1.1.2

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English literary manuscripts, 1450–1700

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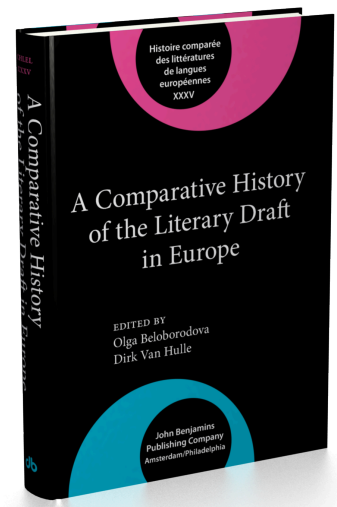

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1.1.2 Early modern holograph manuscripts

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H. R. Woudhuysen

Early modern holograph manuscripts are particularly well served by Peter Beal's online *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts, 1450–1700*. Using this resource, it is possible to study the autograph literary manuscripts of 236 named authors. The question of whether their holographs are drafts or fair copies is by no means always certain. Different sorts of manuscripts, the forms they take, and the occasions on which they were written are described and particular attention is paid to those by women. While often relying on professional scribes to produce fair copies, writers themselves tended to like revising those manuscripts, as well as to revise and correct their own autograph fair copies.

Keywords: manuscript, autograph, holograph, fair copy, scribes, Peter Beal, CELM

In 1973, R. R. Bowker commissioned a project to be known as the *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*. It was intended to catalogue and describe the literary manuscripts of English and Irish authors whose principal works were produced between 1450 and 1900; the authors were to be those listed in the *Concise Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (1958, 2e 1965). Eventually, four volumes in nine parts were published between 1980 and 1993 and, although in some volumes the choice of authors to be included had to be curtailed, the project was a remarkable one, providing, for the first time, an overview of thousands of literary manuscripts by major English authors from the late Middle Ages to the start of the twentieth century.

The first volume (in two parts) to appear was Peter Beal's *Index of Literary Manuscripts, 1450–1625*. A second volume was published, again in two parts (1987 and 1993), covering the period 1625 to 1700. Twenty years after the publication of the last part, with funding from the AHRC, the *Index* became an open access, online database, the *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts, 1450–1700* (CELM: https://celm.folger.edu/). The Catalogue is not just a searchable version of the *Index*, but a hugely expanded revision of it. The 123 authors covered in the *Index* were expanded to 237 (including an entry for the anonymous libel *Leicester's Commonwealth*); the number of individual manuscript entries grew from about 23,000 to 37,000. All the *Index* entries and the author introductions were revised, and among the many new entries there were 75 describing the manuscripts of women writers. CELM's contents can be viewed either by authors or by repositories.

The wealth of material in CELM about authors and their writings, their manuscripts, letters, documents, the books they owned, as well as the history of who collected these items, is extraordinary. Such a comprehensive, scholarly, wide-ranging, and accurate catalogue exists for no other period of English literature or for the literature of any other country. Manuscripts

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in the hands of their authors are identified in CELM by the addition of an asterisk before the item number. This makes it possible to provide a general survey of early modern holograph manuscripts produced by literary authors in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. In both cases, "manuscripts" and "literary authors" are broadly understood to include poetry, prose, and drama, political, religious, and private writing, as well as personal and official papers. The unique achievement of CELM is to organise and describe this material in a systematic and searchable way.

CELM is the most recent and comprehensive manifestation of an interest in English authors' manuscripts, especially autograph ones. In 1738, for example, in writing his life of John Milton, Thomas Birch made extensive use of the copies of the poems "in our Author's own hand-writing in the Manuscript" at Trinity College, Cambridge (Milton 1738: 1.xxxix). Milton had used the Trinity Manuscript as a notebook for work on his early poems, including the great elegy "Lycidas" (CELM: *MnJ 11) and *A Mask Presented at Ludlow-Castle*, usually known as "Comus" (*MnJ 57), during the 1630s and 1640s. The manuscript had found its way into the College's collections by 1736. Its value as evidence of a great poet writing, copying, and revising his work led to its reproduction in photographic facsimile in 1899, with an accompanying transcription (Milton 1899); a new set of photographs of the original manuscript was made in 1970 (Milton 1970). Parts of it were reproduced elsewhere, most notably in W.W. Greg's *English Literary Autographs, 1550–1650* (Greg 1925–32: plate LII) and P.J. Croft's *Autograph Poetry in the English Language* (Croft 1973: 47).

These catalogues and facsimiles all show the sense of insight and intimacy that seeing a writer's works in autograph (even in facsimile) can inspire in the viewer. As a motto for the first volume of his *Index*, Beal chose part of John Donne's Latin verse epistle to Richard Andrews, contrasting works that had been printed with those that remained in manuscript, "quae scripta manu sunt, veneranda magis" – [what is written out by hand is in greater reverence]. For his work, Croft printed an extract, "… this warm scribe my hand", from John Keats's poem "The Fall of Hyperion". Literary drafts and holographs have what is sometimes described as authorial "presence". Yet not everyone was impressed by being so close intellectually or imaginatively to a writer at work. Charles Lamb notoriously regretted the "evil hour" in which he was shown the Trinity Manuscript:[1]

> How it staggered me to see the fine things in their ore! interlined, corrected! as if their words were mortal, alterable, displaceable at pleasure! as if they might have been otherwise, and just as good! as if inspiration were made up of parts, and these fluctuating, successive, indifferent! (Milton 1899: 4)

Although Lamb's distress at seeing literary works come into being, paradoxically, reveals the awe in which he held them, there may also be something fundamentally mistaken in his expostulation. The Trinity Manuscript is largely in the poet's own hand, but it consists of a charac-

1. See also Chapters 1.1.4 and 1.4.1 in this volume.

teristic mixture of what appear to be drafts and fair copies, both showing signs of revision that took place as they were written and at various later dates.

It is not always possible to know for certain whether an early modern holograph is a draft or a fair copy. Almost all authorial drafts are holographs (although Milton because of his blindness is a special case), but not all holographs are drafts. A case in point is provided by the three pages written by Hand D in the manuscript of the play *Sir Thomas More* (CELM: *ShW 88). The pages are now attributed to Shakespeare, but it is not clear whether they show him in the act of composition or transcribing and revising his own work. In making fair copies of their own work, authors often make changes as they copy, so a neat distinction between deletions and revisions on and above (or below) the line is not sustainable. In the case of Shakespeare, the witness of his contemporaries John Heminges and William Condell further complicates the matter: "His mind and hand went together", they wrote in the First Folio, "And what he thought, he vttered with that easinesse, that wee haue scarse receiued from him a blot in his papers" (Shakespeare 1623:A3^{r}). Shakespeare's or Milton's genius might well have resulted in their extraordinary facility of expression, so that what look like fair copies are in fact first drafts. If their thinking and writing really did go together, the training in mental habits that education in early modern England demanded played a part in this.

When looking at holographs from this period, what is striking is how few of them appear to be the immediate or first results of composition. Rather, they seem to emerge fairly fully formed, in need only of light revision and correction. The phenomenon is particularly noticeable in autograph letters. When one looks at letters of the period sent from one person to another, the vast majority contain few of the hesitations, false starts, deletions, insertions, and revisions that might be expected. A letter was a social event or a performance, and its meaning was bound up with its form, so that it was expected to look right. Before a pen was picked up, thought went into its style and contents, but there is little surviving evidence that letters were worked up from rough drafts or notes. More than 800 of Alexander Pope's letters survive in his own hand, but no more than three unsent autograph drafts of his seem to survive. Yet Pope was a writer whose poetical manuscripts are rich in drafts and first thoughts (Pope 1956: 1.325, 489; 2.225). He was notoriously mean about small items, such as paper and candles, and it may be that he preferred not to waste paper on his drafts; it might also be that his reusing of scraps of paper for them meant that few survived. The three drafts just mentioned are all to be found in the scraps and fragments that were recycled for the translation of Homer's *Iliad*, now in the British Library.

In thinking about holograph manuscripts, attention needs to be paid to the circumstances of their creation, their material forms, and onward transmission. A fair copy on parchment or fine white paper with gilt edges, made for presentation to a patron, represents a different sort of holograph manuscript from, say, a bound paper-book used for the composition of working drafts or from a fair copy of a work, made by a scribe or secretary, and then revised by its author. These circumstantial, generic, and material differences in the production and transmission of the holograph drafts listed in CELM will be the subject of the rest of this chapter.

Although CELM is not a complete record of all English literary manuscripts of the period, it does give a very good sample of the handwritten remains of major and minor authors. Of the 236 named authors in the work, for 23 of them no manuscript copies, autograph or scribal, of their writings are known. For 86 authors, no literary – in its widest sense – manuscript survives, although their hands can usually be seen at work in letters, documents, or printed books. There are 90 authors for whom only one, two, or three literary manuscripts wholly or partly in their hand are known. (A distinction is made here and throughout between the manuscript itself as a physical object and the number of individual items or works it includes.) Those are precious survivals, but they leave only 37 authors for whom a reasonably substantial number of manuscripts containing autograph material have been identified.

Most of the authors in CELM for whom no manuscripts of any kind are known were women, such as Anne Askew, Anne Dowriche, Emilia Lanier, Isabella Whitney, and Elizabeth Wilkinson or were attributed to women, such as "Constantia Munda" and "Ester Sowernam". The roll-call of those writers for whom no literary manuscripts are known – putting letters and so on to one side – is formidable. It embraces such poets, north of the Border, as William Dunbar and Robert Henryson, and south of it, as Richard Lovelace, Andrew Marvell, Edmund Spenser, and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, dramatists, including Susanna Centlivre, George Farquhar, John Ford, Nathaniel Lee, John Lyly, Christopher Marlowe, Cyril Tourneur, Sir John Vanbrugh, John Webster, William Wycherley, and writers like Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, Robert Greene, Sir Thomas Malory, and Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke.

There are a significant number of authors, both male and female, for whom just a few autograph literary manuscripts survive. When these are considered with authors for whom autograph manuscripts survive in generous quantities, a clearer picture of the holograph draft and its different states and forms begins to emerge.

The evidence is clearest and most abundant not for poets and playwrights, but for theologians, scholars, heralds, antiquarian and political authors (their activities often went together), civil servants, medical men, travellers and soldiers, and philosophers of various kinds. Writing on these subjects in early modern England required just as much research and observation then as it does now, and research requires the taking of notes, the accumulation and preservation of knowledge and ideas. The vehicle for this sort of work was the notebook, which might relate to one specific work or to the gathering of notes for less directed use. In the case of John Evelyn, the preservation of the family archive makes it possible to see how many notebooks a man of varied interests might need. As a landowner, he kept a small pocket notebook relating to his estates and household (CELM *EvJ 65), one forming "A Booke of Promiscuous Notes, & Observations concerning Husbandry, Butlery &c:" (*EvJ 28), and one of "Trades: Seacrets & Receipts, Mechanical as they came casually to hand" (*EvJ 29). He wrote down "Adversaria Historical, Physical, Mathematical, Mechanicall &c. promiscuously set downe as they Occur in Reading, or Casual Discourse" (*EvJ 31), keeping notes on natural philosophy (*EvJ 26), chemistry (*EvJ 152), travel (*EvJ 57), and contemporary history (*EvJ 107). His special interests in the Dutch War (*EvJ 67–68) and in horticulture (*EvJ 73.5) needed space on paper. Nor did he

neglect the state of his soul, with notebooks devoted to religion (*EvJ 141), the New Testament (*EvJ 167–168), sermons (*EvJ 169), and to prayers and hymns (*EvJ 188, 190).

The survival of so many books of this kind owned by one individual is unusual; most authors are now known to have had only one or two notebooks, although no doubt some had many more. The Cambridge scholar Gabriel Harvey kept his academic notes in two (CELM *HvG 6–7). Samuel Pepys had two notebooks on the navy (*PpS 2–3). The mystical poet and priest Thomas Traherne had at least two volumes of this kind that are known as the "Early Notebook" (*TrT 138) and the "Ficino Notebook" (*TrT 233.5). Similarly, two notebooks relating to Sir Walter Ralegh's interest in chemistry and medicine (*RaW 711) and geography (*RaW 728) have been identified; the miscellaneous nature of the second of these is indicated by the presence in it of a list of books and a poem. George Savile, First Marquess of Halifax, filled at least two notebooks (*HaG 67, 67.5) with gossip.

In one notebook (*BrT 40), Sir Thomas Browne combined copies of letters to him with a list of seeds sown in his garden; in another (*BrT 48), the formula "a series of miscellaneous Observations upon several subjects" had to be used to describe its contents. In addition to coats of arms, William Camden (*CmW 165) kept a note of those present at the Field of the Cloth of Gold and his "account of Westminster School fees for 1596–7". Edmund Waller wrote notes on philosophy and definitions of key terms, as well as some notes on the Bible in one book (*WaE 864). In 1608 and 1609, Francis Bacon transferred material from two notebooks into at least two new ones; he called the one that survives (*BcF 153) "Comentarius solutus siue Pandecta siue Ancilla Memoriæ".

Other sorts of handmaidens of memory or storehouses of knowledge took the form of commonplace books, like those in which Evelyn (CELM *EvJ 32) kept their extracts from classical authors. Robert Sidney had four substantial volumes of this kind (*SiR 61–64), all bound in vellum and possibly dating from his time in Flushing. Nine autograph commonplace books belonging to Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, survive (*HoH 102–110), with another three (*HoH 99–101) that could be categorised as belonging or being closely akin to the genre. Halifax's "collection of autograph notes, memoranda and aphorisms, on historical, political, philosophical and miscellaneous subjects" would seem to include all these elements (*HaG 71).

Less expansive examples of authorial notes can be found and reflect their authors' interests. Lancelot Andrewes jotted down notes for two sermons to be preached at court (CELM *AndL 13.5), in preparation for a legal case (*AndL 54.5), and relating to biblical chronology and government (*AndL 43). Three autograph sets of historical notes made by Edward Hyde, First Earl of Clarendon, in connection with his great history of the Rebellion survive (*ClE 17–19); he also left devotional and theological notes (*ClE 48, 54). Two similar, but more extensive, miscellaneous historical collections were made by Halifax (*HaG 64–65). Ralegh's notes on the sea (*RaW 692), Thomas Hobbes's on fortifications (*HbT 68.5), and Evelyn's relating to the Royal Society (*EvJ 46) all survive, as do some stray ones by Sir Robert Cotton (*CtR 539) and, by Bacon for a specific philosophical work, *Of the Colours of Good and Evil*, (*BcF 230). Notes made by the prolific poet Richard Corbett on the subject of Roman Catholics (*CoR 764.5) constitute his sole-surviving literary manuscript.

Such autograph notes are important witnesses to the ways writers worked and how they turned them into drafts. The two sorts of writing often went together, so that notes and drafts feature in the same manuscript. They can be seen together in three manuscripts written by Cotton that went into the making of *An Answer made by Command of Prince Henry* (CELM *CtR 19), *A Breife Abstract of the Question of Precedencie between England and Spaine* (*CtR 80), and a more miscellaneous collection (*CtR 530). Bacon's autograph drafts and notes for *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* survive (*BcF 269) and a working collection of this kind from Halifax's pen, relating to more general political matters (*HaG 68). In one of his manuscript volumes (*EvJ 135.5), Evelyn included a draft dedicatory epistle for his book *Sylva*, a poem on the 1698 visit of Tsar Peter the Great, some notes on books and manuscripts, and additional notes on Greek and Latin vocabulary; further biographical and autobiographical drafts and notes by him and on the history of the Royal Society filled another book (*EvJ 137).

The survival of this sort of material is relatively rare and usually resulted from an archive being kept together or because an author's papers were thought to be of sufficient interest and importance to be preserved. In this way, Henry Howard's books joined the Arundel library and were eventually dispersed, but Cotton's autograph manuscripts were included in the Cottonian library; many of Hobbes's papers were kept at Chatsworth, Edward Herbert's at Powis Castle, Evelyn's came to Christ Church, Oxford, and Pepys's were safe in the library he presented to Magdalene College, Cambridge. William Drummond of Hawthornden gave his papers and some of his library to Edinburgh University Library. Clarendon's papers were kept by his family and deposited with the University of Oxford in 1759. Having secretaries and copyists, as Bacon, Clarendon, Sir John Harington, Henry Howard, Pepys, and others certainly did, helped to ensure the preservation as well as the transmission of their manuscripts, thereby making them available for study.

The loss of holograph manuscripts, whether drafts or finished copies, can be accounted for in a variety of ways. It is well known that during the hand-press period manuscripts sent to the printer were usually consumed in the process of being set. This was not always the case, and two of the most remarkable surviving partly autograph manuscripts that were used as printer's copy for their first editions are John Harington's translation of Books XIV to XLVI, with the "Briefe and Summarie Allegorie" of Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* of 1591 (CELM *HrJ 8) and Book V of Richard Hooker's *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* of 1597 (*HkR 10). In Harington's case, the preservation of parts of the autograph of *The Metamorphosis of Ajax*, used as the printer's copy in 1596 (*HrJ 317), suggests that the author might have made a practice of seeking to recover his manuscripts from the printing office. In other cases, the printers' copy might have been prepared by a scribe to disguise the work's authorship, as may have been the case with Halifax's anonymous *Observations upon a Late Libel* of 1681 (*HaG 43), or because the author could not write the copy, as happened with the manuscript of Book I of Milton's *Paradise Lost* (MnJ 22), first printed in 1667. A similar practice of destroying the author's draft once a holograph or scribal fair copy was made may have been common practice. In the past, authors might have sought to avoid the danger of the proliferation of versions of a work by sacrificing the original.

None of this – the demands of the press or the tidy sense of completion that fair copies created – fully explains why comparatively so few authorial autograph drafts survive. There were other reasons for this. Dramatists sold the manuscripts of their plays to theatrical companies and these versions of the scripts were easily lost, destroyed, or sent to the printer when their popularity made it expedient to do so. The *frisson* that later owners and spectators felt on seeing an autograph manuscript probably did not fully develop until the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, there is copious evidence that autograph material played a part in the social relations between writers and patrons. In its simplest form this can be seen in the way that although a scribe might be employed to write the main text of a letter to someone of superior status, its author would usually provide a signature, often accompanied by an autograph subscription and/or a postscript. This is regularly the case – a sole example among many – with the letters of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke. A signature, especially when carefully positioned with significant space around it, showed a degree of deference towards the recipient as well as the author's personal engagement in the communication.

The presentation manuscript provided a direct means by which to solicit patronage and favour. The Royal Manuscripts in the British Library provide a convenient place to look at this. They include Princess Elizabeth's autograph translations of her stepmother Katharine Parr's *Prayers and Meditations*, presented by her to her father, Henry VIII, in December 1545 (CELM *ElQ 65). This was part of a tradition of giving the monarch a New Year's Gift, to which the recipient responded with a present that could be transformed into money. On New Year's Day 1567, Thomas Wilson gave the Queen a short address, *Oratio de Clementia*, written in his own hand (*WiT 2). Verses on the coronation of Queen Anne, Princess Elizabeth's mother, in May 1533 were written in the hands of their authors John Leland and Nicholas Udall, and presumably presented to the Queen (*LeJ 8, *UdN 1). John Florio may have presented his autograph translation into Italian of James I's *Basilicon Doron* in about 1603 (*FloJ 2) to the King. Theatrical works, especially those performed at court, and royal entertainments made good presentation manuscripts. Ben Jonson presented his fair copy of *The Masque of Queens* to Prince Henry in 1609 (*JnB 685); this is relatively unusual for works of this kind because all twenty folio leaves are in Jonson's own hand. Poets might well do the same sort of thing, especially with shorter works. Samuel Daniel gave his nine-leaf autograph manuscript of *A Panegyrike Congratulatorie* to King James during his visit to Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutland, on or about 23 April 1603 (*DaS 21).

Many authors either lacked the calligraphic skill or the time to make fair copies for presentation of their own works. One who decidedly did not lack the skill was the scribe Esther Inglis: all 62 of her manuscripts were written by her in a rich variety of hands, mostly for presentation; among the Royal Manuscripts, a copy of her *Emblemes Chrestiens*, in an embroidered binding of crimson satin, was presented to Prince Charles in 1624 (CELM *InE 8). Other authors had to rely on scribes, but left evidence of their own pens at work. When Nicholas Breton gave a copy of *An Invective against Treason* to the Duke of Lennox at some point between 1605 and 1613, a professional scribe copied the text of the work, but Breton supplied the autograph dedication (*BrN 39). Parts of the brief manuscript of John Marston's *The Argument of the Spectacle presented to*

the Sacred Maiestys of great Brittan, and Denmark, written in 1606, are in the author's hand (*MrJ 3). On 1 January 1576, George Gascoigne presented his manuscript of *The Tale of Hemetes the Heremyte* to Queen Elizabeth; most of the manuscript is written in "a professional italic and secretary hand", but Gascoigne himself signed the dedicatory letter and probably contributed the drawings (*GaG 4). A different form of authorial contribution was made by Henry Howard to a scribal copy of the *Report of the Navy Commission* (*HoH 94) that he presented to James I in about 1609; besides manuscript corrections, Howard added autograph side-notes. This was his usual practice and occurs in other scribal manuscripts of his writings. It may have been thought to be part of the author's final task after a scribe had finished the copying, for Hooker wrote the side-notes in the copy (*HkR 10) of Book V of *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* that went to the printer.

Two volumes among the Royal Manuscripts are characteristic of the role authors played in preparing manuscripts for presentation or for further transmission. When James I commanded a copy of John Donne's Gunpowder Plot Sermon preached at St Paul's on 5 November 1622, he was presented with a scribal copy containing the preacher's autograph corrections (CELM *DnJ 4044.5). Some years before this, in about 1608, Bacon may have presented a manuscript consisting of three of his works to James (*BcF 99, 355–356); they were written by the same professional scribe, but in two of them Bacon seems to have made a few autograph corrections. Whether the King read the volume and whether he noticed the traces in it of his then Solicitor General's hand (if it is his) cannot be known, but the presence of Donne's and perhaps Bacon's revisions in the two manuscripts shows the authors wanted to give the King correct texts of their work and were willing to undertake that labour themselves, rather than depute it to their scribes.

A further refinement of the authorial presentation manuscript was of a printed book that an author adapted, corrected, or extended. The book was usually, but need not necessarily be, by the author, for another's work might lend itself to this treatment. On 18 February 1608, Harington presented a copy of Francis Godwin, Bishop of Hereford's *A Catalogue of Bishops of England* (1601) to Prince Henry; it was the eve of the young man's fourteenth birthday. Harington had heavily annotated the printed book with marginal notes, supplementing it with his autograph copy of *A Supplie or Addicion to the Catalogue of Bishops, to ye Yeare 1608* (CELM *HrJ 328), and other autograph and scribal material. Such elaborate treatment (the manuscript's binding bears the Prince's arms) contrasts with items that contain no more authorial holographs than the author's signature, such as Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness* (*JnB 683) of January 1605 or Philip Massinger's *Serio, sed Serio* (*MsP 8) of January 1635. A slightly more unusual manuscript (*GgA 43), *An new Yeares guift to the Kings Majestie*, from January 1610, was written by a scribe or amanuensis on parchment, but the author of its six poems addressed to the Stuart Royal Family, Sir Arthur Gorges, signed the first leaf, which was written on paper.

These types of presentation gifts among the Royal Manuscripts can also be found and extended throughout surviving authorial manuscripts. For example, a second Marston manuscript (CELM *MrJ 6), containing *The Entertainment of the Dowager-Countess of Darby* of 1607, is partly scribal and partly autograph. The opening address and the concluding eclogue

on the Duchess's departure are in Marston's hand, along (probably) with "occasional deletions, corrections and additions" to the scribal text. In the 1630s, Richard Crashaw supplied a scribal manuscript copy (*CrR 337) of his Latin epigrams with an autograph title-page and a dedication to Benjamin Laney, the Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where Crashaw was an undergraduate. About the same time, the poet had six leaves bound into a copy of St Teresa of Avila's poems, printed at Antwerp in 1630; he had two of his own poems (*CrR 11, 65) copied on these leaves by a scribe, but supplied a title-page and preliminary inscription, as well as making some textual alterations to them. Breton was content to present his three dialogues, *Auspicante Jehovah*, *Auxilium memoriae Liber*, to Lord North (probably Dudley, 3rd Baron North) written in his own hand (*BrN 111), but employed a professional scribe for the text of his poem "An Invective against Treason" (*BrN 39), writing the dedication to the Duke of Lennox himself. No other autograph literary manuscripts by Breton are known.

Presentation manuscripts tend by their nature to be formal occasions of writing in which the level of intimacy between the author and the recipient is hard to judge. The same applies to a greater or lesser extent with letters. They were frequently used as a vehicle for sending literary manuscripts either as part of the letter itself or as a separate enclosure. A 1596 Latin letter (CELM *AlW 138) from William Alabaster to Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, included a poem by him. Two of Charles Sackville, 6th Earl of Dorset's four surviving literary manuscripts consist of drafts of his poem "On the Statue in the Privy Garden" in ten- and six-line versions (*DoC 210–211), one written on a pair of quarto leaves, the other on a single oblong leaf, but both "once folded as a letter or packet". Similarly, William Congreve's only known literary autograph (*CgW 3.5) consists of four untitled quatrains ("Faded Delia moues Compassion"), written in the 1690s on one side of a single quarto leaf "once folded as a letter or packet". When Aphra Behn wrote to Abigail Waller on 21 October 1687, she enclosed with the letter (*BeA 52) a four-page autograph copy (*BeA 10), with corrections, of her elegy on the death of Edmund Waller.

Behn's poem is her only known literary manuscript (although eighteen examples of her correspondence and documents survive). That is characteristic of women writers of the period and the paucity of their autograph literary manuscripts is much to be regretted. With some exceptions, when such manuscripts do survive, they are represented in small numbers of copies of what might be called personal writing. Margaret, Lady Hoby's diary (CELM *HoM 1) is her sole surviving manuscript. Only one piece is known from the pen of Joyce Jefferies, concerning her financial affairs (CELM *JeJ 1). Two other wives of knights, Anne Fanshawe and Grace Mildmay are each known by two autograph manuscripts. The former revised and corrected a scribal copy of her memoirs (*FaA 1) and wrote a book of medical and culinary receipts (*FaA 3). The latter wrote her own journal (*MiG 1) and kept a miscellaneous volume mainly of receipts of a medical kind (*MiG 4). In the case of Jane Cheyne and Elizabeth Egerton, the daughters of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, it is known that they kept an account book (*C&E 196), but the sole literary manuscript associated with them, a copy of Egerton's substantial *Meditations* on the Old and New Testament, is only "possibly autograph" (*C&E 189). The tendency to few but extensive manuscripts is shown in Lady Anne Clifford's

collection of family records in her three *Great Books*, written and illustrated by a variety of scribes, but with her annotations and corrections (*CdA 1). It is, however, challenged to an extent by Elizabeth I – but as Queen, it was likely that examples of her handwriting would be preserved – and the calligrapher Inglis, as well perhaps by Bathsua Makin. Three of Makin's autograph manuscripts, all presented to women on conjugate leaves, survive, one in Latin that was "originally folded as a packet" (*MaB 2) and two in English, one of which (*MaB 3) stands on its own, but the other (*MaB 4) forms part of a letter.

Some of these works challenge the notion of what constitutes a literary manuscript as much as they may stretch definitions of what a draft is. Beal's definition of a draft as "a composition still in a potential state of incompleteness" (Beal 2008: 128) raises the question of whether such works are ever finished or, in the quotation usually attributed to Paul Valéry, abandoned. Nevertheless, it is possible to look at literary manuscripts of the period and to see authors engaging with the struggle to complete their own work. One feature of this is to notice how often, although there may be multiple instances of a writer drafting or revising a work in manuscript, the number of such manuscripts surviving for each author is relatively small. A characteristic example of this is the Egerton Manuscript of Sir Thomas Wyatt's poems (CELM *WyT 7). This 1530s miscellany contains much of Wyatt's verse, including 29 pieces entirely or partly in his hand. These items cover a range between poems entirely in his hand to ones copied by other hands in which he has made one autograph alteration. Beal uses fourteen different formulas to describe Wyatt's various authorial interventions in the poems in the volume.

A certain amount of doubt has already been suggested about the nature of Shakespeare's and Milton's interventions in the two manuscripts most famously associated with them. The position with Sir Philip Sidney might be thought to be much clearer. Three literary manuscripts in Sidney's hand survive: a sonnet written in a printed book (CELM *SiP 31); the autograph draft of his defence of his uncle, the Earl of Leicester (*SiP 172); and the incomplete copy he made of his *Discourse of Irish Affairs* (*SiP 180). Although the sonnet is clearly a fair copy, it has several readings that differ from the text preserved in the 1598 edition of Sidney's writings. The draft *Defence* is clearly a working one in a state of incompleteness, and something of the same case could be made for the *Discourse*, apparently a fair copy, but with "occasional changes, deletions and additions" (Beal 1998: 113). When Sidney's brother, Robert, made a fair copy (*SiR 1) for his wife of his 60 poems, he introduced autograph revisions in 33 of them.

The story is the same with other collections of poetry, especially those prepared by scribes. Fulke Greville had his writings copied by professional penmen into six volumes, introducing revisions in his own hand into every volume (CELM *GrF 1, 10, 12, 15, 27–28). The Dr Williams Manuscript of George Herbert's poems (*HrG 2) may show the poet to have been less prone to revising his work in its scribal fair copies than Robert Sidney in his autograph fair copy, but he still left his mark on 26 of the manuscript's 78 poems. When it came to his own copies of his Latin poems in the same manuscript (*HrG 315, *HrG 325), Herbert felt no great need to revise them. In the Gower Manuscript (*CwT 10.5), containing fair copies by a professional scribe of 47 poems by Thomas Carew, the poet introduced autograph changes to seventeen of them; for three he just supplied titles. Henry King did more or less the same, with changes to thirteen

poems out of the 64 included in one manuscript (*KiH 3), written by Thomas Manne and his "imitator". James Shirley confined himself to two poems in a calligraphic manuscript containing copies of 36 of his poems, adding a poem in his own fair copy to its final leaf (*ShJ 13).

When looking at authorial fair copies, the circumstances in and the purposes for which they were written need to be reconstructed. Like many authors, John Donne wrote poems in printed books, presumably for presentation to friends (CELM *DnJ 1–2); both poems are in Latin. His only known autograph English poem (*DnJ 1858) was a verse epistle sent to Lady Carew on a leaf of fine paper with its edges gilt for presentation. All of Jonson's autograph poems are fair copies addressed, given, or sent to named individuals, except for a translation from Martial (*JnB 319), found on a folio leaf with a copy in Jonson's hand of Sir Henry Wotton's "The Character of Happy Life" (*WoH 2); its paper is fine and has gilt edges. A fair copy (*HeR 305) in Robert Herrick's own hand of his elegy on a Fellow of a Cambridge college may have been, as was the then practice, pinned to the funeral coffin. When presenting their own writings to individuals or institutions, authors tended to be on their best calligraphic behaviour.

In contrast, for many poets and writers just a handful of clearly identifiable drafts survive. It is certainly possible to see Harvey at work on his writings, including the Skeltonic poem "The Schollers Loove", in his so-called *Letter-Book* (CELM *HvG 8). The roughness of Robert Southwell's verse translation "[The] Peeter Playnt" (*SoR 170) suggests that it was a working autograph draft. Edmund Waller's draft of two sections of "Of a War with Spain, and a Fight at Sea" (*WaE 144) clearly shows the poet at work, revising and cancelling what he wrote; he seems to have used his daughters to make fair copies of his poems, which he then revised. John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester is one of the few poets for whom a collection of nine drafts and revised versions of his poems (and a prose scene from a play) survive in his own hand (*RoJ 70), along with eight autograph drafts of his wife's poems.

A full taxonomy of the different sorts of venues and occasions for autograph compositions in England in the period from 1450 to 1700 has yet to be devised. When it is, the convenient opposition between rough draft and fair copy may well be seen to over-simplify matters.

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