers a glimpse not only of one such network, but of the way in which HH5 reflects the conflicting values within these overlapping circles.

The provenance of the HH5 manuscript which brings Hare's verse into contact with those by Matthew rests on very little as the manuscript has been rebound several times, so much of the provenance information has been lost. That which does survive is limited mostly to a name scrawled haphazardly on the endpages which Peter Beal suggested was 'Meril Tracy'. Erin McCarthy identifies this as a woman's inscription, since Meriell was a contemporary alternate spelling of Muriel.[118] If McCarthy's suggestion is correct and the inscription was left by a woman, Meriall Poole (née Tracy), the daughter of Sir Robert Tracy,

[116] Anthony G. Petti, 'Unknown Sonnets by Sir Toby Matthew', *British Catholic History* 9, no. 3 (October 1967): 123–58.
[117] Helen Hackett, 'Unlocking the Mysteries of Constance Aston Fowler's Verse Miscellany (Huntington Library MS HM 904): The Hand B Scribe Identified', in *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England,* eds. Joshua Eckhart and Daniel Starza Smith (London: Routledge, 2016), 91–112; Helen Hackett, 'Women and Catholic Manuscript Networks in Seventeenth-Century England: New Research on Constance Aston Fowler's Miscellany of Sacred and Secular Verse', *Renaissance Quarterly* 65, no. 4 (2012): 1094–1124. See also, Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, 44–48, 51, 60, 182–84.
[118] Erin A. McCarthy, 'Reading Women Reading Donne in Manuscript and Printed Miscellanies: A Quantitative Approach', *The Review of English Studies* 69, no. 291 (2018): 661-685, 675.

second Viscount Rathcoole (c.1593 -1662) and his wife Bridget Lyttleton, daughter of John Lyttleton (d.1600) seems the likeliest possible candidate. The Tracys were a regionally significant Gloucestershire family with connections to the Throckmortons and the Conway's. Sir Robert was the eldest son and heir of Sir John Tracy of Toddington, Gloucestershire (1stViscount Tracy of Rathcoole, d.1648) whose wife Anne, was the daughter of Sir Thomas Sherley (c.1542-October 1612), whose other children included the traveler-adventurers Sir Thomas (1564-1633), Sir Anthony (1565-c.1636), and Robert Shirley (c.1581-1628). Sir Robert Tracy's grandfather, Sir John Tracy (1544-25 September 1591), had married Anne Throckmorton (1546-1581), daughter of Sir Thomas Throckmorton (d.1568). Their other children included Sir Robert's paternal aunt Dorothy (c.1563-1613), who married Edward, 1st Viscount Conway (c.1564-3 January 1631), and uncle, Governor of Virginia William Tracy (d.1621) who married Mary the daughter of Sir John Conway (d.1603) thereby strongly uniting the two families.[119] Another daughter, Mary (1581-1671), married Horace de Vere, 1st Baron Vere of Tilbury (1565 – 2 May 1635) thereby further strengthening the family's Protestant kinship networks.[120] Meriell was born sometime after 1622. When her paternal uncle Thomas Tracy died in 1632, he left his full estate to her in a nuncupative will.[121] And a related suit in the same year lists her as an infant under the age of 9. By 1644 she had married Sir William Poole (d.1651) of Saperton, the son of Henry Poole (c.1590-1645). This Sir William had attended Oxford alongside of Sir Robert Tracy. In this case, tracing the manuscript after Meriell's encounter with it suggests that it did not remain in her possession. While some like Jonson sold their books to survive, Tracy leveraged his lands to pay off his fees when forced to as a royalist. At his death, Tracy's books passed down to his fifth son the

[119] Starza Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers*, 50. Smith notes that through his marriage to Dorothy, Conway was connected with two highly regionally significant families—the Tracys and the Throckmortons.
[120] Starza Smith, 52.
[121] National Archives, Will of Thomas Tracy alias Thorne, Bachelor of Fairford, Gloucestershire PROB 11/162/385.

Honorable Robert Tracy (1655–1735), who in turn gave them to his own son Robert Tracy. But at his death he put them in the possession of a servant until his debts had been paid off.

The identification of Meriell Tracy's father, Sir Robert, is not without complications for the Catholic content and associations of the volume discussed above, since the Tracys were committed Protestants of long-standing, descended from William Tracy (d.10 October 1530). William Tracy's overly Protestant will in 1536 led to his body being dug up and burned at the stake granting him inclusion among the ranks of Foxe's protestant martyrs.[122] The result of this, after the state religion changed, was Cromwell awarding the family with Tewkesbury Abbey for their representative stance against the Catholic church. But while this would seem to establish them as staid Protestants, as Susan Coogan argues, kinships as much as patronage relationships across religious lines held a protective value for English Catholics, making it more likely that the Tracys may well have had close contacts in the English Catholic community. Steven May has recently also reached the same conclusion regarding the inscription and likely ownership of the manuscript by the Tracy family.[123] May's interpretation of the evidence reflects his position that the specific content need not speak to the particular leanings or inclinations of the owner or compilers and he notes that Sir Robert's hand appears to match none of the several at work in the manuscript. But the inclusion of another set of poems raises the possibility that the source of the verses may have come from one of Tracy's kinsmen who appeared not to wholly share in the family devotion to Protestantism. As May notes, Anthony Petti had identified a sequence of poems in the manuscript which he convincingly attributes to Sir Tobie Matthew. This is the only know copy of these poems save for a curious fragment of one, found in the Burley manuscript,

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[122] John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of These Latter and Perillous Dayes,: Touching Matters of the Church, Wherein Ar Comprehended and Described the Great Persecutions [and] Horrible Troubles,* 3 vols (London: Iohn Day, 1563), vol. 3:566–67.
[123] May, *English Renaissance Manuscript Culture*, 166.

which is partly redirected towards Matthew's father, Tobie Matthew, Archbishop of York. May suggests that this helps demonstrate the disconnection between manuscript contents and the collectors' own inclinations: 'The Tracy family, however, was proud of its Protestant heritage, and while Tracy was a royalist, I've found no evidence that he was a Catholic'. And he further suggests, 'A collector's respect for his [Matthew's?] religious verse need not imply anything about the collector's religious affiliation'.[124] But a closer look at the kinship networks of the Tracy family suggests that the manuscript instead reflects the family's connections to staunchly Catholic members of this network with stunning clarity.

3.4 Anthony Tracy: English Recusant Agent in Florence

Of Sir Robert Tracy, there is indeed nothing that would specifically point toward an adherence to the Catholic faith, but his close acquaintance with Sir Kenelm Digby sometime before 1633 might have given rise to some questions.[125] And someone from Gloucestershire bearing the Tracy name was reported as a Papist living in Paris in the 1580's but no other information about this person seems to survive. Later, in the paranoid days following the Gunpowder plot at least one member of the Tracy family drew unwelcome attention. William Stallenge wrote to Salisbury on the 13th of November 1605 about two men by the names of Lyttleton and Tracy who had travelled from Sherborne to Salisbury around the 19th of October and were engaged suspiciously in secret talks. The men had apparently been questioned for acting suspiciously—to the extent that others were brought in as sureties to prove their good behaviour. Tracy and Lyttleton claimed they were traveling to meet Sir Ralphe Horsey, but Stallenge felt their 'confession' warranted Salisbury's consideration.[126] Nothing else seems to have come of the incident, so it may simply have been that they were

[124] May, 167.
[125] Vittorio Gabrieli, *Sir Kenelm Digby: un inglese italianato nell'età della controriforma* (Rome: Edizione di Storia e Letteratura, 1957), 261.
[126] Wm. Stallenge to Salisbury 13 November 1605, PRO SP 14/216/1 f. 144

swept up in the fallout from that near disaster. But this elder Tracy may not have been the only of his generation to stray (or give the appearance of straying) from the church. A wider look at Hare's known associates and their respective contacts abroad suggests that one Anthony Tracy may have been the source of those verses by Hare and Matthew which appear in HH5. The precise pedigree of the Gloucestershire branch of the Tracy family is inconsistent across several sources. One Anthony Tracy appears associated with this branch, as either an uncle or second cousin to Sir Robert Tracy's father, Sir John, and Sir Robert also had (by some sources) a brother and an uncle of the same name. His father is sometimes noted as Sir William Tracy as Mary Hervey does in her account of the Arundel family correspondence.[127] But the herald's account from the 1623 visitation of Gloucestershire lists Sir John as a father to and brother of men by that same name.[128] What visiting heralds and subsequent genealogists failed to sort, however, is more directly clarified in a letter from Sir Kenelm Digby to the particular Anthony Tracy of concern here—one in which Digby uses precise language to clarify the bond of kinship between Anthony and his nephew Sir Robert Tracy. This would make the elder Anthony Tracy the son of Sir John Tracy of Toddington (d.1591) and brother to the younger Sir John Tracy of Toddington (Sir Robert's father). It also makes him close kin with the Sherley family, and he wrote letters to his three brothers-in-law throughout his life. And it connects him to the Conway and Vere families through his other brothers and sisters-in-law. But more importantly, the bond which Digby notes between them suggests that it would be highly likely that Sir Robert would welcome verses sent by his uncle. Digby asked Tracy to pray for the soul of his recently deceased wife Venetia and claims 'she often heard me and your Nevew Sir Robert Tracy talke of you and believed you

[127] Mary F. S. Hervey, *The Life Correspondence Collections of Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press Archive, 1921), 116.
[128] Hervey, 116; Henry Chitty and John Phillipot, *The Visitation of the County of Gloucester, Taken in the Year 1623*, ed. Sir John Maclean and W. C. Heane (London: Harleian Society, 1885), 167.

what you are, a saint.'[129] Given this connection between Sir Robert as likely owner of the Huntington manuscript and his uncle Anthony Tracy, Anthony's activities and networks offer a glimpse of how a well-connected recusant abroad might leverage his position to maintain both the status and protection afforded by powerful families. And one way in which this might be achieved is through the sourcing of art and books which were in demand in England. The remnants of Tracy's own verse collecting habits found in the Huntington manuscript then form only a partial picture of his activities abroad.

Birth records for Anthony Tracy are lacking, but they are likewise unavailable for his brother John Tracy. No entry for Anthony Tracy appears in the matriculation registers for Oxford or Cambridge. But an Antonius Tracius (Nob.) is listed on the matriculation register for the University of Padua on the 30th of July of 1595 and Woolfson suggests this may be the same 'Sir Anthony Tracy' later resident in Florence.[130] But for certain, Anthony Tracy was on the continent by 1602 after being in the company of his brother-in-law, Sir Anthony Sherley, whose sometime misfortunes Tracy reported back in letters to Cecil.[131] A further letter from Essex to Cecil concerning Sherley and 'his brother Tracy' may suggest they were together also before 1597.[132] Sherley was himself the subject of suspicion and later brief imprisonment by the English government.[133] But while Sherley continued to travel, Tracy 'found some aboude' near Florence where he appears to have remained for much of the first three decades of the seventeenth century. His company after settling in Italy also draws him closer to Hare's network particularly by way of Sir Tobie Matthew.

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[129] Gabrieli, *Sir Kenelm Digby*, 261.
[130] Giovanni Luigi Andrich, Biagio Brugi, and Royal College of Physicians of London, *De natione anglica et scota iuristarum Universitatis Patavinae : ab a. MCCXXII p. Ch. n. usque ad a. MDCCXXXVIII* (Padua : Fratres Gallina, 1892), 135; Woolfson, 277.
[131] Ant. Tracy to Cecil 5-15 March 1602, PRO SP 12/283a f. 93; Ant. Tracy to Cecil 3 May 1602, PRO SP 12.284 f. 2.
[132] Earl of Essex to Sec. Cecil 8 July 1597, PRO SP 12.264 f. 16.
[133] Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad 1604 - 1667,* 24.

Tracy and Matthew's acquaintance dates back at least to 1608, but perhaps as early as 1606.[134] and the accounts of their actions are openly accusatory with regards to their Catholic sentiments. Stephen Lesieur reported to Salisbury in a letter from June of 1608 about two Englishmen, Lords Roos and William Paulet, Lord St John (1587/8-1621, 4th Marquess Winchester) and of two constant companions who frequently visited those lords—Anthony Tracy and Tobie Matthew.[135] At first Lesieur had little to say of Tracy, although he noted that Tracy, 'Mr Aldridge' and 'Mr Stephan Stock' and various other English merchants had been in his company at the Duke's residence in Florence.[136] The implication then is that Tracy was already somewhat establish at the Florentine court by this point. His companion Stock was an Englishman whom Lesieur described as the Pope's merchant, and regarded with suspicion whilst also receiving information from him on returns from his frequent trips to Rome[137]. But while Lesieur later implied that each of the Lords Roos and St. John varied in their sympathies towards Catholicism (but in his mind were ultimately redeemable), Tracy and Matthew were both absolute papists. When Lord St John's tutor died of a burning fever, Lesieur noted:

> In the tyme of his helth he professed to be an earenest Protestant, but in his sicknes, the contrary apeered, for none cold be admitted neere him but Mr Tobie Mathewe, Mr Anthony Tracye, yong Doct fryre & others of their sect, and as pleased them he had by theire ayde in yt tyme all ye Popish cerimonies administred vnto him and being dead, his corps was caried out of his Ls house accompagnied by those beffore named and two or more Colleges of fryers wth theire accompanied manner of singing, crosses, torches, &c. to a monasterie Church and there buried after ye Romish manner.[138]

His account is remarkable as it not only confirms that Tracy and Matthew were contacts and Tracy was a Catholic as well, but it describes them being quite closely acquainted and actually arranging and participating in Catholic rites for another Englishman

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[134] Tobie Matthew to Dud. Carleton 8 January 1606, PRO SP 14/18 f. 13.
[135] Lesieur to Salisbury 14-24 June 1608, PRO SP 98/2 f. 157v.
[136] Lesieur to Salisbury 28 May 1608, PRO SP 98/2 f. 142.
[137] Lesieur to Salisbury 25 July 1608, PRO SP 98/2 f. 189v.
[138] Lesieur to Salisbury 25 July 1608, PRO SP 98/2, f. 190r.

abroad. As for Dr Fryer there are two possible persons by this name who may be referred to. The first, John Fryer (1575/6-1672), was the eldest son of Thomas Fryer (d.1623), and the latter his brother Thomas (d.1645). The Fryers were also staunch Catholics and the father and sons all studied to be physicians at University of Padua. Of the two sons, the latter could not be incorporated and the former an admitted Catholic who Woolfson notes was nonetheless 'protected by the Cecils'.[139] And Fryer was involved with the trip to Rome as documented by Willis, as well as subsequent suspicious engagement which Lesieur reported tirelessly to Salisbury. The deathbed rites performed by Tracy, Fryer and others were to be repeated only a few months later when Stephen Stock also fell ill and died.'[140] Lesieur reported on Lord Roos' journey to Rome, one which led to the imprisonment of his tutor who remained imprisoned there until his death thirty years later. Roos seems to have been rattled by the reports about his journey, writing to Wotton to proclaim the innocence of his interest in visiting Rome and asking for the source of this information. But in his scolding reply, Wotton refused to divulge the source and expressed open skepticism that some other party had sought protection from the Pope of Roos' behalf.[141] Matthew, it seems, was more aware of which informants brought the most danger as is evident in his letters to Carleton.

> Though I love Rome in winter, yet I dare not trust my enemye so much as to liue there. And yet, to say the truth, if this Sr Stephen Leysure (*ex re nomen habel*) should continue heer, I should like this place the worse. He proues (not only in my iudgement, but all of ye English gentlemen heer, and not only English but Italian) an extream insolent companion. I neuer gauve him the least offence, and yet (though in shew he vieth me with all kindnes) I can speake with no man who tells me not how he abuses me. I heer also he hath written to my L. of Salisbury in my preiudice.[142]

[139] Woolfson, 238. 'Fryer, John (1575/6–1672), Physician', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, n.d., https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10218.
[140] Lesieur to Salisbury 20-30 August 1608, PRO SP 98/2 f. 211.
[141] Lord Rosse to Wotton 8 May 1608, PRO SP 99/5 f. 118; Wotton to Lord Rosse 7-17 May 1608, PRO SP 99/5 f. 116.
[142] Tobie Matthew to Carleton 19 August 1608, PRO SP 98/2, f. 210.

The majority of Lesieur's surviving reports from his time in Florence mention Matthew and Tracy, whom he considered a growing threat. And it was during this period when Tracy had established himself in Florence and where he and Matthew were constant companions, that Wotton also chanced through the city. His experience from a brief visit also alarmed him and he informed Salisbury.

> I can not but lament vnto your Lop the daunger that I forsee of corrupting many in that court whether many are drawen of owre Englishe gentlemen by the beauty ^and security of the place and puritie of the language: for there is in that Towne at the present a certayn knott of bastarde Catholiques partly banished and partly voluntarie residants theare whereof Tobie Mathew is the principal: who with pleasantnesse of conuersation and with force of example doe much harme and are likely to do more considering the correspondenese they holde with the English in Rome: thorough whose meanes they seeme to vndertake the securinge or indaungeringe (and I thinke bothe easye enough) of any English man that shall goe thether according to his qualitie by theire commendation and advise of him.[143]

Even before these damning reports began to circulate, Carleton received a letter, signed only 'Your M' but addressed in the hand and manner typical of Matthew's other letters to Carleton in the period. And its contents hint at the growing panic of the sender (undoubtedly Matthew).

> 'I am no more a Priest as the worlde sais, then a Cardinall as my mother sais; and ~~yet~~ thus much more; that I retourned to this towne ~~as goo~~ from Rome, as good a protestant as euer you know me; though I know no reason (except my beinge born in England) why I should be such, rather then a Calvinist, Lutheran, or professour of any ^other^ priuat opinion. *Sed haec tibi et tibi soli*. And if it seem straunge to yo^w^, I will demonstrate it when I see yo^w^.'

But given also the dangers of the company he kept, Matthew also found it prudent to address this information provided about Tracy, echoing his defense of himself that 'Mr Tracy is no more a fryar then I nor then you; I would he were in no more danger of beinge taken for Sr William Dormours Trunchman or maggiore duomo in this iorney of theirs into Sicily, where they ar yet, but we expect them heer er longe.'[144] It is not certain how long they travelled

[143] Wotton to Salisbury 26 August-5 September 1608, PRO SP 99/5 f. 172.
[144] To Carleton from Florence 22 May 1606 PRO SP 98/2 f. 106.

together but Sir William Dormer (d.1616) and Tracy appear together also on the same list of Englishmen reported for being in Rome. Dormer's family was also Catholic and connected to the Montague family by marriage. And as Sir William was the nephew of the Duchess of Feria, it seems likely that he and her other kinsman and Hare's companion, Sir Robert Chamberlain (also in Rome at the time), would have had some contact. Tracy's later travel companions would have done even more to arouse suspicion. In his biography of Father John Gerard, John Morris notes that among a tranche of letters from Englishmen in the Vatican Secret Archives concerning the Gunpowder Plot, at least one Latin letter form Tracy to Thomas Fitzherbert (1552-17 August 1640) reports with great sympathy on the fates of English Catholics caught up in the aftermath of the Gunpowder plot including Elizabeth Vaux and her son Edward Vaux, 4th Baron of Harrowden (13 September 1588-8 September 1661). The letter, from 24 June 1612 notes 'By letters of the 31st of May I have news from England that on the previous day Lord Vaux was condemned to lose every thing and to suffer perpetual imprisonment for his constancy in refusing the oath of allegiance, as they call it. The very heretics lament this cruelty.' Morris reports that Tracy had served as Lord Vaux's companion during his journey to Italy ending in 1611, thus underscoring his interest in Vaux's fate.[145] Although Tracy was intermediary for many men's letters and news, and regardless of the depth of connection between himself and Lord Vaux, the party he refers to as 'heretics' leaves no question as to Tracy's sympathies.[146]

In light of these myriad links between Tracy and members of Hare's intimate circle in Italy, the content of the Huntingdon manuscript is all the more striking. The inclusion of the only known verses by Matthew and the most complete and most textually sound group of

[145] John Morris, *The Life of Father John Gerard, of the Society of Jesus* (London: Burns and Oates, 1881), 445-446. The above translation is Morris'. It is perhaps of note that Fitzherbert too had by this point found connections with the Duchess of Feria's household.
[146] He was also, for a time, correspondent with Sir Robert Dudley.

verses by Hare suggests all the more strongly that Anthony Tracy was the conduit by which these verses reached others in the Tracy family, including Sir Robert and young Meriell. After matriculating at Oxford in 1610 and entering Middle Temple in the same year at age seventeen, Sir Robert was granted a license to travel to the continent in 1617 and was for a time at Padua with the customary prohibition on visiting Rome.[147] And later Sir Robert sent his son John to Italy as well.[148] Another such pass, issued by John Conway in 1623, went to Anthony Tracy.[149] While the possibility remains that this may instead have been a brother of Sir Robert, only the elder Anthony Tracy is known to have been in Italy, and in a letter from John Chamberlain to Carlton he reports that 'Antonie Tracie the Lady Veres brother is come from Florence and we heare of threescore priests come out of Spaine in a flock' before going on to report the movements of Gage and Matthew.[150] His grouping of the men together in his newsletter likely owes to their similar status. Thus, the travel pass is almost certainly for the same Tracy who ventured briefly to England, turning back to Florence. Despite Tracy's apparent religious views, by allowing him passage, Conway would have enabled him to return to his place in the cultural supply chain which granted the Conway family and others access to the rich artistic and literary exports from the continent. By this point, Tracy had for at least five years maintained a relationship with the most important and prolific English art collectors in the period—the Arundels. In 1617-1618, he was travelling with them and procuring art on their behalf.[151] David Howarth described Tracy as 'a sort of unofficial ambassador in Florence' both due to his helping the Arundels on their tour and his dealings with the *Opificio delle Pietre Dure* to orders the pieces they desired.[152] A surviving letter

[147] A passe for Sir Robert Tracie, knight, to travayle into forraigne partes for three yeares 30 November 1617 PRO PC 2/29 f. 193.
[148] Minute for entry on the Council Register of a pass for John Tracy, son of Sir Robert Tracy of co. Gloucester 24 June 1636, PRO SP 16/237 f. 106.
[149] A passe for Anthony Tracy, esquire, to travill into the partes beyond the seas for three yeares 14 April 1623 PRO PC 2/31 f. 655.
[150] Chamberlain to Carleton 26 October 1622, PRO SP 14/133 f. 122.
[151] Hervey, 130.
[152] David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and His Circle* (New Haven , CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 54–55,

details the particulars of one such piece, ordered for Lady Arundel with her arms inset.[153] Tracy would have thus been in contact also with another of the Arundel's art agents' William Smith, as Howarth notes that the inventory of goods sent to England for the Arundels includes goods likely ordered by Tracy, specifically regarding the *pietre dure* pieces with the arms inset.[154] His order may be for the pair of supports for a *pietre dure* table top boasting Lady Arundel's arms which survives and remained in the family for several generations.[155] And Tracy's connections with the Arundels may have run deeper. Although the 1623 visitation of Gloucestershire listed Anthony as having died a bachelor, it remains possible that he may have been wed outside of the English church, especially as one Mrs Tracy, (which given the period does leave some ambiguity), was also in the service of the Arundels while abroad. And a Margaret Tracy—reported to be a great beauty—later married the Catholic Bohemian engraver Wenscelaus Hollar (1607-1677) to whom Arundel also offered patronage.[156] These interconnections further cement Tracy's position within these networks of Catholic sometime art dealers and patrons across both religions. They also lend additional credence to the circumstances which connect Tracy and Hare.

But while assisting the Arundels, Tracy was also still in touch with Matthew, and his duties saw him engaging as an agent in the book trade. Matthew had written dedicatory verses in the Italian translation of Bacon's essays, *i Saggi Morali del Signore Francesco Bacono Cavagliero inglese, Gran Cancelliero d'Inghilterra. Con un'altro suo trattato della Sapienza degli Antichi. Tradotti in Italiano* (1618) and on the third of July third that same year he wrote to the secretary of Grand Duke Cosimo II informing them of the incoming gift

[153] Hervey, 130.
[154] Howarth, 56.
[155] Although the tabletop is lost, the stone supports of a pietre dura table linked to either Tracy or another of the Arundel's agents, William Smith (d.1636) survive and were auctioned as lot 239 at the Sotheby's Easton Neston sale in 2005.
[156] Hervey, 366, n.2.

of the book. Of the agent responsible for its binding and delivery to the Duke, Matthew wrote, '*lo faccia dar subito al Sig.re Antonio Trasi, al quale ho scritto che lo faccia rilegar in un batter d'occhio, e gli lo renda poi al punto*'[157] But this favour for Matthew marked only a moment in the several decades during which Tracy seems to have been actively sourcing books for others.

May speculated about a possible literary connection between the Conway family and the Tracy family of Toddington, likely via Sir Robert Tracy or one of his children, and such a connection does appear likely, as Sir Robert's son was in the company of Edward Conway after returning from England.[158] But a more direct connection may instead (or also) have existed through Anthony Tracy. In his study of the Conway papers, Daniel Starza Smith notes a letter from one Antonio Tracy to Conway about a shipment of books which he is sending to him with others for Sir Philip Mainwaring (1589-1661).[159] The hand in this letter appears somewhat different in style from that in Anthony's letters from thirty years earlier, but this may have been down to a change in secretary or an evolution of his own hand over time. But the letter from Digby dated to shortly after his wife's death and clearly addressed to Sir Robert's uncle Anthony in Florence shows that the man arranging these shipments to Conway was none other than the Catholic Tracy who had years earlier openly practiced his religion with Matthew and had reported sympathetically on the fates of those involved in the Gunpowder plot. And Tracy's role as an agent was diverse in scope (he also identified artists whose work might suit the taste of his kinsmen and clients) and clientele.[160] Conway also

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[157] Tobia Mathei and Anna Maria Crinò, 'Nuovi Documenti Riguardanti La Prima Versione Italiana Dei "Saggi Morali" Di Bacone', *La Bibliofilía* 58, no. 1 (1956): 31. Crf. A.S.F. *Mediceo* 4193.
('I have written to Anthony Tracy who will have it bound in the blink of an eye and returned to you.')

[158] Sir Robert Tracy to Edward Viscount Conway 24 May 1640, PRO SP 16/454 f. 190.

[159] Starza Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers,* 118-119, n.19.

[160] Antonio Tracy to Edward Viscount Conway, 18 May 1633, PRO SP 16/239 f .3.
Since I last wrote unto you I have provided a chest of Books for your Lp which I have sent upon a ship named the Neptune to be consigned in London to Mr Daniell Harvey . . . the books I have sent are as many as I could get at the present according to the note which Mr Chudley left with me.

transacted with Tracy on behalf of others, sending monies on behalf of King Charles's agent Philip Burlamachi (1575-1644) as intermediary to pay for those things which his 'Cousen Tracy' in Florence has ordered.[161] And Burlamachi, Conway, and Tracy continued to broker goods the following year.[162] Another of Tracy's intermediaries through whom he was sending the books to Conway, was the London merchant Daniel Harvey (1587–1647), the younger brother of the physician William Harvey, Hare's friend and executor. Daniel Harvey operated with a network of overseas contacts, which, like other London merchants, often included English men who acted as agents and intermediaries.[163] His 'Italian' style ledger in the London Metropolitan archives details many such transactions, and the responsibility of these English overseas agents could be tremendous.[164] Edmond Smith notes that one of Harvey's English intermediaries working with French suppliers wrote in October of 1632, just a year before Tracy's shipment, that 'bills, debts and moneys resting in my hands' were worth £27,826 15s 2d.[165] That Tracy was careful to assure Conway that Harvey was 'well known' to him speaks to a likely sustained engagement between the men. It also reinforces the significance of the networks existing outside of what May terms the 'triad' of the universities and Inns of Court. It is not known when or where Tracy died. The last evidence I have found is a letter from him to an unidentified gentleman in February of 1635 about a shipment of 'quadros' he had recently dispatched (as well as noting the money he was owed).[166] There

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Ant. Tracy
Florence the 28 of May 1633
I have sent a book in the Chest to Mr Philip Mainwaring it is the life of the Great Duke Cosimo.
I intend to bespeak a piece of Painting to be made for your lop by the hand of a Painter of much esteem here, I presume your lop will allow of it although I do it without your commission

[161] Edward Viscount Conway and Killultagh to William Weld 21 October 1633, PRO SP 16/248 f. 107.
[162] Philip Burlamachi to Edward Viscount Conway and Killultagh, 10-20 March 1634, PRO SP 16/262 f. 91.
[163] Basil S. Yamey, 'Daniel Harvey's Ledger, 1623–1646, in Context', *Accounting, Business & Financial History* 20, no. 2 (1 July 2010): 163–76, https://doi.org/10.1080/09585206.2010.485746; see also: Edmond Smith, *Merchants: The Community That Shaped England's Trade and Empire, 1550-1650* (Yale University Press, 2021).
[164] London Metropolitan Archives CLC/B/227/MS35025.
[165] Smith, *Merchants*, 26. London Metropolitan Archives CLC/B/227/MS35025a. Subsidiary accounts of Daniel Harvey's agent in Rouen, 1632–3.
[166] Bodleian MS Ballard 10, f. 26r.

appears to be no will or record of Tracy's burial in England; the only testaments to his life are his correspondence and others' frantic correspondence about him.

What Tracy failed to leave in his own name—a testament to his intellectual exchange with Catholic, and sympathetic Englishmen on the continent does resurface in fragmentary ways through the Huntington manuscript. Far from reflecting a sort of homogenised blend of verse with little biographical resonance, as is often assumed with many of the so-called Inns of Court and University collections, the poems in HH5 reorientate the legacies of Bulstrode and Hare towards a very different cultural network, one which placed the merchant class and Catholic exiles among some of the most elite and educated Englishmen of their day. It suggests that these Continental networks may also have had an important role in the circulation of verse. And rightly so as to some extent they were built reliant on the appreciation of art and cultural exchange. But while doing so, the letters and verse collection deconstructs the post-mortem legacy Hare's friends carefully built for him. Hare himself, as appeared through his defensive letters and later his legacies to his godchildren and St. Dunstan's in the West had also sought to restore his own image. His reported refusal of Matthew's company at his deathbed could then either be seen as undermined by these paper records, or as a greater sign of his reformation. But HH5, and its varied collection of varied verse—reflecting multiple aspects or contact points within a familial network—also allows insight into the diversity of religious experience between blood relatives of the same family. Rather than skewing the biographical detail about its owner/compilers, it preserves evidence of their lives and networks otherwise lost to their own attempts at reputational repair, or to their living outside of the legal state in such a way that official records would not exist.

Chapter 4: Francis Beaumont's Unseemly, Untimely Grief

Perhaps more than any other text in the group, Francis Beaumont's elegy on Lady Markham best illustrates how verse collections and their makers redefined the texts they gathered and preserved. His elegy often appears with at least one other poem from the group, but it sits uneasily among those by Donne, Jonson, and others. Comic, misogynistic, and at times even necrophilic, it is not an obvious companion to Donne's somber lines, nor does it seem a genuine attempt to console a grieving patron or friend. Beaumont's intention in writing is impossible to recover with absolute certainty. Considered in its own terms in isolation, it seems likeliest that Beaumont wrote the elegy as an exercise of wit, meant only for the eyes of his Inns coterie. But perhaps, unlikely as it seems, this was a genuine effort at pleasing a relative of Lady Markham, if bizarrely run through with traces of a bawdy sort of wit that is traditionally associated with the informal literary groups tied to the Inns of Court. But this category of 'Inns of Court' wit may obscure a more diverse audience who appreciated a tactical deployment of indecorum in verse. The most alluring possibility is that the lines were written not for his closer male associates, or for Bedford, but for one such admirer of his poetic wit—his respected patron and Markham's kinswoman, Elizabeth Manners (nee Sidney) Countess of Rutland. To accept this requires accepting that Lady Rutland's tastes strayed outside of the tidier and more demure religious verse often associated with women readers and writers at the time. But Beaumont's other verses for Rutland, notable his epistle (Madam so may my verses pleasing be') appear to support this as a possibility.

Given the longstanding uncertainty around Beaumont's elegy on Lady Markham, it is worth examining how the poem operates within various frameworks: as a product of his own social and literary networks; as a text in transmission; and as a part of different collections of

verse. Studying those collections as parts of traditional categories of volume defined by Hobbs, Marotti and others (family collections, university collections and the like) reveal both the inconsistency between how assemblers of supposedly like types of volume deployed the verses, and the nuances and instabilities of the categories as a whole.

The scholarship on Beaumont's verse is rather sparse. His work as a dramatist fell out of favour in the centuries after his death, certainly in comparison to Shakespeare. But like Shakespeare, later interest in him is primarily concerned with his dramatic output, rather than his verse. The nineteenth-century scholars who set about editing the works of Beaumont and Fletcher relied heavily on the early printed editions of their plays and poems. Both Edward Moxon and Alexander Dyce accepted the attribution of the Markham elegy to Beaumont and included it in their editions of Beaumont's work. Dyce was the first to suggest that he may have written the poem for one of Lady Markham's relatives, though without venturing who, or which branch of the family, it might have been for. He found Beaumont's lines objectionable, but only slightly more so than Donne's, claiming, "both are in the vilest taste: but Donne's conceits, however far-fetched and puzzling, are at least not so outrageous as those of Beaumont."[1] Henry Weber, however, felt it was more an exploration of style and offers perhaps the most forgiving reading of the poem. He attributes the bizarre conceits to the influence of Marino, suggesting Beaumont's poem was of a style 'which had been introduced into England by Donne, and was brought to its pitch of absurdity by Cleaveland, Crashaw, and Cowley.' Yet even as he places Beaumont within this poetic tradition, Weber downplays the importance of his activity as a poet, reasoning, 'Fortunately for Beaumont, this poem and a few others were only essays in this metaphysical style, which he had

[1] Dyce, 1: xxxi.

sufficient good sense not to pursue to the prejudice of his fame'.[2] Yet Beaumont's verse seems to have been very much a part of his contemporary fame, for his poems found an audience in the readers and compilers of manuscript verse collections. Jonson, in recalling Beaumont to William Drummond in 1619, claimed, 'That Francis Beaumont loved too much himself and his own verses.'[3]

Although Beaumont may have been fond of his own verse, the same cannot be said for later readers, especially those who confused it with Jonson's. In the mid-nineteenth century, the discovery of a partial copy of the Markham poem in a manuscript from Sir Kenelm Digby's papers erroneously drew the attention of Jonson scholars. The owner, Henry Arthur Bright (1830–84), published the lines in *Notes and Queries* and suggested that they, as well as his copy of Jonson's 'the Hourglasse', were both autographs. Unaware that the poem was a fragment, he attributed it to Jonson, although a proper attribution was noted several months later.[4] When Bright published the poems for the Roxburghe Club in 1877, G.F. Warner, who provided the commentary, rejected the claim that the poems were in Jonson's hand. He did, however, appear to agree with Bright that the lines were more likely written by Jonson or Thomas Randolph, if only because he found it "difficult to understand how part of an elegy to Lady Markham should get among these poems addressed to Lady Venetia."[5] The material form of the original collection somewhat undermines this reasoning. As Bright himself acknowledges, the items were part of a packet of loose papers, some of which had

[2] Henry Weber, *The Works Of Beaumount And Fletcher, Vol. No. 14* (Edinburgh: James Ballantyne and Company, 1812), vol. 14: 399.
[3] 'Informations to William Drummond of Hawthornden | The Cambridge Works of Ben Jonson'.
[4] Henry Arthur Bright, 'Poems Discovered among the Papers of Sir Kenelm Digby' *Notes and Queries* 3, no. 80 (May 1851), 367'; W. J. Bernard Smith 'Poems from the Digby MS' *Notes and Queries* 3, no. 85 (June 1851), 482.
[5] Henry Arthur Bright, *Poems from Sir Kenelm Digby's Papers: In the Possesion of Henry A. Bright. Roxburghe Club* (London: Nichols and Sons, 1877), 30–31.

been long since given away.[6] The remaining papers, mostly a collection of poems on Lady Venetia Digby, were then window-mounted and bound together in a single volume.

This hesitant attribution to Jonson was not universally accepted perhaps on account of what, in the fragment, appear to be its opening lines:

> You wormes (my riualls) whiles she was aliue
> How many thousands were there that did striue
> To haue y^{r} freedome? for theyr sakes forbeare
> Vnseemly holes in her soft skinne to weare[7]

Although the reader of this fragment misses the earlier moment of the speaker leering over Lady Markham's corpse, it was still offensive enough for some Jonson scholars to vehemently reject Bright and Warner's suggested attribution. A.C. Swinburne claims the poem 'which must surely have been meant as a joke—and a very bad, not to say a very brutal one, is probably the most hideous nonsense ever written on the desecrated subject of death and decay.'[8] Swinburne's reading is far more negative than Weber's response to the complete text. But, to complicate the matter, the fragment that Swinburne was reading also contained lines not found in the printed editions on which Weber had relied: the Digby fragment includes a couplet found only in the manuscript versions, as lines 61 and 62 of the complete manuscript texts, reading, 'That done, vpon her bosome make yo^{r} feast, / Where, in a Crosse, graue Iesus on her brest'.[9] The isolated fragment with the additional lines is, as we shall see, a different text from that which Beaumont's editors found in their printed copy texts. Their editions rely on the early printed copies of Beaumont's poem, which did not emerge until some twenty-four years after his death: Laurence Blaiklock included it in the first edition of *Poems: by Francis Beaumont, Gent* (1640).[10] This quarto volume was then expanded in a

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[6] Bright, i.
[7] British Library Add. MS 89136, f. 4v.
[8] Algernon Charles Swinburne, *A Study of Ben Jonson* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1889), 122.
[9] Cambridge University Library Add. MS 5778 (C2), f. 84v.
[10] *Poems: by Francis Beaumont, Gent.: Viz. The hermaphrodite. The remedy of love. Elegies. Sonnets, with other poems* (London: Printed by Richard Hodgkinson for Laurence Blaiklock), sigs H2v-H3r.

second edition in 1653. The contents of both editions are notoriously suspect, collecting, as they did, the work of numerous authors under Beaumont's name.[11] William Ringler's effort to establish the canon of Beaumont's non-dramatic verse excludes the majority of poems in both 1640 and 1653. In addition to works found in those printed collections, Ringler surveyed attributions to Beaumont in contemporary manuscripts and earlier printed texts to determine which verses he could confidently ascribe to Beaumont. He considered the elegy on Lady Markham to be the only poem in 1640 that can be reasonably ascribed to Beaumont based on the attributions found elsewhere.[12]

4.1 Biographical Context of Beaumont's Elegy

In his early scholarship on the elegy, Phillip Finkelpearl read the poem as a possible 'anti-elegy,' intended by its author to criticize the elegist-for-hire.[13] This reading seems to fit well with both the content of the poem and with the verse produced by members of universities and Inns of Court. Beaumont was part of these groups through his upbringing and education. Yet many of the writers associated with the Inns would have also known of Lady Bedford, and Beaumont's elegy raises questions about the extent of her influence on Inns literary culture. Similarly, the Beaumont family's local and political connections complicate the notion that the poem was purely an exercise in an emerging style.

Beaumont was the youngest of three sons born to Francis Beaumont (d. 1598) of Grace Dieu in the parish of Belton, Leicestershire. In his work on Francis' brother Sir John Beaumont's verse, Roger Sell speculates that the lack of baptism records for the children and

[11] William A. Ringler, 'The 1640 and 1653 "Poems: By Francis Beaumont, Gent." and the Canon of Beaumont's Nondramatic Verse', *Studies in Bibliography* 40 (1987): 120-139. Ringler observes, 'these two volumes are the sole authorities for his authorship of 39 nondramatic poems totalling 2,026 lines.'
[12] Ringler, 129.
[13] Philip J. Finkelpearl, '"Wit" In Francis Beaumont's Poems', *Modern Language Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (1 March 1967): 35.

their father points to secret Catholic christenings.[14] Sell's biography of the Beaumont family established them as 'an important link in a whole chain of devotedly Catholic families, which, strengthened by inter-marriage, extended from the great Manners family of the Earls of Rutland at Belvoir down through all the ranks of the Leicestershire (and nearby) aristocracy and gentry.'[15] Charles Gayley Mills had earlier turned up some of the important family connections between Francis Beaumont and notorious Catholics, including his first cousin Anne Vaux. But the religious leanings of Francis and his father are more difficult to determine.

Francis entered new social circles when he left Grace Dieu. At age twelve, he matriculated from Broadgates Hall, Oxford and entered Inner Temple in 1600.[16] At both university and Inns of Court, Beaumont was surrounded by the rising generation of politicians and poets. While less immediately connected to established groups like the Sireniacal Gentleman and Convivium Philosophicum, he does seem to at least have been an auxiliary member of these emerging socio-literary circles. He was particularly close with Ben Jonson, to whom he addressed several surviving verse letters. His relationship with Jonson also brings him closer to the poets who sought patronage from Lady Bedford. However, as Jonson's own actions prove, proximity to Lady Bedford might not dissuade a poet from writing defamatory lines on one of her kinswomen. Still, Jonson seemed to understand the damage his lines might cause and worked—unsuccessfully—to keep the verses out of the wrong hands.[17] If Beaumont had tried to keep his elegy private, the effort failed spectacularly.

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[14] Roger Sell, ed., *The Shorter Poems of Sir John Beaumont: A Critical Edition with an Introduction and Commentary* (Abo: Abo Akademi, 1974), 4–5.
[15] Sell, 4.
[16] Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses : The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714: Their Parentage, Birthplace, and Year of Birth, with a Record of Their Degrees* (Oxford and London: Parker and Co., 1891), 97.
[17] Evans, 75–77.

Dyce and Finkelpearl agree that there is little to indicate that Lady Markham was an appropriate target for satire.[18] Although she was counted among the ladies in Queen Anne's court, there are no records of her writing or participating in masques or news games. Unlike Cecilia Bulstrode, no evidence exists that Lady Markham had lovers at court or broke off multiple marriage contracts.[19] She was well-connected through her place at court and through her family. Her first cousin, Henry Hastings, firth Earl of Huntingdon, was distantly related to Beaumont. Finkelpearl revised his earlier anti-elegy argument in light of this relationship, if with clear reservation, deciding that Beaumont's poem was in fact a genuine effort at honoring the dead, possibly composed for the earl.[20]

Finkelpearl considered Beaumont's sudden output of non-dramatic poetry as a situation brought about by financial need.[21] Lucy Munro's recent scholarship has uncovered further evidence that Beaumont's financial situation was deteriorating in the period surrounding Lady Markham's death.[22] Whether or not he wrote at the request of one of her kin, Beaumont was hardly in a position to court disdain from his social superiors and would have stood to benefit from a highly placed patron.

If the poem was written for a family member or patron, it is equally likely Beaumont might have written it for his most important patron, Elizabeth Manners, née Sidney (d. August 1612), Countess of Rutland. Lady Rutland was a second cousin to Lady Markham

[18], Dyce, 1:xxxi; Finkelpearl, *Court and Country* Politics, 20–21.
[19] Bald, 178.
[20] Finkelpearl, 20–21.
[21] Finkelpearl, 40 n. 188.
[22] Lucy Munro, 'Beaumont's Lives', *Early Theatre: A Journal Associated with the Records of Early English Drama* 20, no. 2 (2017): 144.

and had presented Markham's third son Henry for baptism in 1602.[23]Their families lived close by in the West Midlands and Sir Anthony and Lady Bridget had visited the Manners family at Belvoir on several occasions.[24] According to Sell, the Beaumonts would also have been at least tangentially connected to the Manners family as a part of the sprawling network of Catholic families in Leicestershire. Beaumont's friendship with Lady Rutland seems to have been one of several she cultivated with writers. She was also a poet herself and Jonson relayed to Drummond that, 'the Countess of Rutland was nothing inferior to her Father, S. P. Sidney, in poesie.' He also recounted how her engagement with a circle of poets was enough to cause tension in her marriage. In his record of their conversations, Drummond noted, 'Ben being at the table with my Lady Rutland, her husband coming in, accused her that she kept a table to poets, of which she wrote a letter to him, which he answered. My Lord intercepted the letter, but never challenged him.'[25]

Whether or not the Beaumont and Manners families shared close ties, Beaumont clearly did not find them above reproach. Elizabeth Sidney had married Roger Manners, 5th Earl of Rutland (1576- June 1612) in 1599, but the marriage was unhappy, and Lady Rutland died childless.[26] Jonson had published a version of his elegy on Rutland in 1616, but later revised it, removing his wish for her to bear a son and replacing it with ellipses after her death—a hardly tacit observation of her husband's failings. Even his earlier elegy was centred far more on praising Lady Rutland than it was on her husband. Beaumont's furious elegy on her death ('I may forget to eate, to drink, to sleepe'), however, reaches a greater extreme, directly blaming the failed marriage on Roger Manners, who had died only two

[23] Lincolnshire Archives SEDGEBROOK PAR 1/1, f. 20r.
[24] See Introduction
[25] Donaldson, 'Informations', 370, 377.
[26] 'Manners, Roger, Fifth Earl of Rutland (1576–1612), Nobleman', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17962.

months earlier. It is a remarkable poem, for although Beaumont is clearly keen to shed decorum in his elegies, the inescapable vitriol of his lines lacks comparison in any of his other verses on women's death, or in those of his contemporaries.

> As soon as thou couldst apprehend a greefe,
> There were enough to meet thee, and the chief:
> Blessed of women kind, Marriage was to thee,
> Nought but a Sacrament of misery./
> Hee whom thou hadds't, if wee may trust to fame,
> Could nothing change about thee but thy name,
> A name which who that were againe to doo't
> Would change without a thousand ioyes to boot./
> In all things else, thou rather ledd'st a life
> Like a betrothed virgin then a wife.[27]

In his conversation with Drummond, Jonson also referred to the accusation levelled in the elegy: 'Beaumont wrot that Elegie on the death of the Countess of Rutland, and in effect, her husband wanted the half of his in his travells.'[28] Jonson's suggestion that Roger Manners had contracted a venereal disease and was to blame for the couple's lack of children, marked a departure from his earlier praise of the couple. None of Beaumont's surviving verse touches on her marriage. Instead, Beaumont's elegy praises Lady Rutland by imagining her as the better sibling to her father's verse and a part of the literary inheritance he left behind.

> Hee left twoe children, who (for virtue, witt,
> Beauty) were lou'd of all; thee and his writt./
> Twoe was too fewe, yet death hath from vs tooke,
> Thee a more faultlesse issue then his Booke./
> Which now the onely liuing thing wee haue
> From him, we'll see, shall neuer find a graue,
> As thou hast done; Alas that it might bee
> That Books their Sexes had as well as wee.
> That wee might see this married to the worth,
> And many Poems like itselfe bring forth.[29]

[27] Cambridge University Library Add. MS 5778, f. 82v. The poem text used in this section on Dyce, Weber, and Finkelpearl's interpretetions of the poem comes manuscript witness closet to the early printed editions which vary signifigantly from most surviving manuscript witnesses.
[28] Donaldson, 'Informations', 371.
[29] Cambridge University Library Add. MS 5778, f. 83r.

His verse vacillates between anger and sadness. He pillories the physicians who attended her, blaming them for hastening her death. With a bitter sarcasm, he claims to have overlooked the wonders of their healing profession—curing venereal diseases while the good and noble die. His reference directly to these practitioners again serves as a reminder of their proximity to death, particularly the deaths of the wealthy.

> Sorrow and madness make my verses flowe
> Crosse to my vnderstanding; For I knowe
> You can doe wonders: Euery day I meet
> The looser sort of people in the Streete,
> From daungerous diseases cur'd, and why
> Restore yo^{w} them and suffer'd her to dye?[30]

Neither solemn nor consolatory, Beaumont's elegy on her death reads as an expression of intense and personal grief. As with his earlier epistle to Lady Rutland, his regard for Lady Manners can only be gestured at through his biting critique of—in this case—nearly everyone else. The impotent husband, greedy physicians, and promiscuous masses all become targets of a speaker desperately seeking someone to blame for her death. But while Beaumont's tendency to fold in deeply unfit subjects is common throughout his verse and elsewhere is a chief part of his wit, here it instead serves to jar the reader, communicating a palpable sense of unrest and loss. Rather than a distant and idealised form, Rutland is a distinct individual, an intellectual, and the victim of a life and husband far inferior to what her excellence deserved. And the mere existence of the poem itself suggests the esteem with which Beaumont held Rutland. For all the poets who wrote on the deaths of Bedford's kinswomen to please her when she was alive, no poems survive which testify to her death. Beaumont was dead by this point. But Cherbury, Jonson and Donne were not, although at least for Donne, he was no longer in such desperate financial circumstances as he had been in 1609. It would almost appear that once Bedford has passed, there was little reason to write on her. But with

[30] Cambridge University Library Add. MS 5778, f. 83v.

Rutland's death, there is also no obvious other patron to please with an elegy, save for the possible exception of Bedford. And to disparage one of the late Earls of Rutland in verse—particularly verse given to other members of the aristocracy—would seem a dangerous affront to one of the most powerful families in the east midlands. Rather, Beaumont's poem echoes more the poems that men wrote for their friends, openly denouncing their foes while praising their intellectual prowess.

The surviving poem that Beaumont wrote for Lady Rutland during her life assumes she has a taste for his specific sort of wit. Rather than directly writing her a commendatory poem, he claims he cannot follow the "common beaten ways" of other poets in praising women. He uses his subversion of the form to elevate his verse above the work of the overly prodigious career poets, whose tired wit compels them to endless repetition of conventional verse.

> I would avoid the common beaten ways
> To women used, which are love or praise:
> As for the first, the little wit I have
> Is not yet grown so near unto the grave,
> But that I can, by that dim fading light,
> Perceive of what, or unto whom I write.
> Let such as in a hopeless, witless rage,
> Can sigh a quire, and read it to a page;
> Such is do backs of books and windows fill,
> With their too furious diamond or quill;

He compares such poets to a tailor hopelessly in love with the queen before proposing his solution as a poet: to preserve his pride and avoid an exercise in vanity which might insult her, he imagines writing about the most hideous woman possible.

> I never yet did living woman praise
> In prose or verse: and when I do begin
> I'll pick some woman out as full of sin
> As you are full of virtue; with a soul
> As black as you are white; a face as foul
> As you are beautiful:

Beaumont engages in the form through his subversion of it. He praises Lady Rutland both by asserting her humility, and by elevating her above the reach of common words. By turning to the humorous inversion of these norms, he also compliments her skill as a reader (and possibly writer) of contemporary verse. His verses on Lady Rutland may serve, to some extent, as a way to understand his elegy on Lady Markham.

4.2 'Wit' and Decay in Beaumont's Elegy

While Donne's verses on Lady Markham elicit criticism for their extreme hyperbole, Beaumont's elegy for the same subject appears to mock the conventions of funerary verse and thereby criticize the poets who would use the occasion of death to bolster patronage relationships. This line of criticism is particularly visible when Beaumont's poem appears alongside Donne's poem on Markham in verse miscellanies. Rather than opening with a metaphor about man's relationship with death, Beaumont instead compares the speaker's grief to the regretful consequences of vice, framing his lament in pointedly irreverent terms.

> As Vnthrifts groane in straw, for their paw'nd bedds,
> As woemen weep for their lost Maydenheads,
> When both are without hope or remedye,
> Such an vntimely greife haue I for thee;[31]

Finkelpearl notes, 'The unthrift and the exvirgin are traditionally comic and seem carefully chosen—with the rhyme of "beds" and "Maiden heads"—to prepare for the sexual theme that follows.'[32]. Whereas Donne's encompassing metaphor (typically) imagines Death taking a part of mankind through Markham's passing, Beaumont diminishes his grief by listing a series of personal misfortunes which might be experienced by those predisposed to sin and indulgence—with each misfortune a predictable consequence of a moral failing. He then

[31] Cambridge University Library Add. MS 5778, f. 83v.
[32] Finkelpearl, *Court and Country Politics in the Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher*, 22.

moves on to define his relationship with the deceased. By admitting that he never knew Lady Markham, Beaumont highlights the absurdity of the opportunist poet's undertaking.

> I neuer sawe thy face nor did my heart
> Vrge forth myne eyes vnto it whilst thou wert;
> But beeing lifted hence, that w^{ch} to thee
> Was Death's sadd Dart, proues Cupid's shaft to mee,[33]

Playing on the interchangeability of Death's darts and Cupid's arrows, he claims that simply hearing of her in death was enough to stoke a distinctly erotic love in him. The poem then turns to address his would-be detractors, proclaiming that his love sprung from 'the force of a report'—presumably another memorial on Lady Markham. By these reports, the speaker decides that, not only does he love her, but also that Lady Markham's corpse is preferable to a living woman.

> Who euer thinks mee foolish, that the force
> Of a report can make mee loue a Corse,
> Know hee, that when with this I doe compare
> The loue I doe a liuing woman beare,
> I find my=selfe most happy: Now I knowe
> Where I can find my Mistresse, and can goe
> Vnto her trimm'd bedd, and lift away
> Her grasse greene Mantle, and her sheet display,
> And touch her naked, and though enuious mould
> In which shee lyes uncouered, moist, and cold,
> Striue to corrupt her; shee will not abyde, [34]

As he makes clear with his reference to her 'grasse greene Mantle' of turf, Beaumont presumes that she is buried and imagines exhuming her corpse as one would pull back the bed linens to reveal a lover's body. Finkelpearl describes Lady Markham in the poem as "a moldy, worm-filled corpse", but Beaumont actually asserts that she has not yet begun to decay.[35] Rather, this section of the poem in which Beaumont imagines her grave as a bed, hinges on the immediacy of the moment; her corpse is on the very edge of rotting. Lying exposed, Lady Markham is helpless against the impending corruption. The speaker takes an

[33] Cambridge University Library Add. MS 5778, f. 83v.
[34] Cambridge University Library Add. MS 5778, f. 84r.
[35] Finkelpearl, *Court and Country Politics in the Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher*, 23.

almost voyeuristic delight in eroticizing her body and her inability to resist death's advance. Where a funerary elegy would normally shift to commendatory lines on the good acts of the deceased, he instead reinforces her lack of agency. In place of offering an account of her virtues, he lists the many ways that she cannot inflict frustrations, obligations, or material costs on him as a would-be suitor.

> Nor at her dore doth heape of Coaches stay
> Footmen and Middwiues to barre vpp my way./
> Nor needs shee any mayd or page to keepe,
> To knock mee early from my golden sleepe,
> With letters that her Honor all is gone,
> If I not right her cause on such an one./
> Her heart is not so hard to make mee pay
> ffor euery kisse, a supper or a play./[36]

He concludes by turning to confront his rivals—not other men, but the worms about to rove over her body. Beaumont continues to eroticize her corpse, imagining the worms as successful suitors given license to touch and taste her. Powerless to stop them, he instead asks that they preserve her beauty.

> You wormes my Riualls, whilst shee was aliue
> How many thowsand were there that did striue
> To haue your freedome, for their sakes forbeare
> Vnseemly holes in her soft skinne to weare
> But if you must, as what wormes can abstayne,
> To tast her tender body, yet refraine,
> With yo^{r} disordered eatings to deface her.
> But feed yourselues, as you most may grace her,[37]

Thomas Randolph later reuses this imagery in his elegy on Venetia Digby wherein he figures death as a rapist and—in that role—the envy of men: "Death! Who'ld not change prerogatiues with thee / That dost such rapes, yet may'st not question'd be?"[38] In Randolph's elegy, Digby's body retains the power to shame death in his advances and the worms prove a lesser enemy to the revenge of the 'Gods'.

> Monster confesse, didst thou not blushing stand

[36] Cambridge University Library Add. MS 5778, f. 84r.
[37] Cambridge University Library Add. MS 5778, f. 84v.
[38] British Library Add. MS 89136, f 12r.

And thy pale cheeks turne redd to touch her hand?
Did she not lightning-like strike suddaine heate
Through thy colde limes, and (thaw thy frost) to sweate?
Well, since though hast her vse her gently, Death,
And in requitall of such pretious breath
Watch sentinall to guard her; doe not see
The worms thy riualls, for the Gods will be. (ll. 9-16)

Beaumont, however, gives a more gruesome task to the worms, asking them to disguise their desecration as ornament. In place of consolation, where a conventional elegist like Randolph or Donne might offer hope that her bodily decay allows a greater spiritual state, Beaumont offers a perverse, mock-blazon, lingering obsessively on how she will rot.

First through her eare=tipps see you make a paire
of holes, which as the moyst enclosed ayre
Turnes into water, may the cleane dropps take
And in her eares a paire of Iewells make
That done, vpon her bosome make yo^{r} feast,
Where, in a Crosse, graue Iesus on her brest;

To complement the jewels in her ears, he renders her forehead a site of inscription, instructing the worms to eat her character directly onto the surface of her body.

vpward roule
Yo^{r} litle bodies, where I would you haue
This Epitaph vpon her forehead graue./
Liuing, shee was young, faire and full of witt,
Dead, all her faults are in her forehead writt./ [39]

Beaumont reinvents her body as an erotic relic while merging the topoi of the body as worm's meat and of Man's faults written on his forehead. Perhaps, as Finkelpearl ventures, Beaumont is simply 'indulging the Jacobean obsession with the physical details of death and decay.'[40] Even so, his insistent focus on her physical state, at the experience of her spiritual state, undermine efforts to read this as a sincere attempt at funerary verse.

[39] Cambridge University Library Add. MS 5778, f. 84v.
[40] Finkelpearl, '"Wit" In Francis Beaumont's Poems', 35.

4.3 Early Circulation – Print and Manuscript

In the decades between Lady Markham's death and Blaiklock's 1640 edition, Beaumont's elegy enjoyed wide circulation in manuscript. Portions of the poem survive in thirty manuscripts, most of which pre-date the printed edition.[41] Of these witnesses, twenty-six are complete, or mostly complete copies, and four are fragments, all beginning at line 49 ('You wormes my Riualls, whilst shee was aliue').[42] The twenty-six complete witnesses can be divided into three major groups, easily differentiated by substantive variants in the first line. The groups can then be divided into smaller families and within those, into subfamilies which more closely reveal the relationships between individual witnesses. By studying the manuscripts within these families, it becomes more apparent whether certain groups of texts appear and reappear discreetly, or whether these groups and sequences are transmitted consistently along with the texts. This textual-critical analysis produces for the first time a comprehensive taxonomy of the surviving manuscript copies of Beaumont's elegy. But attention to other social and material evidence such as paratexts, the composers and scribes of collections in which the elegy appears, and the other poems with which it sometimes travels, offers further insight into contemporaries' understanding of the elegy which should inform our own.

Group I Manuscripts

The largest extant group of manuscript witnesses reads 'As unthrifts grieve in Straw for their pawned beds' in its opening line. The use of 'grieve' is common to some seventeen complete

[41] Peter Beal, ed., 'Francis Beaumont' *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts 1450–1700*, http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/ authors/beaumontfrancis.html; To this should be added Beinecke, MS Osborn b.356, p. 264 and British Library MS Harley 3910, f. 16v. The portion found in British Library, MS Harley 3910 is only the title 'Vpon y^{e} Lady Markham' which still suggests that the verses were likely in the exemplar from which the scribe copied either the verses before, 'Ad Comitissam Rutlandiæ' ('Madam so may my verses pleasing be') ff. 16r-v; or the verses following, ('Good madam Fowler doe not troble mee') f. 17r.

[42] Yale University Library MS Osborn b.356 (Y356), p. 264; British Library Add. MS 89136 (B89136), f. 21; Folger MS V.a.125 part II (F6), f. 19r; Folger MS V.a.160 (F160) , pp. 10-11. Text taken from Cambridge University Library Add. MS 5778, f. 84v.

manuscript texts. The manuscripts in Group I can be divided into four families, and several smaller subfamilies. The four partial manuscripts are also connected with this group but appear to have been independently derived from manuscripts in two separate families.

Family A

Family A includes University of Edinburgh, MS Laing II, 493 (EU3), Leicestershire Record Office, MS DG9/2796 (LR2), Cambridge University Library, Add. MS 29 (C1) and British Library, Add. MS 25707 (B13). B13 and C1 form a distinct subgroup, sharing the inferior reading 'one' in l.40 as well as unique characteristics in their orthography and pointing. The manuscripts may be siblings, or C1 may be an indirect descendant of B13, but the highly legible hand in B13 and the presence of lacunae in C1 preclude the possibility that either one had descended directly from the other. British Library MS Stowe 961 (B46) shares several distinct readings with this group, but also shares variants with manuscripts in Family C. With the exception of EU3, texts in this family tend to include the fewest obvious corruptions.

Family B

Family B includes three manuscripts, all with relatively large collections of Donne's verse. The witnesses in Houghton Library, MS Eng. 966.1 (H3), Beinecke Library, MS Osborn b.148 (Y3) and Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet.f.9 (O21), include enough variance to determine the relationship between Beaumont's text in the manuscripts—a relationship also found between texts of Donne's verse. O21 and Y3 seem likely to have shared a common ancestor, related to the source text for H3. The three manuscripts share several substantive variants including the inversion of ll.49-50.

Family C

Family C includes British Library, MS Stowe 962 (B47), British Library, MS Egerton 2230 (B23), British Library, MS Sloane 1446 (B1446), Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. poet. 117 (O34), and West Yorkshire Record Office, Leeds, MS WYL 156/237 (LA1). In addition, the remaining two partial manuscripts, Folger Library, MS V.a.125.2 (F6) and British Library, Add. MS 89136 (BBD) are associated with this subfamily. Manuscripts in this subfamily are distinguished by several variants including lines 66-67 (64-65 in the printed texts and NP1 subgroup) which read, 'captiued to loue, Then hence yo^{r} bodyes roule/ A little higher wher I would you haue'.[43] All manuscripts within this family include lines 61-62. Within this group of witnesses, the untitled, unattributed witnesses in LA1 and B1446 form a subfamily based on eight substantive and semi-substantive readings.[44] These manuscripts also reorder lines 25 through 32 and omit lines 37, 38, and 41 through 44.

Family D

The final family includes four complete manuscripts, University of Nottingham, MS Pw V 37 (NP1), British Library MS 30982 (B16), Rosenbach MS 1083/16 (R9), and West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, 32D86/34 (BD2). It also appears the most likely source of two partial texts, Beinecke, MS Osborn b. 356 (Y) and Folger, MS V.a.160 (F). Two of the manuscripts, NP1 and B16, have variants that distinguish them within the family. Similar to B13 and C1, the two manuscripts also preserve Beaumont's elegy near—though not directly adjacent to—Donne's Markham elegy. The most significant variant that defines this full subgroup is the omission of ll.61-62. Several of these readings that distinguish R9 from NP1 and B16 also appear in BD2 including the use of 'limbless' in line 15. BD2 dates to the mid-

[43] Bodleian Library Rawl. poet. 117, f. 193v.
[44] West Yorkshire Archive Service Leeds WYL 156/237 (LA1) and British Library MS Sloane 1446; these variants include l. 3, 'when/When all is'; l. 14, 'may'; l. 19, 'could neere/ne're'; l. 21, 'mortalls'; l. 33, 'any more ope'; l. 40, 'I mingle here/heare my/myne owne infermity'; l. 51, 'priuiledge/priuelidge'; l. 55, 'by'.

seventeenth century, but the scribe, Yorkshire antiquary John Hopkinson (1610-1680), must have copied it from a text close to R9's exemplar. It could not, however, be a direct copy as R9 is missing lines 25 through 38.[45] The two partial copies F and Y are associated with this group by way of two variants. The first of these, the omission of lines 61 and 62 does also follow the printed text. The use of 'formes' for 'turnes' in line 59, however, is unique to NP1, B16, and the two fragments.

Group II Manuscripts

Group II, with the variant 'groane' in l.1, includes only three witnesses, Cambridge University Library, Add. MS 5778 (C2), British Library, Add. MS 23229 (B11), and Morgan Museum and Library, MS MA 1057 (PM1). B11, a collection of loose papers and booklets once belonging to the Conway family of Ragley Hall, forms a subgroup with the PM1, a verse miscellany compiled by William Holgate. Although the copy in B11 is damaged and missing the end portion of the elegy, the shared variants are substantial enough to pair the two manuscripts, and common texts between the volumes further supports this subgroup. The copy found in C2 appears to have been added in a different hand sometime after the main collection of verse was entered. While the similarities between texts in PM1 and C2 have been noted by Michael Denbo and editors of Donne, the connection to the latter hand in C2 has not been previously established.

Group III Manuscripts

A slightly larger family of manuscripts reads 'mourne' for 'groane' in the first line. The manuscripts in this family include Houghton MS Eng. 966.6 (H7), Leeds University Brotherton Collection, MS Lt. q. 11, no. 50 (LUB), Bodleian MS Ashmole 38 (O3) and MS

[45] West Yorkshire Archive Service Bradford, 32D86/34, pp. 109-110.

Rawl. poet. 160 (O36), Beinecke, MS Osborn b. 197 (Y5), and Huntington MS HM 198.1 (HH4). The text in one of the partial manuscripts, Folger MS 125.2 (F6) is provisionally related to both this family and to a subgroup in Family C. The poem in F6 begins with lines 49 through 70, following a different family, but is then immediately followed by the title of the poem and the first four lines as found in this manuscript family. Within this group, three manuscripts, HH4, O36, and Y5, constitute a subfamily. The manuscripts derive from a source which introduces several variants, including 'greive' for 'weep' in line 2. None of the surviving members of this subgroup is directly derived from another, though O36 and Y5 are more closely related than HH4. Many of the substantive variants found in this family of texts appeared, at the latest, by 1620. The scribe of H7 completed his book and recorded the date '19th Iuly 1620' on the recto of the final leaf, making this the earliest datable manuscript witness to Beaumont's poem, though not necessarily the most authoritative text.[46] The text in H7 has many unique readings, but also includes several shared variants with LUB.

Early Printed Editions

Beaumont's elegy did not enter print until some twenty-four years after his death. Laurence Blaiklock included it in the 1640 first edition quarto of *Poems: by Francis Beaumont, Gent.* and then again in his expanded, 1653 edition.[47] The 1653 octavo drew many of its texts, including the elegy on Markham, directly from the 1640 edition.[48] Many of the texts in his 1640 edition came from manuscript sources. The manuscript from which he printed the Markham elegy must have been related to the Group II manuscripts as it repeats the use of 'groane' in the opening line. He drew on the 1640 edition for the texts in the 1653 volume, simply resetting Beaumont's elegy with few shifts to orthography, and used

[46] Harvard University Library MS Eng. 966.6.
[47] Ringler, 'The 1640 and 1653" Poems'.
[48] James P. Hammersmith, 'The Printer's Copy for Francis Beaumont's Poems, 1653', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 72, no. 1 (1978): 77, 82.

manuscript sources for the bulk of the newly added poems, including those that had already been printed elsewhere.[49]

An unattributed copy of Beaumont's Markham elegy, titled 'Vpon his Dead Mistress', also appears in William Hicks 1673 *London drollery, or, The wits academy.*[50] The text in this volume must derive from an untraced manuscript witness rather than the printed texts from the 1640 or 1653 editions since lines 33 through 38 are dissimilar to any of the surviving print or manuscript witnesses. While Hicks included his own verses in many of his publications and may have altered the Beaumont text himself, the text in his edition does include several variants found in the Family D manuscripts. Although the texts of 1640 and 1653 are in many ways superior to the errant copy in *London drollery*, they are somewhat distant from the major family of manuscript texts. All of the printed copies, however, omit lines 61 and 62: 'That done, vpon her bosome make yo^{r} feast, / Where, in a Crosse, graue Iesus on her brest;'.[51] In Blaiklock's texts, they may have been censored when the book went into print, as the lines appear in the three surviving Group III manuscripts. For Hicks however the ancestors of his source text had already omitted the lines, by accident or an act of pre-print censorship. The exclusion of the lines thus occurred both in print and in an unrelated line of manuscript transmission, though it is uncertain whether this was the result of the elegy's Catholic undertones or its blinding irreverence.

4.4 Manuscript Witnesses in Context

Through sequence, text, and paratext, the manuscripts suggest diverse readings, modes of collection, and lines of transmission. Some scribes copied the poem alongside

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[49] Hammersmith, 74–75.
[50] *London drollery, or, The wits academy being a select collection of the newest songs, lampoons, and airs alamode : with several other most ingenious pieces of railery never before published / by William Hicks* (London: F. Eglesfield, 1673), Wing / H147 British Library, Wing / 495:09, sigs H5v-H6r.
[51] Cambridge University Library Add. MS 5778 (C2), f. 84v.

Donne's verses on Lady Markham. Elsewhere it appears with Beaumont's epistle to Lady Rutland, or with his elegy on her death. It also survives in collections with verses on Beaumont's death, praising his skill as a poet and elegist. The accumulation of these surrounding texts occurred differently within the manuscripts; many were subject to later interventions through additions and losses, or through reordering, rebinding, or careless handling of loose papers. Some of the contexts of Beaumont's verse rely on their place within a group of texts—to the extent that that place can be determined. Elsewhere paratextual features help characterize the texts. Associations based on textual variants can also help determine whether scribes copied from a single shared source of multiple texts or whether they compiled the texts from several independent sources. The types of modes of collection are important for understanding how and why texts were assimilated, and the resulting volumes allow different readings of Beaumont's elegy. A majority of the manuscripts fall with three groups which are typically described in the scholarship by Hobbs, Marotti, Beal, and others: anthologies of Donne's verse, collections made by Oxford University students in the 1620's and 1630's, and family collections or composite manuscripts. In some cases, such as the Donne anthologies and university manuscripts, the tight network of circulation is reflected by the various families and groups. Elsewhere, the fragmentary and localized content of family collections complicates any notion that family and literary networks might necessarily overlap, while similarities may instead rise from regional connections.

Collections of Donne's verse

The text of Beaumont's verses in H3, Y3, and O21 are closely related, much as editors of the *Donne Variorum* have found for many of Donne's texts in these same collections.[52] The three manuscripts are primarily collections anthologizing Donne's poetry.

[52] Stringer, Dixon, 3:lxxvi.

Beaumont's elegy appears to have been caught up in the compilers' efforts to collect work by Donne. In O21 and H3, scribes attribute Beaumont's poem to Donne and in H3 it follows a cluster of four poems on the deaths of Lady Markham and Cecilia Bulstrode.[53] While not as large as the collection in B30, which excludes Beaumont's poem, O21 and Y3 hold the largest collections of the Bedford elegies to include Beaumont's texts, with seven poems in O21. O21 and Y3, however, do not group Donne's elegies on Markham alongside Beaumont's.

H3 is unusual for how it places the poems, offering the largest single grouping of the poems in a unified section. No other manuscript places so many of the elegies on the women together. While B30 and O30 collect poems from an early source of the Bedford group, likely closely associated with Lady Bedford herself, the poems on Markham and Bulstrode are scattered in both manuscripts. The efforts to collect and contextualize Donne's verse in H3 are unique in that they create a memorial on the women's deaths—a sort of memorial book within the collection. The scribe gathered poems related to the events of the women's deaths but folded in Beaumont's bizarrely sexual poem as a part of this group. Still, if this arrangement was introduced by the scribe of H3, it may be on account of the titles, rather than a careful study of the texts. The manuscript, which appears to have belonged to a member of the Rainford family, is a folio of fifty leaves, bound in limp vellum. It appears to be the work of a single scribe, whose even, italic hand works in evenly spaced lines across the pages. The copyist's attention to his hand seems to have outpaced his attention to the text;

[53] Harvard University Library MS Eng. 966.6, f. 42r-v , 'An elegie vppon the deathe of / M:rs Boulstred.' ('Language thou arte to narrowe, and to weake'); ff. 42v-43, 'An Elegie to the Ladie / Bedfoorde.' ('You that are shee, and yow that's double shee'); ff. 43r-44r, 'Another Elegie on the deathe / of M:rs Boulstred.' ('Deathe I recant, and say vnsaide by me'); f. 44r-v, [untitled, merged with previous poem] ('Deathe be not proud thy hand giues not this blowe'); f. 45r-v, 'A Funerall Elegie vppon the / Ladie Markeham' ('Man is the world and deathe the Ocean'); ff. 45v-46r, 'Elegie' ('Sorrowe whoe to this house scarce knew the way'); ff. 46-47v, [untitled, subscribed I.D.] ('I may forget to eate to drinke to Sleep'); ff. 47v-48r, 'An elegie on the deathe of / the Ladie Markeham.' [subscribed I.D.] ('As vnthriftes greiue in Strawe for their paund bedds')

it is replete with nonsensical misreadings. Daniel Starza Smith speculates that there may be some connection with papers owned by the Conway family who were close relations of the Rainsford's.[54] The text of Beaumont's poem in H3, however, does not share a close ancestor with the text in the Conway family papers. The corruptions in H3 are not entirely the fault of the scribe as many also appear in O21 and Y3. The manuscripts in this subgroup do not offer reliable, uncorrupted texts, but they do offer evidence that Beaumont's verse had already been gathered with Donne's in an ancestor of the subgroup.

The other major anthology of Donne's verse, C2, is an outlier both as a Group II manuscript and as a collection witness of Donne's verse. The early section of the manuscript is largely devoted to poetry by Donne and is copied in what appears to be a single hand. His poems on Markham and Bulstrode appear in this section. Sometime after completion, a different hand added additional poems to the volume including Beaumont's elegies on Rutland followed by the elegy on Markham. These differences in the mode of collection, evident on the page, account for the presence of his elegy (from an unrelated source) in an unrelated collection of Donne's verse. Thus, the incorporation of this poem in a Donne anthology happened twice, in two networks of transmission, but not necessarily as the work of a single scribe or collector.

The relationships between witnesses of Beaumont's and other poet's verse may also inform our understanding of how scribes interacted with their source texts. The relationship between his elegy in B1446 and LA1 is also reflected in the relationship between Herrick's verse. The witnesses of Herrick's 'To his False Mistresse' ('Whether are all her false oaths flowne') in the manuscripts share the same heading and seven substantive variants unique to

[54] Starza Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers*, 219.

the pair.[55] They also share a similar sequence of Herrick's verse, leading Tom Cain and Ruth Connolly to propose that "its variants may be part of its reworking prior to inclusion in the sequence."[56] There is no certainty whether these circulated as a distinct group, or whether the scribes copied multiple disparate items from several of the same sources, but their appearance in both manuscripts may reflect an ancestor that also placed the poems together.

Oxford College Manuscripts

The text in NP1 confirms that the poem was circulating at Oxford in the early to mid-1620's. Some of the poems collected in the NP1 appear to suggest the identity of the compiler, possibly Thomas Smyth (1609-1642), son of Sir Hugh Smyth (1574-1627). Thomas matriculated at St. John's in 1622 and the verse collection includes many poems on scholars and fellows of the college during this period. An elegy on John Nicholls, who had been presented to the vicarage of Long Ashton by Sir Hugh Smyth in 1618, also points to Thomas Smyth as the owner or compiler.[57] In addition to the elegy, a title is also included on the verso of the next leaf for 'Verses throwne into M^{r} Nichols his Grave'.[58] The page, however, is otherwise blank, and only the single elegy on Nicholls appears in F4. This blank space awaiting verses on a local vicar is a strong indication that the collection is associated with that parish, rather than an instance of locally relevant verses being swept up into an unassociated collection. Other poems in the collection are particularly associated with Christ Church, which Woudhuysen describes as 'the centre for copying and collecting verse' in the period.[59] It contains numerous poems related to the college including a section devoted to verses on Barton Holiday's college play *Technogamia*. The scribe found enough of this

[55] Cain and Connolly, *The Complete Poetry of Robert Herrick*, 2:59–60, 260.
[56] Cain and Connolly, 2:258.
[57] *Clergy of the Church of England Database*, Person I.D. no. 58990.
[58] University of Nottingham MS Pw V 37, p. 20.
[59] Woudhuysen, 169.

material to fill eleven pages with poems mocking Holiday, the students, and the performance. Further evidence that Thomas Smyth is the scribe of this manuscript (and the associated manuscript, Folger MS V.a.103) can be found in letters from Thomas to his father while he was a student at St. John's, which cover a period between 1623 and 1626. These letters, held in the Bristol Record Office, feature the various hands that Smyth was using at the time and suggest he was likely working on the manuscripts either during or shortly after this period.[60] As both manuscripts include poems on the death of James I in their earlier pages, they must necessarily have been written after his death in 1625. Their content, which includes verse on the deaths of family members do not feature any on his father who died shortly after he left St. John's, further narrowing the likely date of their composition to his final years there.

Of the Oxford College witnesses of Beaumont's elegy, NP1 is unique in that the student-compiler presented it as a genuine effort at memorialization. He did this through paratext and sequence. In the manuscript, the scribe used running manuscript headers to divide the volume into sections by genre, further designating funerary poetry as either 'Epitaphs Laudatory' or 'Epitaphs Merry & Satyrical.'[61] When he transcribed the Beaumont elegy, he included the title 'Fr. Beaumont / On y^{e} Death of y^{e} L. M.' and placed unambiguously among the 'Epitaphs Laudatory.'[62] The manuscript is related to Folger Shakespeare Library, MS Va.103 (F4), wherein a similar hand copies many of the same poems with the same generic divisions. Joshua Eckhardt explores at length how the scribe heightens the praise in the section of laudatory verses by contrasting it with the libelous

[60] Bristol Archives AC/36074/108; AC/C/43, 1-3; AC/C/44, 1-21; AC/C/59/6.
[61] Joshua Eckhardt, 'Camden's Remaines and a Pair of Epideictic Poetry Anthologies,' in *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England,* eds, Joshua Eckhardt and Daniel Starza Smith, 187-200 (London: Routledge, 2016), 177–78. Eckhardt suggests some of the texts were copied from *Camden's Remaines* and others from either Bodleian MS Eng. poet. e.14 or a closely related manuscript. The Bodleian manuscript also collects poems suggesting a close association with Christ Church.
[62] University of Nottingham MS Pw V 37, p. 21.

epitaphs in the following section.[63] Perhaps significantly, Beaumont's Markham elegy is absent entirely from F4. Editors of *Donne Variorum* have suggested that F4 was created from NP1 as a more selective group of texts.[64] If this is the case, perhaps the elegy on Lady Markham was judged to be neither safely 'Laudatory' nor 'Satyrical'.

The surrounding poems in these manuscripts may also have affected how the scribe classified the text. Both B16 and NP1 include Donne's elegy for Markham. B16 records Donne's elegy on Lady Markham, followed by one of his elegies on Cecilia Bulstrode ('Death, I recant, & sayd vnsayd by mee.') before Beaumont's verses.[65] NP1 also includes these three texts, in close proximity within the section for laudatory epitaphs.[66] Beaumont's elegy is followed by an epitaph in English and Latin on Bishop Rowland Searchfield, former fellow and scholar at St. John's College Oxford, and Bishop of Bristol. The scribe then records Donne's elegy on Markham, Corbett's elegy on Beaumont ('Hee y^{t} had Youth and Freinds, and so much Witt,'), and Donne's first elegy on Bulstrode.[67] This further sequence, including the lines on Beaumont's passing, reinforce the scribe's paratextual framing of the elegy as a serious piece of occasional verse. While Eckhardt shows multiple connections between NP1 and another university manuscript, (Bodleian MS Eng. poet. e. 14) the text of Beaumont's elegy appears to share a source closely related to two other university manuscripts, B16 and R9.

[63] Eckhardt, 'Camden's Remaines and a Pair of Epideictic Poetry Anthologies', 176–77.
[64] Eckhardt, 175–76.
[65] British Library Add. MS 30982, ('Man is the world & death the Ocean') ff. 47v-48r; ('Death, I recant, & sayd vnsayd by mee.'); ff. 48v-49v; ('As vnthrifts greeue in straw for their paund beds') 49v-50r.
[66] University of Nottingham MS Pw V 37, ('As Unthrifts grieue in straw for their pawn'd Bedds,') pp. 21-22; ('Man is y^{e} World and *Death* y^{e} Ocean') pp. 23-24; ('Death I recant, and say vnsaid by mee') pp. 24-25.
[67] University of Nottingham MS Pw V 37, ('Hee y^{t} had Youth and Freinds and so much Witt') p. 24.

Despite sharing many of the same variants, R9 lacks any other of the elegies on Markham or any of those relating to Lady Rutland. It also diverges from B16 and NP1 in several other ways. The name in the title has been transposed to read ‘An Elegy vppon y^{e} Lady M.B.’ thereby obscuring its connection to Lady Markham. Where B16 and NP1 respectively read ‘vnsauored' and 'vnsauor’d’ at line 18, R9 reads ‘vnsavorye’. R9 also includes a variant that modifies the speaker’s intention. Rather than going to ‘touch her naked’ as in NP1, R9 reads that he is going, instead, to ‘court’ her naked. The scribe of this manuscript, possibly Robert Bishop, also included running headers in two sections of the volume. The first header, ‘Women’ runs for the first 45 pages of the manuscript and denotes the subject of the poems found therein. The section headed ‘Epitaphs’ covers an additional 52 pages towards the center of the manuscript. Beaumont’s elegy appears in the latter section. Unlike Smyth, the scribe of B16 did not delineate between sincere or humorous verse, leaving his reading of the poem ambiguous.

Family Collections and Composites

Of the thirty manuscripts containing Beaumont’s elegy, only C1 and B13 place Beaumont’s elegy directly following Donne’s verses on Markham. Both C1 and B13 are folio composite manuscripts, and both also show the poems entered sequentially in a single hand with Donne’s elegy preceding Beaumont’s. The texts in these manuscripts are closely related, to the extent that less-common orthographic variants are often consistent between witnesses. The first of these manuscripts, C1, consists of a single large gathering with some sheets fully or partially cut out and additional sheets tipped in. The two elegies in C1 are inscribed with the end of Donne’s *Mark* on the same page as the beginning of Beaumont’s elegy.[68] This arrangement, common to C1 and B13, allows Beaumont’s poem to function as a response to

[68] Cambridge University Library Add. MS 29, f. 16r.

Donne's. Driven by the effusive praise of elegists like Donne, Beaumont's feverish speaker writes his own kind of elegy, fantasizing about her corpse. But in B13, this sequence sits within a broader frame that shifts it more toward the memorialization of Beaumont as a poet.

B13 is much larger composite folio compiled by the Skipwith family of Cotes, Leicestershire.[69] Marotti identifies ten major groups of material in the document and some fifteen hands working throughout it. Many of these hands contribute sections to the manuscript and at least one adds texts in the spaces between other poems. The elegies on Lady Markham fall in the first section, inscribed by the hand Marotti labels Hand D.[70] This hand continues copying poems until f. 38v, then resumes on f. 44r. In the blank space below the end of Donne's poem, a later hand has added the beginning of a dialogue, 'Bee not proude cause fayre and trim'. This hand fills the blank spaces between the Markham poems and others throughout ff. 29r-38v and covers full pages from ff. 39r-44r. The poems added by this later hand do not appear to have been part of the original sequence when the compiler first copied the elegies on Lady Markham.[71] Instead, the scribe responsible for Hand D moves directly from Donne's elegy on Markham to Beaumont's, just as the poems appear in C1.

The Skipwith manuscript (B13) is a community manuscript, owned by a Leicestershire family and filled with verses referencing their ties to other local families. It shares many variants with LR2, another manuscript with ties to Leicestershire. B13 preserves

[69] Henry King, *The Poems of Henry King*, ed. Margaret Crum (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 58. See also: 'British Library, Add. MS 25707', Peter Beal, ed., *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts 1450–1700*, http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/repositories/british-library-additional-25000.html;
[70] Marotti, 'Neighborhood, Social Networks and the Making of a Family's Manuscript Poetry Collection', 106-114.
[71] British Library Add. MS 25707, f. 30v. Peter Beal attributes the poem to John Grange in *CELM*, but it was originally printed as a dialogue between a man and a woman, written by Pembroke and Sir Benjamin Rudyard.

a considerable number of verses by Francis and his brother, Sir John Beaumont. Marotti suggests that many of the texts within, including those by the Beaumont brothers and Thomas Pestell, reflect the neighbourhood and social connections of the family.[72] These social connections, do not, however, guarantee accuracy with texts or attributions. Francis Beaumont's 'Why should not Pilgrims to thy body come' is attributed to Donne and Sir John Beaumont's elegy on the Lady Clifton's death is attributed to Francis, perhaps because both brothers wrote verses on the occasion. Beaumont's elegy on Markham is correctly attributed to 'FB'.[73]

In addition to their shared context in the manuscript, the Beaumont and Skipwith families were socially connected. Francis' brother Sir John Beaumont composed the epitaph for Sir William Skipwith's tomb in 1610.[74] The first section of the manuscript, in turn, preserves three elegies on Francis Beaumont's death. Two of these elegies, the first ascribed to one G. Lucy and the latter to 'T: G:' appear unique to this collection. The elegy by G. Lucy is in a different, early hand on f. 44v and the remaining elegies are in Hand D, which resumes on f. 45r. In the verses ascribed 'T: G:' the poet calls back to Beaumont's verses on Lady Markham ('I neuer sawe thy face nor did my heart /Vrge forth myne eyes vnto it whilst thou wert;/ But beeing lifted hence, that wch to thee / Was Death's sadd Dart, proues Cupid's shaft to mee') by suggesting that in addition to the mourning suffered by his friends, an even greater sadness should be reserved for those who never knew Beaumont in life.

> Lett those eyes weepe, that neuer sawe thy face,
> They had sad cause, they weere dem'd the grace,
> To see those severall powers that can giue
> Abillities to make a wise senate, lyue[75]

[72] Marotti, 'Neighborhood, Social Networks and the Making of a Family's Manuscript Poetry Collection', 185.
[73] British Library Add. MS 25707, f. 30v.
[74] Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts*, 62.
[75] British Library Add. MS 25707, f. 45v ('Why should I spend a teare? Thou art not dead.')

These elegies are grouped alongside Thomas Pestell's elegy on Beaumont, 'Unto thy everlasting memory.'[76] As Munro suggests, rather than simply reporting on his life, Pestell's elegy engages in biographical labor. He creates a framework though which he redefines Beaumont's work, including the elegies he wrote for some 'three Ladies', presumably Lady Markham, Lady Rutland, and Lady Clifton.[77]

> Cause every lyne from his live Muse did passe
> Haes Marble shead and everlastinge brasse
> Over three Ladies; w^{ch} still fresh shalbee,
> And lyve (to thy disgrace) in memorie
> This did soe vex thee death; that thou wert faine
> To hire an Apoplex' to shend his braine[78]

The three elegies on Beaumont in the Skipwith manuscript are unequivocal about his skill as a poet. And rather than making a passing reference to his abilities, Pestell singles out Beaumont's funerary verse specifically, claiming that his elegies—including that on Markham—were so effective at keeping the ladies alive in memory that Death sent an apoplexy in retaliation to damage Beaumont's brain. While Pestell's elegy appears again in other collections, B13 is the only manuscript to collect Beaumont's verses on Markham as well as multiple elegies on his own death.

Although the elegies on Beaumont appear later in the manuscript, reading them after Beaumont's elegy on Lady Markham retrospectively begs a reconsidering of his elegy on Markham. Pestell's insistence on the power of Beaumont's elegies becomes an argument for a more respectful reading. This framing within the broader context of the manuscript complicates the more localized context wherein Beaumont's poem directly follows Donne's. But it also detracts somewhat from the possible negative implications that Beaumont's elegy might place on Markham. Refocusing on Beaumont as a judicious and skilled elegist casts a

[76] British Library Add. MS 25707, f. 44v-5v.
[77] Munro, 'Beaumont's Lives', 142.
[78] British Library Add. MS 25707, f. 45r.

redeeming light on his elegy for Markham and works to the benefit of her reputation. And it is worth noting that despite some degrees of separation, the Skipwith and Markham families were tangentially connected. Sir William Skipwith had, in 1595, married Jane Markham, the widow (formerly third wife) of John Markham of Sedgebrook, Lady Bridget Markham's father-in-law. And as executor of Skipwith's will, Markham was likely involved in commissioning the epitaph for her late husband from Sir John Beaumont. So, while Francis Beaumont is more widely memorialized in the Skipwith MS than is Lady Bridget Markham, the memorials on him serve to elevate the Markham family as well.

As noted, Beaumont's elegy circulated as a complete text and also as a fragment, consisting of the lines 49 through 70 (beginning 'You worms my rivals while she was alive'). One of the fragments of Beaumont's poem also appears among a collection of family papers, in this case those of Sir Kenelm Digby. The partial copy of the poem was part of a collection of loose papers belonging to Sir Kenelm Digby, with many seemingly assembled after the death of Digby's wife. As Daniel Starza Smith notes, most of the manuscripts in Digby's hand, particularly those related to his wife's death, have likely stayed in the family until their sale to the British Library in 2014. This fragment has, on occasion, thrown Beaumont's authorship into question. In his commentary on Henry Bright's 'The Poems from Sir Kenelm Digby's Papers', G. F. Warner claims there is no reason for a poem on Lady Markham to be compiled with verses on Lady Digby. Instead, he suggests that Ben Jonson or Thomas Randolph may be the author. Andrea Brady erroneously reads the text as a poem by Digby himself, citing Vittoro Gabrieli's work on the Digby letters once held by Constance Morrow Morgan (now in the special collections at Smith College).[79] Both Brady and Gabrieli,

[79] Brady, 49-51; Vittorio Gabrieli, 'A New Digby Letter Book' *National Library of Wales Journal* 9, no 1 (Summer 1955): 113-148; Vittorio Gabrieli, 'A New Digby Letter Book (continued)' *National Library of Wales Journal* 9, no 4 (Winter 1956): 440-462.

however, rely on the commentary provided by Bright and Warner, but Bright and Warner neither propose nor mention the possibility of Digby's authorship. With the Bright Digby manuscript now accessible, it is possible to confirm that there is no indication the fragment was written by Digby. Brady's connection between the poem and Digby, however, does draw attention to an overlap in the eroticized imagery of the deceased female body, making the appearance of this fragment in his papers all the more striking.

The partial copy appearing in the late-recovered Bright-Digby manuscript gains a certain poignance with respect to both its surrounds (Thomas Randolph's aforementioned poem included) and a letter written by Digby to his brother some three weeks after his wife's passing. Were Beaumont's lines to seem at first glance grotesque, Digby's own letter to his brother delves into the bodily decay of his beloved with such startling excess that the imagery found in Markham's elegy seems restrained. In his May 24th letter to his brother, Digby writes,

> My thoughts haue bin all this morning running in this endlesse circle, and haue tumbled euery corner of her graue. This day three weekes,[…]
>
> Then by this time peraduenture her louely face, that was the miracle of nature for beauty and sweetnesse, is farre gone towardes being turned to earth, and is couered ouer with slime and wormes. Her eyes, that neuer saw anything so glorious and so worthy as themselues, not onely haue their light putt out but appear so ghostly as might affright those that admired them most to looke vpon the corrupted relikes that remaine in their sunke holes. Her bosome, that so often hath bin the delightfull pillowe whereon I haue rested my weary head (and by the ioy I haue then felt guessed att that in heauen), is now farre vnlike what it vsed to be. Her fine-shaped bodie and full thighes, that were so tender one might see vpon them in the morning the markes of euerie wrinkle in the finest sheets, haue now their dainty flesh consumed, and haue the bones and sinewes naked and deformed. Her legge, that was the straightest and of the exactest shape that euer was seene, hath now no more of what it was than two hollow and vnsightly bones. Her handes and feet, that farre exceeded all others that I euer saw, are now such thinges as she would haue had horror when she liued to touch or come neere; and her heart that was the seate of goodnesse, truth and vertue, hath now nothing in it but peraduenture some presumptuous worme feeding on the middle of it. In a word, her whole bodie differeth as much from what it was, as darknesse

> doth from light, and an object of horror from other of extreme delight and pleasure.[80]

The remainder of his letter, as well as the others he wrote to his brother each day (sometimes more than once) shifts to a celebration of her soul. The lingering on her physical decay shifts to a celebration of her spiritual release. To have taken the poem at its most gory seems, in context of Digby's letter a surprisingly apt meditation, although that Digby felt compelled to write to his brother, sometimes more than once a day, about his wife's death might point to an obsessiveness which may stray from standard expressions of grief. The proliferation of witnesses of only this fragment are also curious because they and one other witness exist in the state closest to the original, longer poem, retaining the lines about the crucifix eaten into her chest. But two others exist which exclude those lines meaning either the poems were excerpted in two lines of transmission, or the lines censored in two manuscript groups.

The Conway family's papers also preserve a copy of Beaumont's poem alongside other verse by him, and a unique further elegy on Markham by another (discussed below). As a composite of booklets and loose sheets, the selection and arrangement of texts in B11 cannot be assumed to have any early provenance. Daniel Starza-Smith's work on the Conway papers traces the turbulent history of the family's archive from its rediscovery in 1751 through its arrival in public repositories 100 years later. The documents were found scattered and in various states of decay by Horace Walpole when he visited Ragley Hall in 1751.[81] They passed through several owners before half were sent, unbound, to the State paper office. The remaining items arrived at the British Museum in 1860, where they later appeared—ordered and bound—as Additional MS 23229.[82] Any attempt to speculate about the absence of texts is also complicated by the poor survival rate of documents in the collection. Donne's

[80] Gabrieli, 'A New Digby Letter Book (continued)', 455.
[81] Starza Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers*, 137–38.
[82] Starza Smith, 146–47.

elegies on Bulstrode and Lady Markham are nowhere to be found, but neither is much of what had formerly filled several rooms of Ragley Hall before Walpole departed with a single trunk of surviving documents. Without any evidence of how they were originally gathered and stored, the remaining booklets and individual sheets within B11 are the largest cohesive units that preserve contemporary sequences of texts. However, as a collection of surviving papers from a single family, the items found in B11 offer context to one another as constituent parts of the Conway family archive.

The missing portion of B11 does seem likely a result of physical loss rather than an action by the scribe. Beaumont's elegy on Markham appears on the verso of a leaf, the recto of which holds the end of his elegy on Lady Rutland ('I may forget to Eate, to Drinke, to Sleepe.'). The elegy on Lady Rutland begins on f. 65r and ends at the bottom of f. 66r. It is followed immediately on f. 66v by the first 36 lines of his elegy on Lady Markham. These leaves fall within one of three groups of pages in B11 which Michael Denbo describes as related to PM1.[83] He groups ff. 51r-54v and ff. 65r-66v based on their similar hands. He also identifies ff. 61r-4v as a group with a different scribe, one more closely related to the scribe in PM1. The hand on the two sets of pages is very similar, although the hand working on ff. 65-66 appears to intermittently vary in character throughout both poems, and so seems less like the hand in ff. 51-54. Although watermark evidence alone cannot confirm that these poems by Beaumont were a part of a distinct collection, ff. 65-66 share the same watermark as that found on ff. 21-52; ff. 53-54 lacks watermarks. As the leaves are folios, it is likely the ff. 53-54 are the conjugate leaves of ff. 51-52 or of other leaves from a once-larger collection. If the leaves containing Beaumont's poem were once part of the collection with ff. 51-54,

[83] Michael Denbo, ed., *The Holgate Miscellany: An Edition of Pierpont Morgan Library Manuscript, MA 1057* (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS Publications, 2012), xviii-xix.

they must have been separated well before their recovery in 1751. The pages are heavily damaged, to the point of illegibility in some places. The watermarks on both leaves also suggest that they were once accompanied by two conjugate leaves. What would be the gutter or crease of the leaves when folded is entirely missing on f. 66 and along with it, any potential evidence of a catchword signalling a continuation of the poem, and what appears to be a catchword at the bottom on f. 65v is incorrect. It is impossible to know for certain whether B11 originally also contained the remaining lines, but the physical state of the manuscript and its textual relationship to PM1 suggests it likely did. The gathering of his poem alongside the elegy on Lady Rutland underscores the common elements between them, including the sexual imagery. Through these commonalitites, the elegy on Markham appears an imperfect, but not necessarily ill-intended attempt to merge Beaumont's wit with memorial verse. The pairing is common to several manuscripts, including B23, where the poem is redirected towards the death of Lady Rutland. The witness in this manuscript is labelled only by a marginal title that reads "Elegee / [ ] B ⎪L R". His elegy on Markham directly precedes his verses on Lady Rutland's death, which a scribe has marked as addressing the same occasion by adding 'Istesso' in the margin.[84]

Beyond the poems it shares with PM1, B11 includes what appears to be the sole witness of a poem written on the death of Lady Markham by Henry Goodyere.[85] The verses are written on what had been a loose sheet, folded in half to make two leaves. The verses were inscribed on the recto and verso of one leaf, following the conventions of letter writing in the period. The other leaf was used to enclose the written portion and then the sheet was further folded into quarters horizontally, then in half once. A label reading 'Elegy vpon the

[84] British Library MS Egerton 2230, ff. 3v-4v
[85] Starza Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers*, 208. Appendix II.

death / of the La: Markham' is visible on the heavily soiled outer surface.[86] The content of the poem raises questions over whether this Lady Markham was the same Lady Bridget Markham. Goodyere describes a death over which his 'love and greefe are ev'nly great and true.' He labours at length over the moment of her death, but concludes the poem writing, 'April was my fall, when she was blest.' Bridget Markham died in May; for such specific attention to the experience of her final hours, it would seem odd for Goodyere to place her death in the wrong month. It may be that the moment she was 'blest' came at a time during her sickness but while she was still of sound enough mind either to write or dictate her will several days later. Or perhaps as suggested with Donne's first elegy on to Bulstrode, Goodyere had simply been preparing for the inevitable before Markham's death, as writing such a lengthy elegy would require a considerable investment of time.

If Beaumont were writing to criticize the over-eager elegist, Goodyere's poem (particularly under those circumstances) might very well have ignited his efforts with more potency than Donne's had. Despite the uncertainty over the subject, the content of the poem and the title given in the manuscript represent a possibility that Beaumont's poem could originally have been a response to this work. Goodyere's elegy frequently veers into hyperbolic praise without any attempt at consolation. He quantifies the subject's worth by describing his own experience in losing her, claiming to envy the unborn who, while they never experienced her presence, would at least avoid suffering at her loss.

> But ^~~envy~~ Ile ^envy rayse ev'n to the vnborne,
> Vnto this age, to w^{ch} her life gave glory;
> If this rude draught of her worth come vntorne
> to tell th'Epitomee of her great story.[87]

[86] British Library Add. MS 23229, ff. 37r-8v.
[87] British Library Add. MS 23229, f. 37r.

Elsewhere he describes her spiritually edifying nature through her ability to both excite and temper his passion.

> In her bright eyes' there shined double fires,
> Devine, and mortall, This did kindle love,
> But that did purify all loves desires,
> and burnt ill thoughts as fast as they could move.

The conflict created by the desirable but chaste women also emerges in Beaumont's poem when, despite wanting to 'touch her naked' he insists that she reformed his desires by virtue of her superiority over other women.

> Pardon, that with thy blessed memory,
> I mingle myne owne former misery.
> Yet dare I not excuse y^{e} fate that brought
> These Crosses on mee, for then eu'ry thought
> That tended to my loue, was black and fowle,
> Now all is pure, as a new baptised soule.
> For I protest, for all that I can see
> I would not lye one night in bedd by thee.|
> Nor am I iealous, but could well abide
> My foe to lye in quiet by her syde.[88]

In both elegies the virtue of the deceased is an exception to the speaker's understanding and experience with women, keeping each narrowly laudatory while broadly, if unintentionally, misogynistic.

The most overtly negative framing of Beaumont's elegy appears in yet another composite manuscript. The witness on page 76 of Nicholas Burge's verse miscellany, O3, bears the title 'To his deseased M^{tris} an Invective / Eligie'.[89] Burghe's witness is copied from a Group III ancestor source related to both an untitled, loose-sheet witness at (LUB) and the copy found (H7), titled 'Elegia vicesima secunda / On the death of the Lady Markham.'[90]

[88] Cambridge University Library MS 5778, ff. 84r-v.
[89] Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, pp. 76-77.
[90] Leeds University Library Brotherton MS Lt.q.11, Item 5; Harvard University Library MS Eng 966.6, pp. 179-82. These manuscripts a subgroup of the larger set beginning "As vnthrifts mourne in strawe," which also includes Yale University Library MS Osborn b.197, pp. 49-51; Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 160, ff. 27v-28r;

Burghe's witness is not a direct descendant of either copy, so it is impossible know for certain whether his exemplar supplied this or any other title. However, several poems that are not unique to his collection appear in it uniquely labelled as invective. The frequency of 'invective' in poem headings throughout his papers suggests that Burghe supplied the title according to his own interpretation of the verses.[91] Whether Burghe titled the elegy, as seems likely, or whether the scribe of his exemplar did, at some point within its transmission, the reference to Lady Markham was lost. Without the biographical context, there is little to suggest a respectful reading. Writing on some of Carew's verses, Marcy North suggests that the longer, more detailed titles found in O3 are unusual in manuscripts associated with Christ Church. She questions whether 'those sparer frames do not also reveal concern within the coterie that readers might point fingers.'[92] Or the muted references found elsewhere may be a more self-aware mark of the group's desired exclusivity (or that which the scribe wishes to bestow upon it. Whatever the motivation, by deviating and ascribing that title to the poem, Burghe recorded a distinct purpose for Beaumont's elegy that conflicts with other contemporary presentations of the poem.

Turning to verse collectors in search of some consensus or hoping to find a universal contemporary understanding of Beaumont's elegy, is seemingly a hopeless exercise, but not one without merit. The range of responses by verse collectors, one which within roughly the space of a decade saw Thomas Smyth label the elegy as obsequious and Burghe title it an invective did not stop it from becoming a highly collected poem. And its appearance trimmed

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Huntington Library MS HM 198, part I, pp. 10-11; one fragment, in Folger MS V.a.125, part II f. 19r. appears to partially follow this group.

[91] Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, other titles for circulated texts that appear unique to this manuscript include 'An Inuectiue A gaynst his M.^{tris}' p. 7; "An Inuectiue of M[ ] Georg [ ] / Chapman against mr Ben Iohnson" p. 16; 'An Inuectiue a gaynst his M^{tris} that / proued false' p. 60; 'On Sr Robert Cecil late earle of Salisbury this Inuectiue epitaph was written by an vnknown person' p. 182.

[92] Marcy L. North, *The Anonymous Renaissance: Cultures of Discretion in Tudor-Stuart England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 207.

down to its most gruesome imagery in the papers of Sir Kenelm Digby, suggests that it may have found use more than once as a meditation on loss. And considering the elegy alongside Beaumont's fondness for Lady Rutland and the other verses he wrote for her suggests that the was writing for a patron who understood his particular wit.

That Beaumont's elegy registered as an invective to Burgh and a laudatory epitaph to Smyth is hardly the result of carelessness by either of them. In fact, both Burghe and Smyth appear to have been particularly attentive to the context of the verses they copied. While Smyth may have reconsidered his earlier view of the poem, his categorization of it likely occurred while he was studying at St. John's and the surviving letters from his tutor praise his ability as a scholar. The disparate understandings of the text testify to its ambiguity, even to readers only a couple of decades after Lady Markham's death. This lack of any contemporary, universal interpretation of Beaumont's intent sets a precedent for the subsequent four centuries of scholarly disagreement. It also underscores the value in reading the poem in its varied contexts.

As the product of an Inns of Court poet, it functions most acutely as anti-elegy, prodding—as many verses did—the over-eager poet seeking patronage. Yet for the profusion of poems that take up this criticism, Beaumont's is unique in making it the primary argument of an elegy on the recently dead friend and kinswoman of a powerful patron. But Beaumont's proximity to members of Lady Markham's family, both at Inner Temple and through his association with the Sidney circle, sews uncertainty about his intended audience for the elegy. His willingness to deploy his particular brand of wit and subversions of form when writing for Lady Rutland compounds this uncertainty. The text itself is remarkable in its treatment of the lady it supposedly mourns. He foregrounds Lady Markham's corporeal self and writes her

absence in terms of what she is not, thereby carrying the work of the stranger-elegist to absurdity.

Surveying the surrounding verse in these collections, the coherence of the Bedford group shifts alongside varied collecting practices. When copied into anthologies of Donne's poetry, Beaumont's elegy becomes immobilized within the frame of author-focused collections. In these manuscripts, it is consistently paired with one or more of Donne's elegies on Bulstrode and Lady Markham, and therefore fixed to the events that occasioned the group of verses. In several of the manuscripts, Beaumont's elegy on Lady Rutland is also placed with poems from the group and, in O21 and H3, is attributed to Donne.

In the Oxford college manuscripts, the bawdy verse collected by young students of the 1620's and 1630's frequently surrounds the elegy, but so too do Donne's elegies on the women. But the Bedford group is not larger or more distinct than the groups of elegies on Prince Henry or Oxford scholars that also appear in these same manuscripts. Inherently less consistent than the anthologies or college manuscripts, the family collections and composites tend to place Beaumont's elegy in a framework defined as much by regional and social associations as by literary. But none of these manuscripts collects so many of the poems alongside Beaumont's elegy as the Donne anthologies. Within a collection of Donne's work and surrounded by several elegies on the women, the anthologies legitimize Beaumont's elegy and as yet another serious funerary poem. In the smaller groupings, outside the large collections of Donne's poetry, Beaumont's elegy instead operates as a counter to that by Donne.

Rarely does Beaumont's elegy appear in a collection without other verses on the women, or without one of Beaumont's two poems on Lady Rutland. Only three manuscripts

contain none of these poems. Seven manuscripts group Beaumont's and Donne's elegies on Markham together, whereas ten place his elegy alongside one of the poems on Lady Rutland. The prominence of his verses on Lady Rutland, and their occasional placement near or between poems in the Bedford group may argue for a closer look at the transmission of those poems and their association to the group. Perhaps some scribes had a fledgling interest in collecting Beaumont's verse. Or perhaps her kinship with Lady Bedford influenced the gathering together of those poems, as they appear in both B30 and O30, the largest Bedford group manuscripts. The presence of his epistle to Lady Rutland makes the absence of his elegy on Lady Markham all the more conspicuous in these early verse collections associated with Lady Bedford.

Conclusion

Due to the almost-unimaginable loss rates for handwritten documents from the early modern period, the survival of some 221 manuscript witnesses of verses on the deaths of two minor courtiers offers a striking point from which to consider the cultural factors and social groups underpinning the wide exchange of manuscript verse in the early seventeenth century. The manifold conditions at work may be difficult to ever account for in full, but the reason many of these verses were initially composed is evident. Although Bulstrode and Markham had family closely linked to the intellectual circles of the universities and Inns of Court, the verses memorializing them were largely created on account of their kinship with Lucy, Countess of Bedford—the most powerful non-royal courtier in the first decades of the Stuart reign.

To study these poems as a group rather than isolated from each other by considerations of author, class, or gender is, to some extent, to refocus on the patron and the occasions that prompted them. Bulstrode and Markham died a full decade before the so-called Golden Age of manuscript verse collection, and although they are largely responsible for the survival of those verses, the people at work copying the poems in the 1620's and 1630's received them under very different conditions than did their first audience. Only Jonson's letter gives a sense of how some of them were first scribally published. Others among them may have also arrived with letters. Perhaps they were read aloud or presented on formal placards similar to the surviving verses on Corbett's death, or were pinned to the pall at the funerals as became popular for men from the universities. But like the verses by Jonson, Selden and others on Corbett's placard, the poems not only shared occasion but very likely physical space as well, with the deceased and with their related networks of friends and family. To study the verses as a group not only reorientates them back to the time and place

of their subjects, but it also reveals the factors that emerged as they entered wider circulation. This is not to ignore their place in the context of their respective author's corpus, but rather to avoid being strictly beholden to it at the exclusion of the rich evidence relating to the socio-cultural place of the verses in the period.

The associations that emerged between them as they circulated are as varied as the evidence. In the case of Donne's work, the evolution towards a more author-centric mode of collection shifts the focus of the poems away from the women and onto Donne's skill as a poet and the cultural cache of collecting his verse, but it coincidentally also ensured the survival of these memorials. The large collections of his work which attest to his cultural importance are still sites which underscore Bedford's influence, particularly in light of the relatively minor standing of her kinswomen. That the verses on their deaths survive in numbers rivalling the witnesses of funerary verses on much more elite persons is the result of both because of the intersection of Donne's and Bedford's prominence. Jonson's epitaph and letter also demonstrates Bedford's influence through his need to correct his earlier misstep with Bulstrode. Donne's and Jonson's work have received robust editorial attention, although manuscript witnesses of the funerary verses have been uncovered since the most comprehensive editions of works by both authors. And fresh editions of the verses by Herbert and Hare, are warranted on the grounds of several new manuscript witnesses of each. And in the century since Beaumont's verse was last edited in a way highly reliant on the early printed texts, no new edition emerged, and the staggering diversity of texts and variants of his elegy on Markham remained unrealised. Editing these underserved texts by Bedford, Beaumont, Hare and others, and studying the circulation patterns of these funerary verses by various authors offers insight into the textual groupings in which they circulated. And as with

the relationship between the verses by Hare and Jonson, indicate a possible reason (or indeed audience) for whom Jonson may have circulated his revised epitaph.

The individual case studies for these verses reflect the permeability of manuscript networks at the time, supporting May's recent assertion that 'coterie' verse was circulating across diverse social groups and classes.[1] And manuscripts like British Library MS Harley 4064 (B30) and Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 31 (O30) reflect both the existence of a collection with rare works tied to an elite community of aristocrats close to Bedford and an enduring interest in the coterie as a concept. O30 in particular, with its formal calligraphic hand and 'elite' Bedford-adjacent texts, despite being composed likely after her death, also supports McCabe's suggestion that the coterie was in many ways something externally contrived—meant to elevate its contributors as much as its members. In this way, we have a picture of the circle around Bedford, but one necessarily mediated through the informal marketplace of patronage relationships. Indeed, each picture of the original participants and circumstances is always glimpsed from a few steps away, even when it may not initially appear so. The closest material artefact we have to the occasions or persons involved is letter Jonson sent to George Garrard, which is as important for it being a holograph copy as it is for the letter containing it. But even the letter itself is created for a somewhat different purpose than the one Jonson proclaims on the page. Writing ostensibly to his friend, but with the understanding that Garrard would show the poem (and thereby all the latter on the same page) to Bedford, his prior engagement with Bulstrode and loss of favour with Bedford is vital to recognizing the apology he has embedded within it.

[1] May, *English Renaissance Manuscript Culture*, 118-127.

Looking further afield at the biographical contexts of the verses, of the authors composing them, and the individuals copying and collecting them offers a glimpse of the breadth and complexity of overlapping social, geographic, and familial connections underpinning the circulation of these texts. Studying specific manuscripts and their makers (to what extent this is possible) becomes central to understanding the connections between circles and the spread of the texts. Doing so, requires a three-fold approach encompassing textual critical, biographical, socio-bibliographical study of texts, their containing manuscripts, and the writers and verse collectors related to each. The biographical documents which link Hare with recusant art agents, diplomats, and otherwise staunchly Protestant kinship networks like the Tracy and the Conway families is a necessary part of understanding the both provenance of Huntington MS HM 198.2, but so too are the texts which the manuscript preserves. It is a case in which both the manuscript contents and the scattered diplomatic and personal letters rely on one another to present a clearer picture of both Hare's biography and the role Anthony Tracy played both in transmitting texts and in larger cultural exchanges between England and the Continent despite his rather open practice of Catholicism. Similarly, the humble letter from Hugh Smyth to his father whilst a student at St. John's College, Oxford in the mid-1620's and the two hands he uses in those letters supports his identification as the verse collector behind University of Nottingham MS Pw V 37 (and thereby also Folger MS V.a.103.1) just as much as do the verses in it on various characters at St. John's, on the vicar of Long Ashton, John Nichols, and on Hugh's father, Thomas Smyth.

While the group of poems on Markham and Bulstrode are unique in several ways, most notably in the number of verses composed and number of witnesses surviving, approaching other occasional verse or verses written for a specific patron as a group may be

similarly revealing. Likewise, a similar study of regional manuscripts, including both legal and family papers and verse collections, perhaps of some of the Catholic families in the West Midlands, may offer a greater insight into how place (outside of the London environs) affects transmission. May emphasises the importance of physical proximity on the spread of verse, and the transmission of texts outside of the 'triad' perhaps overseas or by the sick bed might emerge as alternative sites of engagement. Perhaps, as is the case with Hare's verse, manuscripts with large and especially textually sound groupings of less common verses by one or more known persons might allow insight into the compiler or circle behind a particular collection. Every such discovery offers the field of early modern manuscript studies as a whole the opportunity to be more clearly understood and defined.

Notes on Textual Editions and Apparatuses

As one purpose of this project is to enable studying poems in transmission by several authors, the editions which follow and conventions used largely follow those used by the *Donne Variorum.* All known witnesses devided from manuscript sources are included.
Reporting of variants includes all substantive and semi-substantive verbal variants. It also includes punctuation and elisions where these may affect either metre or meaning. Variants in orthography and punctuation are also reported were they consistently demonstrate a possible link between manuscripts.

The symbols used in the apparatus also follow the *Donne Variorum* conventions listed below with exceptions noted.

~	base word
^	punctuation mark omitted
→	changed to: A →B = A changed to B
*	obscured letter (the number of asterisks approx.. the number of letters obscured)
[…]	conjectured reading
/	line break
|	scribal mark indicating the end of a sentence or section*
›…‹	alteration/insertion in the scribal hand
»…«	alteration/insertion in a second hand
M	margin, marginal
[]	missing because of damage to the artifact*
om	omitted
SS	subscription
Var	variant reading(s)
Σ	all other collated sources
1st	first
2nd	second

Lady Bedford's Elegy on the Death of Lady Markham

Copy-text: B30

Texts collated: B30 (ff. 269r-v); B47 (ff. 94v-5); H3 (pp. 87-8); H6 (pp. 167-8); HH1 (ff. 27v-8r); O21 (pp. 122-4); O30 (ff. 39ar-av); Y3 (pp. 118-9); B (pp. 272-3); G (pp. 258-9).

Emendations: Heading: 5 comming] comming, 9 threats] threat[] 11 Angells,] Angells ^ 12 ioy,] ioy ^ 21 were] were. 27 memoryes] memory after] aft^{r} 38 power] powers 39 y^{e}] she do] to 42 sting.] sting. |

Regularizations: 2 doth grow] >doth grow< 5 coming] co$\bar{m}$ing 6 pronounce] $\underline{p}$nounce 7 From] ffrom 10 with] wth treates] >treates< 12 dangers] dang^{rs} 14 and] & 15 pray] >pray< 22 Their] their 23 our] o^{r} 24 our] o^{r} 25 thee,] >(the,< 26 Which] w^{ch} be,] >be<, 27 our] o^{r} best] >host→best< 29 shine] >shine< 31 with] wth that] y^{t} sound] >sound< 33 and] & 36 our] o^{r} 37 with] wth invoked] >∧invoked<. 39 which] w^{ch} 40 From] ffrom euer] eū] 41Hymn,] Hym̄, which] w^{ch} with] wth

Imperfections: *merged into* BoulRec *as though a single poem* B47 H3 O21 Y3.

Elegye on the Lady Markham

Death be not proud, thy hand gaue not this blow
Sinne was her Captiue, whence thy power doth grow
The Executioner of wrath thou arte
But to destroy the iust ys not thy part
Thy comming, terror, anguish, greife denounce,
Her happy state, Courage, ease, ioyes pronounce.
From out the Christall pallace of her brest
The Clearer soule, was calld to endlesse rest
Not by the thundring voyce wherein god threats
But as with Crowned Sayntes in heaven he treates

Heading: Elegye on the Ladye Markham / by C: L: of B. B30; Elegie on the Ladye Marckham, by L: C: of B: O30; Elegie H6; *om* B47 C9 H3 HH1 O21 Y3.
1 gaue] giues H3 O21 Y3.
2 her] ~~thy~~(M *var*. >her<) HH1. Captiue,] ~ ^ H3 O30 Y3; captive, O21 B G; Captiue ^ captiue ^ B47 H6. whence] where where H3. doth grow] (>^ doth grow(*missing*)<) B30; flov* B; flow G.
3 Executioner] executioner B47 H3 HH1 Y3 B G.
5 comming,] ~ ^ C9 H6 B; cunninge ^ B47 O21 Y3; cunning, HH1; cunninges, H3. terror,] Terror, C9; ~ ^ O30; terrors ^ B47 Y3; terrors, H3 HH1; terrors; O21. anguish,] ~ ^ B47 Y3; Anguish, C9 H3 O30. denounce,] B30; denounces; B G; denounces ^ C9 H6; denounce ^ ∑.
6 state,] state ^ C9 H6 B; estate, O21 Y3; Estate ^ H3; estate ^ B47. Courage,] courage, H6 HH1 Y3 B G; courage ^ B47. ease,] ease ^ B47 Ease ^ C9. ioyes] ioy B47 HH1 B G; ioye, H6; Ioy C9. pronounce.] B30; ~ ^ B47 HH1 O21 Y3; ~ , O30; ~ . | H3; pronounces. C9 H6 B G.
8 The] (her M var. >The< HH1; This H3 O21 Y3. Clearer] cleare H3 O21 Y3. soule,] B30; Soule^ H3 HH1; soule^ ∑. was calld] ~ cald HH1; ~ cal'd O21 O30 Y3 B G; ~ called B47; called was H3. rest] ~ , O30 B G; ~ . HH1.
9 Not] Not, O30; (~ C9 H6 B G. the] *om* HH1. voyce] ~ , B47 O30 B G. wherein] wherewth B47 C9 H3 H6 HH1 O21 Y3 B G. god] God C9 H6 B G. threates] threat(*missing*) B30; threates, G; threats) C9.
10 But] ~ , B G. with] *om* H3. Crowned] Crown'd H3 Y3; croun'd O21. Sayntes] saints HH1; S^{ts}, H3; S^{tes} O21. treates] >^treats< B30; treats,) H6 B G; treats.) C9.

And wayted on by Angells, home was brought
To ioy, what it through many dangers sought
The key of Mercy gently did vnlock
The dores twixt heauen and ytt, when lyfe did knock,
Nor boast the fayrest frame was made thy pray
Because to mortall Eyes, it did decay:
A Better Witnes then thou art, assures
That though dissolu'd, it a space indures,
No dramm theirof shall losse or want sustayn,
When her blest soule enhabittes it agayn.
Goe then to people Curst before they were
Their spoyles in tryumph of thy Conquest beare

11 And] ~, H6 B G. on] one Y3. Angells,] *G ~ ^ B30 Y3; ~ ; HH1; angells, B47; angells ^ O21. home] ~~w~~home HH1. brought] brought, B G.
12 ioy,] ~ ^ B30 C9 H3 H6 Y3 B G; Ioy; O21. what] B30 O30; that ∑. it] ~ , O30. through] though Y3. sought] ~ , B G.
13 Mercy] B30 C9 H6; mercy, HH1; mercy ∑.
14 dores] doores C9 H3 HH1 O30 B; doors G; dore O21; doore Y3. twixt] 'twixt C9 H6 O21 Y3 B G. heauen] heaven, 030. ytt,] B30; >yett→it< O30; it ^ C9 O21; ytt ^ Y3; it, ∑. knock,] ~ ^ B47 H3 O21 Y3; ~ . | C9 H6; ~ . B G; ~(*missing*) O30.
15 boast] ~ , H6 B G; ~ ; O21. the] >thy→the< H3. frame] >~~eyes~~→frame< H3. pray] >^pray< B30; prey, B G.
16 to] tow B47. mortall] Mortall O30. Eyes,] B30 HH1 O30; eyes ^ ∑. decay:] B30; ~ . H6 HH1; ~ ; B G; ~ ^ ∑.
17 then] than B G. art,] ~ ^ B47 C9 H3 O21 O30 Y3. assures] ~ , B G.
18 though] ~ , H6. dissolu'd,] ~ ^ H3 O21 O30; dissolud, H6; dissolued B47 HH1 Y3. it] it yet C9 H3 H6 O21 B G; ytt yett Y3; it B30 B47 HH1; yett O30. space] *pace H6. indures,] endures, C9; endures: O30 G; endures; B; endures B47 H3 H6 O21 Y3.
19 theirof] B30; thereof: O30; thereof ∑. losse] B30; ~ , O30; want, H3 H6 HH1; want ∑. want] B30 O30; losse ∑. sustayn,] B30 B G; ~ ^ ∑
20 blest] best C9 H3 H6 O21 Y3 B G. soule] Soule C9 H3 HH1. enhabittes] Inhabits H3. agayn.] ~ ^ B47 H3 Y3; ~ , O30; ~ ; O21.
21 Curst] B30; Curs'd O30; cursd B47. they] there O21 Y3. were] we>^a<re O30; ~ . B30; ~ , HH1 B G.
22 Their] there Y3; Theyr H6. spoyles] Spoiles H3; Soules C9; soules H6 B G. of] to C9 H6 B G. Conquest] conquest H3 H6 HH1 O21 Y3 B G. beare] ~ . C9 H6; ~ , B G; weare B47 O21 Y3; ware H3; we>^a<re HH1.

Glorify not thy selfe in our hott teares.
Our faces, not for hers, but our harmes weares
The mourning livery, given, by grace, not thee,
Which wills our soules in those streams washt should be,
And on our hartes her memoryes best tombe
In this her Epitaph doth write thy dome
Blynd were those eyes saw not how bright did shine
Through fleshes misty vayle the beams devyne
Deafe were the eares, not charmd with that sweet sound
Did in the spiritt instructed voyce abound.

23 Glorify] B30 O30; glorie B47 HH1 O21; Glory ∑. thy selfe] ~ ~, HH1 O30; thou ~ ~ C9 H6 B G. our] the B47 HH1; her H3 O21 Y3; these C9 H6 B G. hott] loste H3 O21 Y3. teares.] B30; ~ , HH1; ~ ^ ∑.
24 Our] >^which< ~ H6; Which ~ C9 B G. faces,] ffaces, O30; ~ ^ H3 HH1 O21 Y3; face, C9 H6(face>s<,) B G. hers,] ~ ^ Y3; her, C9 H6 B G; heres ^ O21. harmes] ~ , HH1; harme, C9 H6; harme B G. weares] ~ . H6 B; ~ , O30; ~ ; HH1; ~ : G.
25 livery,] B30; Lyve'rie, O30; liuery ^ ∑. given,] B30; given ^ ∑. grace,] ~ ^ H3 HH1 O21 O30 Y3; Grace, B G. not] not by H3. thee,] >^the<, B30; B G; ~ . H3; ~ ^ ∑.
26 wills] will>e→s< HH1; *om* O21. soules] ~ , HH1; Soules C9 H3. those] ~~y^e~~>those) B47; these C9 H6 O21 B G. washt] washd B47 H6; wash'd O30. be,] >^ be<, B30 B G; ~ ^ ∑.
27 on] one O21 Y3. hartes] B30 B47 H3 O21 Y3; ~ , C9 H6 HH1 O30 B G. her] o^r B47; heape O21. memoryes] memory B30. best] >ho→best B30. tombe] tomb~~de~~ HH1; Tombe O30; Tombe, C9 H6; ~ , B G.
28 her] our O30. Epitaph] ~ , O30. dome] B30 B47 H3 O21 Y3; ~ , O30; ~ . H6 HH1 B G.
29 were] ar O21. eyes] ~ , HH1 O30 B G. shine] >^shine< B30.
30 fleshes] flashes H3 Y3. vayle] ~ , H3 HH1 O21 O30. the] these C9; those H6 B G. devyne] ~ , C9; ~ . B; ~ ; G.
31 Deafe] Dea>th→ff< HH1. the] those B47. eares,] ~ ^ B47 C9 O21 Y3. not] that B47 H3 HH1 O21 Y3. charmd] cha>m→ rm<d HH1; charm'd B47 H3 O21 Y3 B G; Charm'd O30. sweet] swett O21. sound] >sound< B30.
32 Did] B30 O30; did not B47 H3 HH1 O21 Y3; Which did C9 H6 B G. in the] in 'the H3; i'th H6 B; i'th' G; in *om* B47; in th' C9. spiritt instructed] B30; spiritt=instructed B47 HH1 O30; spirits instructed C9 H6 O21 B G; Spirits instructed H3 Y3. abound.] B30 B; ~ ; HH1 G; ~ ^ ∑.

Of flynt the Conscience, did not yeild and melt,
At what in her last act, yt saw, heard, felt.
Weepe not, nor grudg then, to haue lost her sight
Taught thus our after stay, ys but a short night
But by all soules, not with Corruption choaked
Lett in high raysed notes that power be invoked
Calme the rough seas through which she sayld to rest
From sorrowes here to a kingdom euer blest
And Preach this Hymn, which hers with ioy did sing
The graue no Conquestes gittes, death hath no sting.

33 Of] O B47. Conscience,] ~ ^ B47 H3 H6 HH1 O21 Y3. yeild] ~ , HH1 O30. and melt,] Melt, O30; ~ ^ B47 C9 H3 H6 HH1 O21 Y3.
34 her] *om* H3. act,] Act ^ H6 B G; caste, H3; cast; O21; cast ^ Y3; hower B47. yt] he O21. saw,] ~ ^ H6 B G. heard,] ~ ; O21; ~ ^ Y3; hard ^ H3; & C9 H6 B G. felt.] ~ . | H3; ~ , B47; ffelt, O30; ~ ^ HH1 Y3.
35 not,] not ^ B47 C9 H3 H6 HH1 O21 Y3. grudg] ~ , C9 H6 HH1 O3. then,] ~ ^ B47 H3 HH1 O21 Y3. sight] ~ , B G; ~ . H6.
36 thus] B30 B47 Y3; ~ , C9 H3 H6 O30 B G; ~ ; O21; this; HH1. after] aft^{r} B30. stay, ys] ~ ^ ~ B47 HH1; stay's C9 H6 O21 Y3 B; stayes G; Stayes H3. night] ~ . H6 HH1; ~ : B G; might H3.
37 soules,] ~ ^ H6 O21 Y3 B G; Soules, C9 O30; Soules ^ H3 HH1. with] by H3 H6 O21 Y3 B G. Corruption] corruption B47 H6 HH1 O21 Y3 B G. choaked] ~ , C9 H6; Choaked, O30; choak'd B47; choakt(M *var*. choackd) HH1; choakt Y3; choakt. O21; choak't H3.
38 raysed] raysd B47 C9 H6 HH1; rais'd H3 O21 Y3 B G. notes] ~ , HH1 O21 O30. power] powers B30. invoked] (>^invoked<) B30; ~ . H6 B; ~ , G; invok'd B47 HH1 H3; invoakt Y3; invokt. O21.
39 Calme] to calme HH1. seas] s>o'→e<as HH1; ~ ^ Y3 B G; ~ ; O21. through] by C9 H6 B G. she] shee's H3 O21 Y3; y^{e} B30. sayld] s>e→a<yl'd HH1 sayl'd O30; sayles C9 H6 B G; fled H3 O21 Y3. to] do B30. rest] ~, G.
40 here] ~ , HH1 G. blest] ~ . HH1 G; ~ , O30.
41 Preach] teach C9 H6 B G. Hymn,] ~ ^ B47 C9 H3 H6 O21 Y3 B G. which] of C9 H6 B G. hers] ~ ^ O30; her C9 H6 B G; shee H3 O21 Y3. with] what O30. ioy] ~ , B G; Ioye, C9 H6. did] and H6 B G. sing] ~ , G.
42 Conquestes] B30; Conquest B47 C9 H3 H6 HH1 O21 O30 Y3 B G. gittes,] ~ ; HH1 O21; ~ ^ H3. death] Death B G. sting.] ~ . | B30 B47; ~ ^ | B47; Stinge .| H3; ~ ^ H6 HH1 O21 Y3; ~ : G.

Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Epitaph on Cecilia Bulstrode

Copy Text: HH5

Emendation: by God] at large→›by God‹

Regularizations: 4 with] wth 8 with] wth

Texts Collated: B30 (ff. 261v-2r); HH5 (ff. 7v-8r); O21 (p. 207); O30 (ff. 36v-7r); Y3 (p. 150); A (p. 20).

Imperfections: *ll. 3-21 missing* Y3; *Part of ll. 14, 19 lost to trimming* B30.

Headings: Another B30; On M^{rs} B HH5; On M^{rs} Bowlstreed O21; *Another Sir Edw: Harbert*; One M^{r}s Boulstreed Y3; *Epitaph*. Cæcil. Boulser *quæ post langue-/scentem morbum non sine inquietudine / spiritus & conscientiæ obiit*. A. Subheadings: *Intelligitur de / figura mortis / præfiginda*. A.

Epitaph: Mrs B.

Me thinkes death like one laughinge lies
shewinge his teeth shuttinge his eyes
Only thus to haue found her here
he did with so much reason feare
and she despise [5]
for barringe all the gates of sinne
Deaths open waies to enter In
she was with a straight siedge besett
so what by force he could not gett
by Time to winne| [10]
This mightie warrier was deceiued yet
for what he mutin in her powers thought
was but their zeale
And what by theire excesse might haue bin wrought
her fastes did heale|| [15]
Till that her noble Soule, on theis as winges
Transcendinge the low Pitch of earthlie thinges
As beinge releiued by God and sett att large
and growne by this, worthie an higher charge
Triumphinge ouer death to heauen fled
and for a Trophee left her bodie dead. [20]
Sr. Ed: H:|

1. Me thinkes] ~ thinckes, B30; ~ thinks Y3; Mee ~ O21; **Me**: ~ O30; **M**Ethinks A. death] Death A. like] lyke O30. lies] lyes, A; lyes ∑.
2. teeth] ~, B30 A; Teeth, O30; ~; O21. eyes] ~, O21 A ~: O30.
3. Only] onely O21 O30.

4. he] He B30 A. feare] ~, A.
5. And] and HH5 O21. she] shee O30. despise] dispise B30 O30; ~. A.
6. for] ffor B30 O21 O30; For A. barringe] barre→›barring‹ B30; bearing→›barring‹ O21. sinne] sinn B30; synn O30; sin, A.
7. Deaths] deaths B30 O21; death O30; Death's A. waies] ways ∑. in] In HH5; ~. O21; ~, A.
8. she] Shee O30; She A. wth] with A. straight] strayth B30; streyht O21; strict A. siedge] siege A; seige ∑. besett] ~. O21; beset, A.
9. so] soe O30; To A. what] whatt O30; that O21. force] ~; O21; fforce O30.
he] hee O30. gett] ~. O21; get, A.
10. by] By A. Time] tyme B30 O30; time ∑. winne|] ~. O21; winn B30; wynn O30; win. A.
11. warrier] waryer B30; Warryo^{r} O30; Warrior A. yet] yett B30 O30; yett. O21; yet, A.
12. he] hee O30; ~, A. mutin] mutine O21; Mutin O30; muting A. her] hir O30. powers] ~, A.
13. was] Was A. their] her O21. zeale] zeal, A.
14. *om* O21 wrought] wroug[*trimmed*] B30; ~, A.
15. *om* O21 her] Her A. fastes] faste B30; ffast O30; fasts A. heale||] ~^ B30 O30; heal. A.
16. that] y^{t} O21. her] *om* A. Soule,] soule, B30; soule^ O21 O30; soul, A. on] by A. theis] these B30 O21; these, A. winges] wings O21; wings, A.
17. Transcendinge] ~, O30. low] Lowe O30. earthlie] earthly B30 O21 A. thinges] things, A.
18. As] as O21. beinge] b'ing A. relieued] relieu'd B30; releeu'd O21; Releiu'd O30; reliev'd A. by God] at large→›by God‹ HH5; by god, O30; by God, A; by god B30 O21. large] ~, A.
19. this,] ~^ B30 O21 A. an] of O21; a ∑. charge] charg[*trimmed*] B30; Charge, O30; charge, A.
20. Triumphinge] Triumphed→›Triumpheth‹ O21. death] ~, O30; Death, A. heauen] heau$\bar{e}$ is O21; Heaven A. fled] fledd B30; ffledd O30; fled, A.
21. Trophee] ~, B30; Trophy O21; Trophie, O30. her] hir O30. bodie] body B30 O21; Bodye O30. dead.] ~, O30.
Alternate line: And did not dye, but left her body dead. A.
Subscriptions: S^{r}. Ed: H:| HH5; ffinis O21; *July* 1609. A; *om* B30 O30.

Ben Jonson's Epitaph on Cecilia Bulstrode

Copy Text: HLOW

Text Collated: B23 (f. 35v); B30 (f. 261v); B33998 (f. 33r-v); B35 (f. 33v); B47 (f. 90v); C9 (f. 9v); EU3 (f. 94v); F2 (f. 76r); H6 (p. 171); HH1 (f. 26r-v); HH5 (f. 133vB); HLOW; MC1 (p. 162); O3 (p. 187); O30 (ff. 36v-7r); O33 (f. 55r); O36 (f. 25v); PM1 (p. 94); R9 (p. 274); SN2 (f. 164r); Y356 (p. 99).

Emendations: l. 13 here→it [M *var*]

Regulatizations: 11 With] Wth which] w^{c}h

Epitaph.
Stay, view this stone: And, if thou beest not such,
Read here a little, that thou mayst know much.
It couers, first, a Virgin; and then, one
That durst be that in Court: a vertu'alone
To fill an Epitaph. But she had more. [5]

Heading: Epitaph] B30 HH5 HLOW MC1 O30; An Epitaph PM1; on the death of M^{rs}: Bowlstred B35; On the death of M^{ris} Bouldstred HH1; On the death of M^{rs} Boulstred: R9; ON THE Death of Mistris Boulstred. O36; Vppon the Death of M:^{rs} Boulstred. B47; Vpon One Mrs Boulstred Y356; Vpon the same M.rs Boulstred H6; Vpon the same C9; Epitaph on M.^{rs} Boulstred. B33998; Epitaphe Su Boulstet.. EU3; Vppon A Virgine w^{ch} lived and died att Courte O3; *om* B23 F2 O33 SN2
1. Stay,] ~ ^ B23 B30 B35 B47 EU3 F2 HH5 O3 O33 O36 R9 SN2 Y356; ~ : O30. view] veiue O33; vew HH1. this] the HH5; the→this Y356. stone:] EU3 HLOW; ~ ^ B23 F2 R9 Y356; ~ ; B30; ~ , Σ. And,] B30 B33998 HLOW; ~ ^ Σ.
if] *om* O33. thou] y^{t} thou F2 Y356. beest] be>e<st H6; be F2 B33998; best O33.
not] no B23. such,] B33998 EU3 HLOW PM1 Y356; ~ ; HH1; ~ | SN2; m→such H6; ~ ^ Σ.
2. little,] ~ ^ B23 B35 B47 C9 F2 H6 O36 R9 SN2 Y356. thou] you B47 R9.
mayst] may'st F2 O3; mayest HH1 MC1 O33. know much.] B339 C9 H6 HH1 HLOW MC1 SN2 Y356; ~ ~ , B23 R9; be such O33; ~ ~ ^ Σ.
3. covers,] HLOW; ~ ^ Σ. first,] B30 EU3 HLOW PM1; ~ ^ Σ. Virgin;] HLOW; ~ ^ F2 MC1 Y356; ve→irgine B47; verging, O3; ~ , Σ. then,] B30 EU3 HLOW PM1; ~ ^ Σ. one] ~ ^ HH5.
4. That] who F2 HH5 MC1 O3 PM1. be] ~ , B23. that] B23 B30 HLOW O30 O33 SN2; so Σ. Court:] B30 EU3 HLOW PM1; ~ ^ B35 C9 HH5 O36 Y356; ~ . F2; ~ ; HH1 O3; ~ , Σ. a] (~ C9 H6; *om* B35 B33998 Y356. vertu'] B30 HH5 HLOW; *om* Y356; virtue Σ. alone] enough alone Y356.
5. fill] fitt F3 O3 PM1. an] and H6. Epitaph.] EU3 HLOW MC1; ~ : B30 B47 SN2; ~ ; B33998 HH1 O33; ~) C9; ~ ,→) H6; ~ , Σ. had] hath B47 C9 H6 HH1 R9. more.] B30 B47 EU3 HLOW; ~ , B33998 SN2; ~ ; HH1; ~ ^ Σ.

She might haue claym'd t'haue made the Graces foure;
As fit to haue encreas'd the harmony
Of Spheares, as light of starres; She was earthes Eye:
Taught Pallas Language; Cynthia modesty;
The sole Religious house, and Votary, [10]
W^th^ Rites not bound, but conscience. Wouldst thou **A**ll?
She was 'Sell Boulstred, In w^ch^ name I call
Vp so much truth, as could I it pursue
Might make the **F**able of Good Women true.|

6. haue] *om* B35. claym'd] B30 C9 F2 HLOW O30 O36 PM1 SN2 Y356; clain'd MC1; claimd, O3; claimd. HH5; claimd Σ. t'haue] B23 HLOW O3 PM1; to→t'haue F2 MC1; to *omitted* B33998 O36 Y356; to haue Σ. made] make B3399O36 Y356; had C9; *omitted* H6 MC1. foure;] HLOW; ~ , HH1; ~ . HH5; ~ ./ B33998; ~ : O30; fow[ ] SN2; poore B35; ~ ^ Σ.
7. Taught] ~ , O3. Pallas] ~ , PM1; Pallace HH1. Language;] F HLOW; ~~wisdom~~ →language; EU3; ~ ^ O3; learning Y356; ~ , Σ. modesty;] EU3 HLOW; ~ , B33998 HH1 PM1 R9 SN2; ~ ^ Σ.
8. encreas'd] B30 F2 HLOW MC1 O30 O36 Y356; infusde B23; encreaste, EU3; encreased HH5 O33 B33998; increast Σ.
9. Spheares,] sp>^h^<eares, HH5; ~ , B35 MC1 O33 Y356; ~ ; O3; ~ . F2. light] *om* Y356. of] *om* Y356. starres;] HH1 HLOW B33998; ~ : EU3 MC1 R9; ~ . C9 H6 PM1; ~ ^ F2 O3 O36 Y356; ~ , B23 B30 B35 B47 HH5 O30 O33 SN2. She was] was shee F2 O3. earthes] yearths B35; *om* PM1. Eye:] HLOW; ~ . EU3 H6; ~ , B33998 HH1 HH5; glorious eye Y356; *om* PM1; ~ ^ Σ.
10. sole] best F2 O3. religious] religions H6 MC1. house,] B23 B35 HH5 HLOW EU3 O30; lover O33; ~ ^ Σ. and] the B35. Votary,] HH1 HLOW R9; ~ . B33998; pa→otary Y356; ~ ^ Σ.
11. W^th^ Rites not bound,] B23 B30 HLOW; with kytes not ffound, O30; Which rites not bound SN2; w^th^ rights not bound, O33; Not bound by rites, B33998 C9 EU3 H6 Y356; Not bound by rights B47 MC1 PM1 R9; Not bound by rig→tes O36; Not bound by rights, B35 HH5 O3; Not bound by rights F2 HH1. conscience.] C9 H6 HLOW; ~ ^ B30 B35 F2 O30; O36 ~ ; HH1 SN2; ~ : B33998 R9; ~ ? EU3; ~ , B23 B47 HH5 MC1 O3 O33 PM1 Y356. Wouldst] woulds HH1 PM1; would O30 SN2. All?] B33998 C9 EU3 HH1 HH5 HLOW R9 Y356; ~ ! H6; ~~e~~→all B30; ~ ^ Σ.
12. 'Sell] HLOW; =sew: EU3; Sal. >Sil< HH1; Sill B47 MC1; sett B33998 F2 O3 O36; sett. B35; Anne O33; 'tis Y356; fr. R9; [*ellipses*] SN2. Boulstred,] H6 HLOW MC1 O30 O33 PM1 R9 Y356; Bouldstr*ed, F2; Boulstreed, O3; Boul~~d~~stred. B30; ~ . EU3; ~ : B23 HH5; ~ ; HH1; ~ ^ B33997 B35 B47 C9 O36. in] ~ , B33998 O36. which name] w^th^ y^e^ rich name B35 O36. I] doth B33998.13. Vp] ~ , HH1. truth,] ~ ^ B30 B33998 C9 F2 H6 O33 O36; ~ ; HH5 O3 O30. it] B23 O30 O33 SN2; here >it< HLOW; yett B30; but B33998 B35 O36; here Σ. pursue] ~ , B23.
14. Might] would Y356. Fable] ~ , EU3; fables Y356; table O33. women] woman, HH1. True. |] B30 C9 F2 HLOW R9; ~ ..| EU3; ~ | HH5 O30; ~ : | B23; ~ : PM1; ~ . B33998 HH1 MC1 SN2 Y356; ~ ^ B35 B47 H6 O3 O33 O36.

Nicholas Hare's Epitaph on Cecilia Bulstrode

Copy Text: HH5

Texts Collated: C9 (f. 50); CT1 (p. 240); EU3 (f. 99r); H6 (p.171); HH1 (f.26v); HH5 (f. 113v); O3 (p.171); O8 (f. 34v).

Emendations: *none*

Regularizations: 3 which] w^{ch} 7 within] wthin

Miscellaneous: *Format in CT1 is considerably altered, causing the poem to run seven lines.*

Here do repose, but in lamented waste
and figure out the sisters needelesse hast
those Limbs, which had heauen timelie
glorified But like the spiritt they owed
had neuer died here lies the least of her
whose noblest partes obtaine a Tombe
within our broken harts|

Heading: *om*] Vpon the same. C9.
1. Here] Heare CT1. repose,] ~^ CT1 EU3 O3. waste] wast CT1 H6 O3 O8; wast, C09.
2. and] (& HH1; To O3. out] but HH1. sisters] ~, HH1; Sisters C9 CT1 O3. hast] ~. C9; ~) HH1; haste EU3; *om* CT1.
3. Limbs,] lymbes^ EU3 O3 O8. which] w^{ch}, H6. heauen] heare O3. glorified] glorifyd C9 H6; glorifyde; HH1.
Alternate line: hast those limbes, which had heauen CT1
4. spiritt] sperritt O3; Spirit H6 O8; Spiritt, C9. they] shee EU3. owed] owd, C9 H6; ow'ed, O8; own'd, O3. had] & C9; *om* HH1. died] died. EU3; dy'd. C9 HH1.
Alternate line: timly glorified but like the spirit they CT1
5. here] Heare O3; Her O8. lies] lyes C9 EU3 H6 HH1. least] *leaste EU3. her] ~, HH1; hir EU3; hur O3. noblest] nobler EU3.
Alternate line: ought, had neuer died: heere lies the CT1
6. obtaine] Obtaynd O3; Enioye EU3. within] of her,→›wthin‹ harts.] harts| HH5; ~^ HH1 O3; hearts. C9; partes→hartes. EU3; hearts.‖ O8.
Alternate line: least of him whose nobler partes CT1.
7. Alternate line: obtaines a tombe with in our broken harts CT1.
Subscriptions: *om*] finis / N. H. O3; NH [cipher] EU3.

Francis Beaumont's Elegy on the Death of Lady Markham

Textual note:

Francis Beaumont's elegy on the death of Lady Markham survives in thirty manuscripts dating from the 1620's through the 1640's. It also appears in three printed editions, produced in the mid-17th century. Laurence Blaiklock first printed the verses in his 1640 edition of Beaumont's verse, followed by an expanded second edition in 1653. The 1653 text was taken from the 1640 edition and both collections include poetry by others which Blaiklock dubiously attributed to Beaumont. These early printed editions are the basis of the Alexander Dyce's 1843 edition of the poem—to date, the only critical edition of the text. The third printing, in William Hicks' *London Drollery* (1673), does not attribute authorship to Beaumont and appears to derive from a different line of manuscript transmission than the source text for the 1640 edition. It includes alternate lines found in no other print or manuscript source. In addition to their general lack of authority, the printed editions are largely inconsistent with texts widely read and shared through earlier manuscript verse collections. The printed texts are also incomplete, omitting lines 61-62.

None of the thirty manuscript witnesses offers an overwhelmingly strong claim to authority. No autograph copy exists and none of the surviving texts is without error or scribal emendation. The manuscripts do, however, offer more complete texts than the printed editions. The witnesses show significant alteration and corruption, with some 300 verbal variants and multiple instances wherein couplets are rearranged or omitted.
There is insufficient evidence of whether any of the changes were revisions by Beaumont. But the large number of variants and their action on the text does, however, suggest interventions by some copyists. Given the content of the poem and the manuscript evidence of its varied reception by readers, these interventions may be attempts by scribes to grapple with the poem's ambiguity, uncomfortable imagery, and aggressive versification.

Group I manuscript B13 provides the copy text for this edition. The manuscripts in Group I share variants found in Groups II and III, suggesting that the latter two derived from different subgroups within Group I. The text common to Group I is also superior for how it carefully unites disconcerting imagery and discordant versification. Among the Group I witnesses, B13 provides the most complete and least corrupted text of the poem. The scribe of B13 appears to have taken great care in recording the elegy and correcting mistranscriptions. They were also highly attentive to the verse itself, retroactively eliding words, 'vnsuccour'd' (l.18) and 'disorder'd' (l.55), to fit the meter. The witness is not without problems including its abundant and challenging pointing. Yet the only necessary emendation to the text, correcting 'my one' to 'my own' (l.40) appears to derive from its exemplar, likely the same manuscript from which C1 was copied. This corruption could easily result from scribal error or orthographic variance.

B13 is also unique in sharing socio-geographic ties to the Beaumont family. The manuscript is a folio composite, written at various stages by the Skipwith family of Leicestershire. The Skipwith and Beaumont families were well acquainted, and John Beaumont wrote verses for the family on William Skipwith's death. The manuscript includes Donne's poem on Markham directly before Beaumont's as well as Beaumont's verse on the Lady Rutland. It also collects three elegies on the death of Francis Beaumont, two of which are unique to the

verse collection. The third, Pestell's elegy on Beaumont, praises his poems on Lady Markham, Lady Rutland, and Lady Clifton.

With so many variant texts, there are inevitably readings in other manuscripts which could be accepted as valid. Among the Group III manuscripts, B11 and PM1 are likely siblings, and their shared ancestor with C2 is closely related to Blaiklock's source for his 1640 edition. In line 18, where B13 reads "In w^{ch} she lyes vnsuccour'd moyste, and coulde" the Group III reading replaces 'vnsuccour'd' with 'uncouered/vncouerd'. This variant also appears in O34, which is part of a distinct subfamily of Group I, defined by an alternate reading at lines 66-7. The 'vncovered' in O34, may have been supplied by the scribe, uncertain of the correct reading. The word does not share the hastily penned character of the rest of the text. While 'uncouered' reinforces the image of Markham's naked corpse, it is immediately made redundant in the lines that follow. In Group I, 'vnsuccour'd maintains a strong claim as a superior variant, lingering on Markham in her last uncorrupted moments.

Group III also supplies additional variants which may have resulted from scribal error, such as reading 'groane' for 'greiue' in the first line, as well as 'trimmed' for 'timeless' in line 15. These variants further diminish Markham's body as a sexual object and her grave a vessel for indulgence, whereas Group I maintains the uneasy sense of her grave as a site of twinned lust and mourning. Elsewhere in Group III, lines are emended to be more explicit. 'If I not right her' changes to 'If I not right her cause' (l.32), and 'Now all pure, as' to 'Now all as pure as' (l.44). Beaumont's tedious list of a living woman's flaws, each couplet beginning 'Nor' is rearranged in Group III and the couplet emended to break the repetition. Group III also provides an inferior reading at line 48, when the speaker turns again to address Markham. Their reading, 'My foe to lye in quiet by her side,' betrays a lack of sensitivity to the intended addressee. While several of these variants are of interest, many of them simplify the poem, explicating the verse and removing ambiguities at the expense of the conceit.

The variants in Group II tend to soften the abrupt versification found in the Group I. The substitution of 'mourne' for 'greiue' (l.1) and 'fell' for 'sadd' (l.8), create more dulcet lines which lie at odds with the verbiage found throughout the rest of the elegy. Group II also includes the earliest datable copy of the poem—H7—completed twelve years after Markham's death. H7 aligns closely with Group II, occasionally shares variants with Group I, and includes several unique readings. Some, like the substitution of definite articles for possessive pronouns in lines 15-6, depersonalise the image of Markham's body in the grave, referring obliquely to 'the bed' 'the...Mantle'. While the variants in Group II manoeuvre the text in the opposite direction of Group III's more sexualized readings, they ultimately detract from the Beaumont's bizarre elegy, motioning unsuccessfully towards a more respectful reading.

Copy Text: B13

Texts Collated: B11 (f. 66v); B13 (f. 30r-v); B1446 (ff. 72v-3r); B16 (ff. 49v-50r); B23 (ff. 3v-4v); B46 (ff. 19r-20r); B47 (ff. 81r-2v); B89136 (ff. 3v-4v); BD2 (pp.109-110); C1 (f. 16r-v); C2 (ff. 83v-4v); EU3 (ff. 97r-8r); F160 (pp. 10-11); F6 (f. 19r); H3 (pp. 94-5); H7 (pp. 179-82); HH4 (pp. 10-1); LA1 (ff. 8r-v); LR2 (pp. 72-7); LUB11 (No. 50); NP1 (pp. 21-2); O3 (pp. 76-7); O21 (pp. 199-202); O34 (ff. 193r-v rev.); O36 (ff. 27v-8r); PM1 (pp. 78-80); R09 (pp. 110-112); Y3 (pp. 146-7); Y356 (p. 264); Y5 (pp. 49-51); 1640 (sig. H2v); 1653 (sig. D8); 1673 (p.118).

Emendations: 18 vnsuccour'd] vnsuccour>'<~~e~~d 21 doe]; >^doe< 40 own] one
55 disorder'd] disorder'~~e~~d 56 but] >^but< ~~and~~ 67 Your] You~~r~~>r<

Regularizations: 3 without] w^th^out 7 which] w^ch^ 11 with] w^th^ 14 Mistris] Mr^is^ 18 which] w^ch^ 20 with] w^th^ 23 with] w^th^ 24 which] w^ch^ 31 with] w^th^ 39 with] w^th^ 41 which] w^ch^ 46 with] w^th^ 58 which] w^ch^ 64 which] w^ch^

Imperfections: *B11 heavily damaged throughout, ends at line 37; F6 includes ll.49-70 followed by ll.1-4; ll. 25-38 omitted from R9; ll. 25-26 appear as ll. 29-30 B1446 LA1; ll. 27-28 appear as ll.31-32 B11 B1446 C2 LA1 PM1 1640 165; ll. 29-32 appear as ll.25-28 B1446 LA1; 29-32 appear as ll.27-30 B11 C2 PM1 1640 1653; l. 34 added in margin PM1; l. 34 appears to be added later O34; ll. 37-38 omitted B1446 LA1; ll. 41-44 omitted B1446 LA1; ll. 61-62 omitted B16 BD2 F160 NP1 R9 Y356 1640 1653 1673; Poem begins at l.49 B89136 F6 F160 Y356; ll. 49-50 in reverse order i H3 O21 Y3.*

An Elegye vpon the death of the
Ladie Markham.|
As vnthrifts greiue in straw for theere paund beds,
as women weepe for theire lost maydenheades;
When both are without hope of remedie;
such an vntimely greife haue I for thee.|
I never sawe thy face; nor did my harte
Vrge forth myne eyes vnto it, whil'st thou wert;
But beinge lyfted hence, that which to thee
Was deathes sadd darte; prou'd Cupids shafte to mee:
Whoe ever thinks mee foolishe, that the force
of a reporte, can make mee loue a corse,
Knowe hee, that when with this I doe compare

Heading: *om* B89136 B1446 LA1 LUB1111 An Elegye vpon the death of the / Ladie Markham.|] B13 LR2; An Elegye vpon the death of the Ladye Markham. By ff: B. C1; Elegye on ye La: Ma:r: death EU3; An Elegye on the Lady Markehams death: O21; An Eligie one ye Death of ye La: Markham Y3; An Elegie on the deathe of / the Ladie Markeham.| H3; ffor Beamond on the Lady Mar: B16; Fr: Beaumont. On ye Death of ye L. M. NP1; An Elegie vpon the death of the Ladye M B. BD2; An Elegy vppon ye Lady. M. B.| R9; Vpon a dead M.^{rs} F160; On his M^{rs} Y356; Elegia vicesima secunda.| / On the death of the Lady Markham.| H7; On the Lady Markham F6; On his deseased M^{tris} an Inuictiue / Eligie O3; Vpon the lady Markeham. Y5; Amor Posthumus. HH4; AN EPITAPH / On the Ladye / Markham O36; The elegye. O34; A funerall Elegie vpon the Deathe of the Ladie Markham. B46; On the death of the Lady Markham. B47; An Eligie on the ~~Lad~~ Death: of the Lady Marcum, B11 PM1; An Elegy on the Lady Marchum; C2 1640 1653 1673 Elegee: / [ ]B | L R B23

Lines 1-4 appear after ll.49-70 in F6.

1. greiue] mourne F6 H7 HH4 LUB11 O3 O36 Y5; groane B11 C2 PM1 1640 1653. paund] pawned B47; proud B23.
2. weepe] greiue HH4 O36 Y5.
3. When] Which O36. both are] all is B1446 LA1; both of them are B23. hope] *om* B23; healpe B47. of] *om* B23; or B16 B47 BD2 C2 NP1 R9 1640 1653 1673.
4. haue I] I have B11 H7 PM1 1640 1653.

Poem ends in F6. Resumes at l.49 (see above).

6. Vrge] poure BD2 R9. forth] *om* B16. vnto it,] to itt, BD2 NP1 R9; to that 1673; vntill it B16. whil'st] whiles LUB11 O36 Y3; while B16; whilest O21 Y5; whilst y^{t} NP1; whiles that BD2; while y^{t} R9. wert;] art: BD2; ~~arte~~ >weart< H3.
7. But] And BD2. lyfted] lefted B46; listed B47 H3. which] >in→w^{ch}< LA1.
8. Was] Proude O34; Prou'd B23 B1446 LA1. deathes] death B1446. sadd] fell H7 HH4 LUB11 O3 O36 Y5; hadd C1. prou'd] proud C1 O34 Y5; proues C2; was B16 B46 B47 BD2 H3 NP1 O3 R9 1673. shafte] dart HH4; ghost BD2 NP1 R9 1673; chest B16.
9. Whoe ever] Who Ear B11; Who ere PM1; whosoeuer B16 BD2 NP1 R9. thinks] thought B11 PM1. foolishe,] *om* LA1; soe foolish B11 PM1. that] if Y5.
10. can] Could B11 PM1; should B16 BD2 NP1 R9 1673.
11. hee,] >y→h<ee, LR2; yee, O3. with] to BD2 R9. this] these B16; her B23.

the Loue, I to a lyvinge woman beare.
I thinke my selfe moste happie, now I knowe
where I shall finde my Mistris; and can goe
Vnto her tymelesse bedd, and lifte a waye
her grasse greene mantle, and her sheete displaye,
and touch her naked, and though envious moulde
In which she lyes vnsuccour'~~e~~d, moyste, and coulde
Strive to corrupt her, shee will not abide,
with anie arte, her blemishes to hide
as manie lyvinge; doe and know theay neede;
Yet cannot theay, in sweetnes her exceede,

12. to] too HH4; doe B11 B23 B47 C2 PM1 1640 1653; doe to B46; once B16 NP1. a] the HH4 O36 Y5. beare.] B11 B13 B16 B46 C1 H3 O21 PM1 Y3; ~~b*~~ bare, LA1; bare, ∑.
13. thinke] B13 B46 C1 H7 LR2; finde ∑. moste] more B23.
14. where] when B16. shall] can B11 B16 B47 C2 PM1 1640 1653; >can< O36; may B1446 LA1.
15. her] the H7. tymelesse] liveles NP1; leueless B16; limbelesse BD2 R9; kindlesse H3; trimde B11 C2 PM1 1640 1653. and] and can 1640 1653.
16. her] y^e^ H7. grasse greene] grassye greene BD2. sheete] sheets B16 B1446 LA1 NP1 R9.
17. touch] toughe H3; court BD2 R9. and though envious] and (though enuious) B11 PM1; and though the'nvious B46; and though th'envious 1640 1653; though the Envyous H7 LUB11 O3; though y^t^ envyous O36 Y5; that that enuious HH4. moulde] would B11 PM1.
18. In which] (in w^ch^ B11 BD2 EU3 NP1 R9 1673; Wherein H7 HH4 LUB11 O36 Y5. lyes] is BD2 R9. vnsuccour'd] vnsuccour>'<~~e~~d B13; vnsuccor'd, B46 B1446 C1 EU3 H3 H7 HH4 LA1 LR2 LUB11 O3 O21 O36 Y3 Y5 1673; vnsuck>o"e<rd, H3; vnsuccoured, B23 B47; vnsavour'd NP1; vnsauored B16; vnsavorye BD2 R9; vncouerde; B11 PM1; uncouvered, C2 O34 1640 1653. coulde] B13 C1; could>e<, B23; Could H7 LA1 LR2; cold B16 B47 B1446 H3 HH4 O34 O36 Y3; Colde B46; Coald O3; colde, LUB11; cold, C2 Y5 1640 1653; Cold; O21; coulde) EU3; could) R9; Colde) B11 PM1; cold) BD2 NP1 1673.
19. Strive] striues B16 O3. shee] yit she O34. will] would B23 B47 O34; could B1446 LA1. not] neere B1446; ne're LA1.
20. with] W^*h^ B23. anie] my O21 Y3; any>e< C1.
21. lyvinge;] mortalls B1446 LA1. and] who B16 NP1. know] though 1673. theay] th'haue H7; they haue B46; their B16 1640 1653; the>y< H3.
22. cannot theay,] can they not B46 H7 O3; cannot these O34; cannot thus R9.

but make a stinke, with all theare arte, and skill,
which the Phisitions warrant by a byll:
Nor at her doore, doe heapes of Coaches staye, [25]
foote men, and midwives to barr vp my waye,
Nor is her harte soe harde to make mee paye
for every kisse a supper, and a playe
Nor needes shee anie mayde, or page to keepe
to knock mee earely from my golden sleepe [30]
with letters, that her honore all is gone;
Yf I not right her vpon such a one
Nor will shee ever open her pure lipps,
to vtter oathes enowe to drowne our shipps,

23. stinke,] stinch, O21 Y3. arte,] arts B1446. skill,] kill PM1.
24. the] their C2 H3 O21 1640 1653 1673; there Y3. Phisitions] Phisitians B23 B46 BD2 C2 H3 H7 LR2 NP1 O21 R9 Y3 1640 1653; Physicians 1673; Physicions B1446; Phis>c→e<tion LA1; Phisitian B16 HH4 LUB11 O3 O36 Y5. warrant] warrants B16 B23 HH4 LA1 LUB11 O3 O36 Y5. by] wth B11 C2 EU3 HH4 LUB11 O3 O34 O36 PM1 Y5 1640 1653. a] his B16; their BD2 NP1 R9 1673.
Lines 25-38 omitted from R9.
Lines 25-26 appear as ll. 29-30 in B1446 LA1.
25.* her] *om* H7. doore] dores H7 O3. doe] does 1673; doth C2 O3 1640 1653. heapes] heape C2 O34.
26.* and] or B16 BD2 NP1 O3 1673; nor H3. barr] beare B11 EU3 Y5. my] the **B1446 LA1** O21; >y^{e}→my< LR2.
Lines 27-28 appear as ll.31-32 in B11 B1446 C2 LA1 PM1 1640 1653.
27.* Nor is her harte] Nor is her hard, H3; her hart is not **B11 C2 PM1 1640 1653.**
28.* supper,] suppe **B1446**. and] or **C2** LUB11.
Lines 29-32 appear as ll.25-28 in B1446 LA1.
Lines 29-32 appear as ll.27-30 in B11 C2 PM1 1640 1653.
29.* Nor] or B16. needes] B13 B46 C1 **C2** H3 LR2 **1640 1653**; neede ∑. mayde,] Page BD2 **B1446** NP1 O3 1673; ragge B16. page] maide B16 BD2 **B1446** NP1 1673; Boy H3 O21 Y3.
30.* knock] wake H7.
31.* with] w^{ch} C1. letters,] (*lacuna*) C1; her Letters Y5. her honore] all her honours Y5. all is] *om* Y5; quite is EU3.
32.* Yf I not] Vnles I B46 EU3; If I don't 1673. right] >v→r<ight B46; write B16; rite B23. vpon] >vp<on **LA1**; Cause, (on **B11 PM1**; cause on **C2 1640 1653**. a] an B16 B46 B47 BD2 **C2** NP1 Y3 Y5.
33.* ever open] ever ope O3; open euer B23; any more ope B1446 LA1. pure] purer O3.
Alternate line: Nor with Black Oaths stain her pure Lips will she: 1673.
Line 34 added in margin PM1.
Line 34 appears to be added later in O34.
34.* vtter] bitter B16. oathes] thes B11; these PM1. drowne] drounde B47; drown>d→e< LA1.
Alternate line: >>To force A Curse, ~~A f*****~~>∧or wishe< >or→An< >eclipse<< O34.
Alternate line: She'll not contract the guilt of Perjury. 1673.

to bringe a plauge, a famine, and the sworde
vpon the Lande; though shee should keepe her worde
Yett ere an houre bee past, in some new vayne
breake 'em, and sweare 'em ouer all againe:|
Pardon, that with thy blessed memorie
I mingle my own former miserie
Yet dare I not accuse the fate which brought
those crosses on mee, for then every thought
That tended to my loue, was black, and foule
Now all pure, as a new baptized soule
ffor I protest, for all that I can see

35.* to] >Should< To O3. a] the B23 B46 B47 B1446 H7 LA1. a] the B23 B46 B47 B1446 H7 LA1. and] or B11 C2 H7 HH4 LR2 LUB11 O3 O36 PM1 Y5 1640 1653. the] a H3 O3 O21 O36.
Alternate line: No words, profane or wanton, will she use; 1673.
36.* the] our B46 B47 B1446 H7 LA1 LUB11; A HH4 O36 Y5. though] if B23 B46 B47 B1446 H7 LA1 O34. should] would B11 H7 PM1. her] in B16.
Alternate line: Pure Vertue's strictest Rules she'll not accuse, 1673.
Lines 37-38 omitted in B1446 LA1.
37.* Yett] Nor H3 O21 Y3. past,] pu>f→t<t H3.
Alternate line: As too severe; nor whilst the World doth last, 1673.
Poem ends in B11.
38.* breake ‘em,] B13 C1 EU3 LR2 O34 PM1; Breake them, H7 1640 1653; breakes them, BD2; Breaks ‘em, NP1; Breake in, B23; Breake all, O3; breed, eare B16; Speake ‘em, C2; Will breake them ‘ore B46 B47. sweare ‘em] B13 C1 EU3 LR2 O34 PM1; sweare them B47 C2 H3 H7 HH4 LUB11 021 O36 Y5 1640 1653; sweares them BD2; sweares ‘em NP1; sweare B16; straight way sweare’m B23. ouer all] all ouer O21; double o’re 1640 1653; ‘ore B46 B47 C2; ouer B23.
Alternate line: A Blemish on her Spotless Honour cast. 1673.
Poem resumes at l.39 in B1446 LA1 R9.
39. Pardon,] Pardon me, B46 H7 1640 1653 1673; O pardon B47. with] which LA1. blessed] bles’t B46 B47 B1446 LA1 PM1; bless’d 1673.
40. mingle] might B16; mingle here B1446 LA1. my] B13 C1 EU3 H3 LA1 LR2 O21 O34 Y3 1673; myne ∑. own] one B13 C1. former] *om* B1446 LA1. miserie] infermity B1446 LA1.
Lines 41-44 omitted in B1446 LA1.
41.* dare] doe B16. not] nought B46. accuse] excuse C2 PM1 1640 1653; controule HH4 LUB11 O3 O36 Y5. the] those B23 B47 O34. fate] ffates, B46 B47 BD2 H7 NP1 O34 R9; fats B16; *om* B23. which] B13 C1 LR2 O21 Y3; >it→y^{t}< H3; that ∑. brought] brough’st BD2; wrought HH4 O3 O36 Y5.
42.* Those] B13 B23 B46 B47 C1 H3 H7 LR2 LUB11 O34 R9; these ∑. on] one O3 Y3. then] thou H3. euery] verye O3; euer H3.
43.* my] thy 1640 1653.
44.* Now] No H7. all pure, as] B13 C1 B23 B47 EU3 H3 LR2 O21 O34 Y3; all is pure as B16 BD2 NP1 R9 1673; all as pure as PM1 1640 1653; all as pure as ~~is~~ B46; all >i→a<s pure as C2; pure, as is H7 HH4 LUB11 O3 O36 Y5; . baptized] baptisd B46 NP1 PM1 1640 1653 1673.
Poem resumes at l.45 in B1446 LA1.
45. ffor] Yet B1446 LA1. all] ought H3 O21 Y3.

I would not lie one night in bedd with thee;
Nor am I iealous; but can well abide
My foe to lie in quiett by thy side.|
You wormes my riualls, whilst shee was aliue
how manie thousands were there, that did strive [50]
to haue your freedome, for there sakes forbeare
vnseemely holes in her soft skin to weare;
but yf you must (as what worme can abstaine)
taste of her tender bodie; yet refraine
with your disorder'd eatinge, to deface her, [55]
but feede your selves soe, as you moste may grace her

46. would] could H3 O21 Y3. not] nowe H3. lie] bee, O3. one] on B47 Y5. in bedd] i'bed EU3. with] by C2.
47. I] *om* EU3 HH4. jealous;] >a→iealous,< B23; >z→Iealous< Y5; zealous H3. can] *om* O34; could B16 C2 NP1 PM1 R9 1640 1653 1673; cold BD2. well] rest B16.
48. My] Mee H3 O21 Y3. foe] foes B46 H7 HH4 LUB11 O3 O36 Y5; for H3 O21 Y3. to] should EU3 H7 HH4 LUB11 O3 O36 Y5. lie] rest H7 HH4 LUB11 O3 O36 Y5. thy] ~~thy~~ >my< EU3; >my→thy< B16; her C2 PM1.
Poem begins at l.49 in B89136 F6 F160 Y356.
Lines 49-50 in reverse order in H3 O21 Y3.
49.* You] ye B16 B23; yee BD2 F160 HH4 NP1; Yea R9. my] that are my O3. riualls,] >riualls< C1; Arriualls, PM1. whilst] while B46 B47 BD2 F6 H7 O36 PM1 Y5; whiles B89136 **O21 Y3**; when EU3 LUB11; (when Y356.
50.* how] But NP1. thousands] *om* LR2; thousand B16 F6. were] weare B16 LA1. there,] theire B16 LA1.
51. ffreedome,] freedom>s→e<) Y356; freedomes H3 LUB11; priuiledge, B1446 LA1. sakes] sake 1640 1653.
52.* her] this NP1. skin] flesh F160. weare;] teare B47 F160 Y356.
Alternate Line: in her softe skin vnseemly holes to weare: LUB11
53. but] *om* F160. you] needs Y356; you needs F160. (as] as C2 O21 O36 PM1 Y3; (o Y356; for H3. worme] wormes B16 BD2 C2 NP1 O21 PM1 R9 1640 1653. abstaine)] B13 B16 B23 B46 BD2 B1446 C1 EU3 LR2 LUB11 O3 O34 R9 Y5; abstaine)? H7; abstayne?) B47 B89136; abstaine) ; ob>s<taine) LA1; obsteine HH4; abstayne, C2; abstaine F6 H3 NP1 O21 O36 PM1 Y3 Y356 1640 1653 1673; refraine F160.
54. taste of] tast on LUB11; to tast B16 BD2 C2 F160 NP1 PM1 R9 Y356 1640 1653 1673; to tast of B47. bodie;] B13 B23 LR2 O21; bodie; B47 B1446 C1 H7 HH4 O3 O34; body) F160; body? 1640; Body?) NP1 1653 1673; flesh) Y356; body F6 H3 O36 Y3 Y5. yet] see you Y356.
55. wth] by B1446 LA1. disorder'd] disorder'~~ed~~ B13; disorder'd B13 F6 Y5 Y356 1673; disordred BD2 EU3 F160 LA1 LUB11 NP1 O21; disorded B46; disordered ∑. eatinge,] eatings B89136 BD2 B1446 C2 EU3 F6 F160 H3 LUB11 NP1 O3 O34 PM1 1640 1653 1673. deface] disface Y5; desect B47.
56. But] >but< ~~and~~ B13; *om* F160; and B16 B89136 BD2 F6 NP1 R9 1673. your selves] on her F160 Y356. soe,] *om* C2 PM1. as] as that F160; y^{t} Y356. moste may] may most PM1; lost may B47. grace her] grase her HH4; graceher. B47.

First through her earetips see you worke a paire
of holes, which as the moyste inclosed aire,
turn's into water, maye the cleare dropps take,
and in her eares a paire of Iewells make: [60]
That donne, vpon her bosome make your feaste
Where, in a crosse, carue Ihesus on her brest.|
Haue you not yett enough of that white skin
the touch of which in tymes past would haue beene
enough, to ransome manie a thousand soule, [65]
Captiu'd to loue? yf not; then vpwarde roule

57. First] Fleet PM1. through] in B1446 F160 LA1 Y356. earetips] Eares-tips H7 HH4; Eares Lippes, H3; Earelips R9; eare->l→t<ipps BD2; rare lipps B23; eare, LR2; tender eares B47; earetyes B16. see] *om* B47 B1446 LA1. you worke] you make B46 H7 C2 Y356; you ma>r<k B23; make you B47; make B1446 LA1.
58. which] where Y356. as] whilst Y356. moyste] most B23. inclosed] cold PM1.
Line 59 ends at 'in' in Y356
59.* turn's] formes B16 C2 F160 NP1 Y356. into] to H3 O21 Y3. maye] in Y356. the] thay O3. cleare] *om* PM1; ~~e*le~~ cleare BD2; cleane C2 1640 1653; Could H7; cold B23 B46 B47 B89136 B1446 F6 LA1 O34. dropps] drop B16 BD2 F160 NP1 R9.
60. eares] eare B1446. Iewells] pendents B46.
Lines 61-62 omitted in B16 BD2 F160 NP1 R9 Y356 1640 1653 1673.
61.* donne,] once PM1.
62.* in] on B89136 B1446 F6 LA1; >i→o<n B46; on (*var.* >in<) B47. crosse,] rosse C1. carue] carud' H3 O36; write B23; graue C2 PM1 Y5. Ihesus] (*Iesus*) LUB11; *IESVS* B46. on] one Y3; in B46 B89136 O3.
Poem resumes at l.63 in B16 BD2 F160 NP1 R9 Y356 1640 1653 1673.
63. you] yee B46 B47; ye 1640 1653; yea Y3. that] hir B16 NP1. white] soft B46 B47 B89136 H7 Y356.
64. the] (y^{e} EU3 1673; A B23. touch] sight Y356. of which] whereof B47 C2 EU3 F160 LUB11 O21 PM1 Y3 Y356; hereof H3. tymes past] fo>r<mer times Y356. would] *om* Y356; might B23 B47 B89136 B1446 F6 F160 LA1 O34. haue] hath Y356.
65.* enough,] >Enough< O3; Sufficient Y356. to] t'haue B23 F6 F160 1640 1653; to haue B47 B1446 C2 H3 LA1 O21 O34 PM1 Y3 Y356. ransome] ransom'd B23 B47 C2 F6 F160 LA1 O21 O34 PM1 Y3 Y356 1640 1653; ransomed B1446 H3. a] *om* H3. thousand] *om* Y356. soule,] soules B16 B46 H3.
Alternate line: Ransome enoughe for many A thousand soule LUB11.
66. Captiu'd] B13 B23 B89136 BD2 C1 F6 HH4 LA1 LR2 LUB11 NP1 O36 PM1 R9 1673; Captiue B16 B46 B47 C2 EU3 H7 F160 H3 O3 O21 Y3 Y356 1640 1653; Captiued B1446 O34 Y5. loue?] Loue)? EU3; Loue) PM1 Y3 1673; Loue.- LA1; loue. B47 F6; loue: B23 O3; loue; R9; loue, B16 BD2 C1 H3 HH4 O21 O34 O36. yf not;] then hence B23 B47 B89136 B1446 F6 LA1 O34. then] y^{e} Y356; your B23 B47 B89136 B1446 F6 LA1 O34. vpwarde] vpwardes BD2 EU3 F160 LUB11 R9; backward B16 NP1; bodyes B23 B47 B89136 B1446 F6 LA1 O34. roule] roules B16.

Your little bodies; where I would you haue
this Epitaphe vpon her forehead grave.|
Liuinge she was, yonge, faire, and full of witt.
Dead, all her faultes are in her forehead wrytt.| [70]

Subscribed: F B.|

Lines 67-70 in margin O34.
67. Your] You*>r< B13; A B23 B47 B89136 B1446 F6 LA1 O34. bodies;] higher; B23 B47 B89136 B1446 F6 LA1 O34. would you] you would B1446. haue] *om* C1.
68. forehead] body O21.
69.* yonge,] *faire* B46 B89136 F160 O34; >f→y<ounge, B47. faire,] & fayre, B47 B1446 LA1; *younge* B46 B89136 F160 O34.
Alternate line: Shee, liu'd was faire & full of witt Y356.
Line 70 in margin B16.
70. are] were PM1. in] on B47 B1446 EU3 H3 LA1 O3 O21 O36; one B23 O34 Y3. SS. [] B11; *om* B16 B23 B89136 BD2 B1446 C2 F6 F160 H7 NP1 R9 Y356 1640 1653 1673 F B.| B13; Finis / A P B46; F: Beamont. B47; ff B | C1; Fra: B: EU3; I.D.| H3; Francis Beaumond HH4; finis LA1; F. B.| LR2; Ff Bb LUB11; F:B. / finis O3; JD: ffinis: | O21; Finis| O34; ffinis O36; F:B: PM1; ffinis Y3; F: Beamont. Y5

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