

Notes

Introduction

1. The Folger Shakespeare Library has twenty-four copies of *Britannia* that were published prior to 1611; about half of these have marginal notes.
2. Folger, STC 4503, copy 3.
3. Folger, STC 4507, copy 4.
4. Perhaps reflecting the wider readership ensured by this, the first English translation. Folger, STC 4509, copy 2.
5. Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 93.
6. Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 299.
7. See, for instance, Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Politics and National Identity: Reformation to Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Claire McEachern, *The Poetics of English Nationhood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Gillian Brennan, *Patriotism, Power, and Print* (Cambridge: James Clarke, 2003); and Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism, and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
8. These works are (in the order referred to above): Rhonda Lemke Sanford, *Maps and Memory in Early Modern England: A Sense of Place* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Andrew Escobedo, *Nationalism and Historical Loss in Renaissance England: Foxe, Dee, Spenser, Milton* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004); Patrick Collinson, 'Biblical Rhetoric: The English Nation and National Sentiment in the Prophetic Mode,' in *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England*, ed. Claire McEachern and Debora Shuger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 15–45; Cathy Shrank, 'Rhetorical Constructions of a National Community: The Role of the King's English in Mid-Tudor Writing,' in *Communities in Early Modern England*, ed. Phil Withington and Alexandra Shepard (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 180–198; David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989); and Roze Hentschell, *The Culture of Cloth in Early Modern England: Textual Constructions of a National Identity* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008).
9. See, for instance, Bruce McLeod, *The Geography of Empire in English Literature, 1580–1745* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Willy Maley, *Nation, State, and Empire in English Renaissance Literature* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Andrew Hadfield, *Shakespeare, Spenser, and the Matter of Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Stewart Mottram, *Empire and Nation in Early English Renaissance Literature* (Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, 2008).
10. For an article that is representative of this tendency, see Martin Elsky, 'Microhistory and Cultural Geography: Ben Jonson's "To Sir Robert Wroth"'

and the Absorption of Local Community in the Commonwealth,' *Renaissance Quarterly* 53:2 (Summer 2000): 500–528.

1 Local Consciousness in Renaissance England

1. H. P. R. Finberg, 'The Local Historian and His Theme,' in *The Changing Face of English Local History*, ed. R. C. Richardson (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), 115. Originally published as *The local historian and his theme; an introductory lecture delivered at the University College of Leicester, 6 November 1952* (University College of Leicester, 1954).
2. Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); David Underdown, *Fire From Heaven: Life in an English Town in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).
3. James Horn, for instance, has written convincingly of the integrity of the hundred (an administrative unit that encompasses several parishes) in *Adapting to a New World* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 78–84, 118–119. Many writers have asserted the existence of self-conscious gentry 'county communities' prior to and during the Civil War. See, for example, Anthony Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex 1600–1660* (New York: Longman, 1975).
4. See Alan Everitt, *Landscape and Community in England* (London: Hambledon Press, 1985); and Joan Thirsk, *Agricultural Regions and Agrarian History in England, 1500–1750* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1987).
5. Christopher Lewis, *Particular Places: An Introduction to English Local History* (London: British Library, 1989), 35.
6. In a letter that probably accompanied Lambarde's manuscript *Description of the City of Lincoln*, Lambarde reminds Burghley that 'it pleased you (Right Honourable) this Last Terme, to demaund of me, Wheather I had written any description of Lincolne.' Lambarde says that he has 'collected some few Notes out of hystorie concerning it, which also I promised to searche out, and to send you' and has also included some notes 'concernyng Stamforde your Lo. owne towne.' The letter is dated December 2, 1584. BL.Lansdowne 43, article 21.
7. Charles Phythian-Adams, *Re-thinking English Local History* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1987), 48.
8. Everitt, *Landscape and Community*, 1. For more on the diversity and insularity (which titles I borrow for this section heading) of early modern English communities, see Everitt's *Change in the Provinces: The Seventeenth Century* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1969), 6–12.
9. Barry Coward, *Social Change and Continuity: England, 1550–1750* (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1997), 14.
10. *Ibid.*, 16.
11. Everitt, *Landscape and Community*, 3.
12. Coward, *Social Change and Continuity*, 15.
13. Paul Coones and John Patten, *The Penguin Guide to the Landscape of England and Wales* (New York: Penguin, 1986), 36.
14. H. C. Darby, *A New Historical Geography of England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 275–287.

15. Richard Carew, *Survey of Cornwall* (Redruth, Cornwall: Tamar, 2000), 17–18.
16. T. D. Atkinson, *Local Style in English Architecture* (New York: Batsford, 1947). Atkinson gives the subject its most extensive treatment, but see also Darby, *A New Historical Geography*, 258–9; and Coones and Patten, *The Penguin Guide to the Landscape*, 223.
17. Atkinson, *Local Style*, 22. This was true not only in color and appearance, says Atkinson, but even things like ornament: ‘The soft sandstones of the Midlands, the hard gritstones of the north demand a difference in architectural treatment and a smoother and rounder modeling of drapery, very different from the crisp treatment possible in the limestones’ (30).
18. Charles Kightly, *The Customs and Ceremonies of Britain* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1986), 14.
19. The Abbots Bromley Horn Dance, which involves ancient reindeer horns and an elaborate twenty-mile dance, may have originated as a way to raise funds for the parish church. The Dunmow Flitch, mentioned by Chaucer’s *Wife of Bath*, features the awarding of a side of bacon ‘to married couples who can prove that they have never repented of their union during a period of at least a year and a day after the wedding.’ The Burrator Reservoir Ceremony commemorates Sir Francis Drake’s supplying Plymouth with a more reliable source of fresh water in 1591. Kightly, *Customs and Ceremonies*, 41–42, 103, 63.
20. For a contemporary (and critical) account of this practice, see Philip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, ed. Margaret Jane Kidnie (Tempe, AZ: Renaissance English Text Society, 2002), 213–215.
21. Kightly, *Customs and Ceremonies*, 113. This was despite a 1536 decree that attempted to make each parish ‘hold its wake on the first Sunday in October, regardless of the date of the patronal festival’ (113).
22. *Ibid.*, 114.
23. Kightly’s entries on each of these note regional variations.
24. David Cressy, ‘The Protestant Calendar and the Vocabulary of Celebration in Early Modern England,’ in *Society and Culture in Early Modern England* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 32. See also David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989).
25. Coones and Patten, *Penguin Guide to the Landscape*, 214.
26. Darby, *A New Historical Geography*, 259–272.
27. A. L. Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1957), 22.
28. Nicholas Culpeper, *Culpeper’s Complete Herbal* (Ware, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth, 1995), 1.
29. One early exception is John Ray’s *South and East Country Words* (1674).
30. See Alexandra F. Johnston and Wim Hüsken (eds.), *English Parish Drama* (Atlanta: Rodopi, 1996). These collected essays discuss a number of local-sponsored dramatic activities in areas as diverse as Chester, West Yorkshire, and the Thames Valley.
31. Margaret Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villages in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 2nd edn. (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), xxii–xxiii.
32. *Ibid.*, xxvii–xxviii.
33. Stephen Bending and Andrew McRae, *The Writing of Rural England, 1500–1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), xiii. Even in 1801, this figure still stood at about 72 percent (xiii).

34. By 1650, some 350,000 people lived in London, but that was still only 7.2 percent of the total population of England. Roger Finlay and Beatrice Shearer, 'Population Growth and Suburban Expansion,' in *London 1500–1700: The Making of the Metropolis*, ed. A. L. Beier and Roger Finlay (New York: Longman, 1986), 37–59 (39).
35. Tristram Risdon, *Chorographical Description, or, Survey of the County of Devon* (London: E. Curll, 1714), 2. Subsequent citations of Risdon are from this edition; page numbers will be given in parentheses within the text.
36. Everitt, *Change in the Provinces: The Seventeenth Century*, 9.
37. Most hadn't seen a reproduced image of the monarch, much less seen him or her in person.
38. The full anecdote can be found in Everitt, *Change in the Provinces*, 9–10.
39. See John Morrill, *Revolt in the Provinces: The People of England and the Tragedies of War, 1630–1648*, 2nd edn. (New York: Longman, 1999), 132–151.
40. Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington's influential *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000) embodies this trend and its Introduction provides a detailed summary of its key developments.
41. Clive Holmes, 'The County Community in Stuart Historiography,' *Journal of British Studies* 19: 2 (1980): 54–73.
42. Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580–1680* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1982), 13.
43. *Ibid.*, 224.
44. Coward, *Social Change and Continuity*, 7–9.
45. See Alastair Bellamy, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603–1666* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); and Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641–1649* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).
46. Margaret Spufford, 'The Pedlar, the Historian and the Folklorist: Seventeenth Century Communications,' *Folklore* 105 (1994): 13–24 (16).
47. For Spufford, the 1620s is the key decade; *ibid.*, 21.
48. Beat Kumin, *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish c. 1400–1560* (Brookfield, VT: Scolar Press, 1996), 247–249.
49. *Ibid.*, 2, 257.
50. See Robert Tittler, 'The Emergence of Urban Policy, 1536–58,' in *The Mid-Tudor Polity, c. 1540–1560*, ed. Jennifer Loach and Robert Tittler (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1980), 74–93; 'The End of the Middle Ages in the English Country Town,' *Sixteenth Century Journal* 18:4 (1987): 471–487; and *The Reformation and the Towns in England: Politics and Political Culture, c. 1540–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).
51. See Robert Tittler, *Architecture and Power: The Town Hall and the English Urban Community, c. 1540–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); and *The Face of the City: Civic Portraiture and Civic Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).
52. David Dean, 'Locality and Self in the Elizabethan Lottery of the 1560s,' in *Local Identities in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Norman L. Jones and Daniel Woolf (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 207–227 (208, 213). All examples of poesies later in the paragraph are from this article.

53. Some of the poesies that Dean mentions are: 'S. Maryes at the Toure, praye for me every hour' (a reference to the writer's parish church in Ipswich); 'God speede well, the auncient Towne of Arundell'; and 'Dunton upon the hill, would gayne with a good will' ('Locality and Self,' 213–214). Dean also reports, 'Several poesies celebrated their patron saint, St Laurence being the reference in more lots than any other, including that in Thanet' (214).
54. Dean, 'Locality and Self,' 207.
55. For example, Rafe Willhouse's entry pleaded: 'Yarmouth haven god thee speed, the lorde he knoweth thy great need' (218) while John Michell of Devon wrote 'Topsham is buylded upon a red Rydge, I praye God sende a good lot to maintayne the Kay and Bridge' (215).
56. The numbers here and in the table above are compiled from the extensive list of geographical works provided by E. G. R. Taylor in the back of his *Tudor Geography, 1485–1583* (London: Methuen, 1930) and *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography, 1583–1650* (London: Methuen, 1934). The lists (and my calculations) include both manuscript and printed geographical works.
57. D. K. Smith, *The Cartographic Imagination in Early Modern England* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 6.
58. Rhonda Lemke Sanford, *Maps and Memory in Early Modern England: A Sense of Place* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 12.
59. In the two decades after Saxton, additional print and manuscript county maps appeared by John Norden for Middlesex, Surrey, Essex, and Hampshire; and by William Smith for Lancashire. In 1599, Peter Van Den Keer published *A collection of 28 Maps of the Counties of England and Wales*.
60. William Cunningham's *The Cosmological Glasse* (1559) was the first English work to describe the new continental triangulation methods that were bringing a new, mathematical exactness to surveys. According to Peter Eden, by 1598 estate surveys 'were a commonplace.' Eden, 'Three Elizabethan Estate Surveyors: Peter Kempe, Thomas Clerke, and Thomas Langdon,' in *English Map-Making, 1500–1650: Historical Essays*, ed. Sarah Tyacke (London: British Library, 1983), 68.
61. Taylor, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography*, 42.
62. See also Richard Hasleton, *Strange and wonderful things happened to R.H. in his ten years' travels in foreign countries* (1595).
63. And indeed, a replica of Coryate's shoes are still on display in the Odcombe parish church.
64. Andrew McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). McRae is especially interested in how travel contributed to new models of nationhood.
65. According to the *DNB*, King 'was apprenticed on 3 Sept. 1630 as [a] painter . . . After carrying on business for some years at Chester, he removed to London, where in 1656 he published *The Vale Royall of England . . .*' *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 31 (London: Smith, Elder, & co., 1892), 126.
66. Daniel King, *The Vale-Royall of England. Or, The County Palatine of Chester Illustrated* (London: John Streater, 1656), iv, iii. Subsequent citations of King are from this edition; page numbers will be given in parentheses within the text. King's *Vale-Royall* is actually a combination of two earlier descriptions of the county by William Smith (c. 1584) and William Webb (1622), though King does add several pages of prefatory material and engravings of gentry arms.

67. For example, J. Hubrighe, *Almanack . . . with a rule to knowe the ebbes and fluddes . . . Also all the principal faires and martes etc.* (1568); Richard Grafton, *A little Treatise containing many proper tables and rules, &c.* (1571); John Richard Grafton, *Abridgement of the Chronicles of Englande* (1572); John Stow, *A Summarie of the Chronicles of England, &c.* (1575); and William Harrison's *Description of England* (1577).
68. Dunwich had once been the capital of Saxon East Anglia.
69. These reports were authored by Richard Tarleton and John Chapman, respectively.
70. William Averell and Thomas Marshe, respectively. The latter is actually a short ballad.
71. Perhaps in the same way that Midland, Texas became associated (and is still associated) in the American imagination with 'Baby Jessica' and her dramatic rescue from a well in 1987.
72. John Chandler, *Travels Through Stuart Britain: The Adventures of John Taylor the Water Poet* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), ix.
73. *The praise of hemp-seed. With the voyage of Mr. Roger Bird and the writer hereof, in a boat of brown-paper, from London to Quinborough in Kent* (1619).
74. Taylor, for instance, includes an 'account of [Hull's] virtues, the quality of its government, its excellent water supply and defences,' 'a long description of a medicinal spring near Wallingford,' 'detailed descriptions of . . . Leicester's archaeological remains, Leeds parish church and the belvedere at Wharncliffe,' and 'historical descriptions . . . of Ipswich, Norwich, and King's Lynn' in his various journey descriptions. Chandler, *Travels Through Stuart Britain*, 63, 131, 153, 243.
75. Chandler, *Travels Through Stuart Britain*, 59.
76. Claire McEachern, *The Poetics of English Nationhood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 30. See also Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Politics and National Identity: Reformation to Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 2. Krishan Kumar provides a similar articulation: 'It is common enough for nations, as for individuals, to develop a sense of themselves by a process of opposition and exclusion. What they are – French, German – is defined by what they are not – German, French. The content of national identity is more often than not a counter-image of what is seen as distinctive in the culture of the other nation or nations.' Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), ix.
77. Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, 162.
78. John M. Adrian, 'Itineraries, Perambulations, and Surveys: The Intersections of Chorography and Cartography in the Sixteenth Century,' in *Images of Matter: Essays on British Literature of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Yvonne Bruce (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 29–46 (29).
79. Philip Symonson's *New Description of Kent* appeared in 1596. John Norden published sections of his never-completed *Speculum Britanniae* on Middlesex (1593) and Hertfordshire (1598) while separate descriptions of Surrey, Essex, Sussex, and Hampshire remained in manuscript. Sampson Erdeswicke's *Certaine verie rare observations of Cumberlonde, Northumberland . . .* (1574), Reginald Bainbrigg's *Collections relative to the Antiquities of Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham* (1602), and Thomas Beckham's *Collections for the County of Suffolk* (1602)

- were completed but remained in manuscript. According to Jack Simmons, several other county chorographies generally associated with the first half of the seventeenth century – Reyce's *Suffolk* (1618), Burton's *Leicestershire* (1622), Risdon's *Devon* (1630), Smyth's *Berkeley* (1639) – were actually all begun around the turn of the century, and thus in my view more properly belong to this earlier phase. Jack Simmons, *English County Historians: First Series* (Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1978), 6–7.
80. John Hooker's *Description of the Cittie of Exeter*. Alexander Neville's *Description of Norwich* was originally written in Latin but translated in 1623. Lambarde's *Description of the City of Lincoln*, completed at the request of Lord Burleigh sometime in the latter half of the sixteenth century, remains in manuscript at the Bodleian Library. Henry Manship's *Great Yarmouth. A Book of the Foundation and Antiquity of the saide Towne* remained in manuscript until 1847. Thomas Nashe included a chorographical description of Great Yarmouth in his *Lenten Stuffe*.
 81. William Burton, *The Description of Leicestershire* (London: John White, 1622). Subsequent citations of Burton are from this edition; page numbers will be given in parentheses within the text.
 82. The *Breviary* was completed around 1618 but first published as *Suffolk in the XVIIIth Century: The Breviary of Suffolk* (London: John Murray, 1902). Subsequent citations of Reyce are from this edition; page numbers will be given in parentheses within the text.
 83. According to the *OED*, the only other contemporary secular meaning of the word 'breviary' was 'a brief summary' – which wouldn't seem to apply to an exhaustive work of this nature!
 84. Thomas Gerard, *A Survey of Dorsetshire* (London: J. Wilcox, 1732), 8. Subsequent citations of Gerard are from this edition; page numbers will be given in parentheses within the text. The *Survey* was actually completed around 1633.
 85. As its title implies, Sampson Erdeswicke's *Certaine verie rare observations of Cumberlonde, Northumberlande . . .* (1574) takes such rarities as its exclusive focus.
 86. Richard Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall* (London: S.S. for John Jaggard, 1602), 54. Subsequent citations of Carew are from this edition; page numbers will be given in parentheses within the text.
 87. Smyth notes 'the inbred delight, that both gentry, yeomanry, rascality, boyes, and children, doe take in a game called Stoball . . .' (10); Carew describes a game called 'Hurling,' different versions of which are 'played in the East of Cornwall than the West' (73 v.).
 88. Smith's description was eventually published in Daniel King's *Vale-Royall of England*, 40. See n. 66.
 89. Indeed, Smith himself had traveled extensively in Germany and throughout continental Europe.
 90. Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 299.
 91. *Ibid.*, 138. Helgerson is referring to William Dugdale's voluminous *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656).
 92. Jones and Woolf, 'Introduction,' in *Local Identities in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, 2.

93. Lemster (or Leominster) is in Herefordshire while the Cotswolds lie mainly within Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire.
94. William Gray, *Chorographia: or, a Survey of Newcastle Upon Tine* (South Shields: George Nicholson, 1892), 20. Subsequent citations of Gray's 1649 work are from this edition; page numbers will be given in parentheses within the text.
95. William Lambarde, *The Description of the City of Lincoln*, Bodleian MS.Eng. hist.c.287. Lambarde adds begrudgingly that this is 'notwithstanding that the 3 several Bishopricks of Eli, Peterborow, and, Oxford, have since that time bene taken from it' (75).
96. The poem is probably by J. King, the author's cousin.
97. John Hooker, *The Description of the Citie of Ercester*, Vol. II (Devon and Cornwall Records Society, 1919–1947), 4.
98. William Lambarde, *A Perambulation of Kent*, ed. Richard Church (Bath: Adams and Dart, 1970), 226, 187.
99. Smyth reports that Berkeley hundred is comprised of 123 parcels ('hides') of 160 acres each, for a total of 19,680 acres (2).
100. The other 183 pages are devoted mostly to past inhabitants of the island (Celts, Romans, Picts, Saxons, Danes, and Normans) rather than to a cohesive description of the nation.
101. *England; a coloured facsimile of the maps and text from The theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, Vol. IV (London: Phoenix House, 1953–1954), 67.
102. The content of Derbyshire's boxes is pretty representative, though some of Speed's maps include variations like bird's eye views of two towns (Yorkshire includes views of both Richmond and Hull) or a thumbnail description of a key historical event associated with the county (Nottinghamshire gives an account of a battle from the reign of Henry VII).
103. Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 138.
104. These relics include 'a poor house' of uncertain founding date, a parish cross of uncertain origin, and an old hermitage. Bedwell is unable to shed any additional light on Tottenham High Cross's antiquities.
105. Wilhelm Bedwell, *A Briefe Description of the towne of Tottenham Highcrosse in Middlesex* (London: John Norton, 1631), E1. Subsequent citations of Bedwell are from this edition; page numbers will be given in parentheses within the text.
106. These annotations were found in Folger, STC 4503, copy 2 (1586); 4503, copy 3 (1586); 4507, copy 4 (1600); 4507, copy 5 (1600); 4509, copy 2 (1610); and 4510.3 (1637).
107. Folger, STC 4615, copy 4.
108. The particular copy that I discuss in this passage is in the Bodleian Library: Gough Dorset 5.
109. 1597 is the traditional date of publication, though Arden editor Giorgio Melchiori argues for the slightly later date of 1599. *The Arden Shakespeare Merry Wives of Windsor*, Third Series (Walton-on-Thames, Surrey: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 2000), 21–30. Subsequent quotations and line numbers of *Merry Wives* are from this edition.
110. Banbury (1.1.120) is in Oxfordshire, the next county over from Windsor's Berkshire. Brentford (4.2.72) is on the Thames, twelve miles east of Windsor. The Cotswolds (1.1.83) are further west, but also along the Thames.

111. Melchiori argues that the Garter Inn may not have actually existed (133), but it is at least imagined as a specific building in central Windsor. The famous episode where Falstaff is dumped out of the laundry basket and into a muddy ditch is firmly tied to a particular lane, mead, and river. Windsor Castle is mentioned twice (3.3.202; 5.5.56) while Windsor Forest is the setting for the final trick on Falstaff (4.4.27).
112. The whitsters (3.3.13) are 'whiteners, i.e. professional bleachers of clothes.' The poor knights of Windsor were a group of retired soldiers who lived in Windsor and received a pension from the Crown. Falstaff, the play implies, belongs to this group of knights. Melchiori, *Merry Wives*, 214, 21.
113. For instance, the word could be removed from the phrases 'The Windsor bell hath struck twelve' (5.5.1) and 'Cricket, to Windsor chimneys thou shalt leap' (5.5.43) without affecting their essential meaning.
114. According to Melchiori, 'The tale or legend seems to be of Shakespeare's own invention' (257). Even if he is a fabrication, Herne the Hunter is just the sort of legend that would flourish at the local level.
115. In fact, a much shorter quarto version of the play (published in 1602) actually eliminates most of the place details and introduces a more 'Italianate' flavor. Melchiori, *Merry Wives*, 10.
116. Shakespeare himself supplies considerable Midlands details for the Christopher Sly section of *Taming of the Shrew* (c. 1594). The anonymous *Arden of Feversham* (1592) dramatizes a notorious episode of Kentish history. London plays like Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday* (1599) are set within a richly detailed and recognizable London landscape.
117. After discussing the localized poesies created for the national lottery of 1567–1569, Dean situates them 'within the larger context of local knowledge [emerging] in this period.' 'Locality and Self,' 220.
118. Tusser is particularly concerned about variations among Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Leicestershire, Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire, and Middlesex.
119. Heywood, p. 178, #5. Edgeware was then a small village outside London, while Rayleigh is located 30 miles to the east in Essex.
120. Which would seem to reflect Spenser's own experiences in the region as the personal secretary to the Bishop of Rochester.
121. Joan Grundy, *The Spenserian Poets* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969), 66.
122. James Turner, *The Politics of Landscape: Rural Scenery and Society in English Poetry, 1630–1660* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979).
123. Both involved local opposition to national religious changes, and both were sponsored by powerful northern nobles.
124. Hotspur's father, Henry Percy, is referred to as 'Northumberland' throughout the play and 2.3 is presumably set in Warkworth Castle, the family estate. Mortimer's title is the Earl of March, though he cooperates with rather than resists the incursions of the Welsh Owen Glendower.
125. Neville Kirk (ed.), *Northern Identities: Historical Interpretations of 'The North' and 'Northernness'* (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 2000), 5.
126. Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 38. For more on increasing realism and native elements in English pastoral, see John Barrell and John Bull (eds.), *The Penguin Book of English Pastoral Verse* (London: Allen Lane, 1974), 141–145.

127. For Michelle O'Callaghan, the pastoral critiques of Drayton, Wither, Browne, and others amount not only to locally based critiques, but to an alternative 'shepherd's nation.' Michelle O'Callaghan, *The 'Shepherd's Nation': Jacobean Spenserians and Early Stuart Political Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).
128. Encapsulated in lines 80–81: 'This maketh me at home to hunt and to hawk / And in foul weather at my book to sit.'
129. William Camden, *Britannia* (1610), 283.
130. *The Novels of Thomas Deloney*, ed. Merritt E. Lawlis (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), 68. Subsequent page numbers will be provided in the text.
131. At one point, Deloney even has the King say 'that no Trade in all the Land was so much to bee cherished and maintained as this, which . . . may well be called The life of the poor' (47). For an extended reading on the above episode as an instance of contemporary social protest on the part of Deloney, see Roze Hentschell, *The Culture of Cloth in Early Modern England: Textual Constructions of a National Identity* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 51–71.
132. Elsewhere Jack/Deloney actually calculates the total number of people maintained by the clothing industry at 'threescore thousand and six hundred persons' (57).
133. Cardinal Wolsey, the son of a butcher, was born in Ipswich, Suffolk in 1471. In opposing the clothier's complaint to the King, he is the emblem of someone who forgets where he comes from. When Jack quips that 'if my Lord Cardinals father had beene no hastier in killing of Calves then he is in dispatching of poore mens sutes, I doubt he had never worne a Myter' (59), Wolsey angrily has the clothiers thrown in prison.
134. The most probable date is 1612. There is also evidence that Dover 'improved or re-created' existing games rather than starting from scratch. See Christopher Whitfield, *Robert Dover and the Cotswold Games* (Evesham, Worcs.: The Journal Press, 1962), 13–15.
135. *Ibid.*, 19.
136. All poem quotations and page numbers derive from the edition of *Annalia Dubrensis* published in E. R. Vyvyan, *Dover's Cotswold Games* (London: Tabard Press, 1970).
137. John Cole's poem says that Dover 'Makes the Games / Of Hide-parke common: as their Citie Dames' (66). Walton Poole asserts the superiority of the Cotswold Games to sports held in Royston, Newmarket, Brigants, Brackley, Bannsteed, and Sarum (71).
138. Though Drayton's account is probably of the version of the Games that existed before Dover revived them. Drayton's fanciful map of Gloucestershire includes a visual representation of the festivities.
139. Wrightson, *English Society*, 70.
140. Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year, 1400–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 194.
141. In the preceding lines, Trussell puts the Cotswold Games in the tradition of rushbearing, Whitsun ales, May games, and Hocktide pastimes.
142. Deloney goes even further back for the setting of *Thomas of Reading* (c. 1598) to the reign of Henry I, a time (Deloney says) when 'there was few or no beggars' and 'it was a rare thing to heare of a thiefe' (267).

143. John Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. H. B. Wheatley (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1960), 115.
144. See, for examples, Songs II, VII, and XXII.
145. The phrase is used by William Gray in his address 'To the Candid Reader' in *Chorographia: or, a Survey of Newcastle Upon Tine*.
146. As *A Homily Against Disobedience and Willful Rebellion* (1570) puts it: 'it is most evident that kings, queens, and other princes . . . are ordained of God, are to be obeyed and honoured of their subjects; that such subjects as are disobedient or rebellious against their princes disobey God and procure their owne damnation' (211). Ed. Ronald B. Bond (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).
147. Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 107–147. R. Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987).
148. McEachern, *Poetics of English Nationhood*, 5.
149. Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part I*, written just two years after the defeat of Spain, is particularly rich in pro-unity speeches, for example: ' . . . when envy breeds unkind division. / There comes the ruin, there begins confusion' (4.1.193–194).
150. Coward, *Social Change and Continuity*, 30. Coward explains: 'it is possible that "growth" [of a sense of national community] implies too lineal a process . . . conscious of belonging to a national community may have reached peaks separated by troughs, the high points being the early years of the war against Spain in the 1580s, the period just before 1640 and during the next two decades, during the Exclusion Crisis of 1678–81, and again during the wars against France after 1689' (30).
151. Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity*, 39. The author, as she notes, is paraphrasing Hegel.
152. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 502.
153. See Victor Harris, *All Coherence Gone: A Study of the Seventeenth Century Controversy Over Disorder and Decay in the Universe* (London: Cass, 1966).
154. Hiram Haydn, *The Counter-Renaissance* (New York: Grove Press, 1960), xv–xvi.
155. Ben Jonson, *Timber: or Discoveries Made upon Men and Matter*, in Ben Jonson, ed. C. H. Herford and P. Simpson, Vol. VIII (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 621.
156. Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 13.
157. J. D. Marshall, *The Tyranny of the Discrete: A Discussion of the Problems of Local History in England* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), 75.

2 William Lambarde and Tudor Centralization

1. The Pilgrimage of Grace (1536), the Western Rebellion (1547–1549), and Kett's Rebellion (1549), respectively. Lambarde was born in London in 1536 and died in 1601 at Westcombe Manor in East Greenwich, Kent.
2. Patricia Hyde and Michael Zell, 'Governing the County,' in *Early Modern Kent, 1540–1640*, ed. Michael Zell (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2000), 24.
3. David Loades, *Tudor Government* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), 131.

4. *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), Vol. XI, 518. Other contemporary definitions included 'a walk, a journey on foot' and a '[c]omprehensive relation or description.' Lambarde himself is credited with coining a new usage: '[t]he action of travelling through and inspecting a territory or region.' Nevertheless, it is clear from Lambarde's methodology of a circular progression around the dioceses of Kent that he also has in mind this more formal definition.
5. Perambulation was also an important ritual for the community of the parish church, yet it still served the same practical function of checking boundaries. See 'Beating the Bounds' in Charles Kightly's *The Customs and Ceremonies of Britain* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1986), 48–50. Survey maps were beginning to replace verbal property descriptions in the sixteenth century, but the latter were still much in use. For more on this trend, see Catherine Delano-Smith and Roger Kain, *English Maps: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 114–118.
6. For example: 'I will not heere stande upon that matter, but forsaking the shore, betake me Northward to passe along the River Rother which divideth this Shire from Sussex: where, after that I shall have shewed you Apledore, Stone, and Newenden, I will pearce through the Wealde to Medway, and so labour to perfourme the rest of this purpose' (184).
7. William Lambarde, *A Perambulation of Kent*, ed. Richard Church (Bath, UK: Adams and Dart, 1970), 308. All citations of Lambarde are from this edition. Subsequent page numbers are given in parentheses within the text.
8. Even in Lambarde's day, 'order' was a complex word with many shades of meaning. The author's usage in the preceding examples seems to conform most to the *OED*'s third category of denotations for the word: 'sequence, disposition, arrangement . . . or regulated condition' (X.904). But 'order' as methodical arrangement need not preclude a political application. The oldest English forms of the word refer to 'orders of angels' and ranks of 'monastic order' (902) – concepts that effectively blend notions of orderly arrangement with notions of hierarchy and authority. Indeed, political order, it seems to me, is always derived from some form of orderly arrangement. In the fifteenth century, 'civil or public order' was coined as '[t]he condition in which the laws or usages regulating the public relations of individuals to the community, and the public conduct of members or sections of the community to each other, are maintained and observed' (905). In other words, it is no great leap to think about Lambarde's preoccupation with literary ordering as indirectly reflecting a concern about political order as well.
9. Such phrases also suggest an awareness of the precariousness of his enterprise, and the vigilance necessary to maintain order both in the *Perambulation* and in sixteenth-century Kent.
10. Tristram Risdon, *The Chorographical Description, or, Survey of the County of Devon* (London: E. Curll, 1714), 36. This work was completed in manuscript around 1630.
11. Daniel King, *The Vale-Royall of England. Or, The County Palatine of Chester Illustrated* (London: John Streater, 1656), 2.
12. Wotton's epistle 'To his Countriemen, the Gentlemen of the Countie of Kent' joins Lambarde's letter to Wotton in the prefatory material of the first printed edition of the *Perambulation* in 1576. The basic sentiment of this

- quote – the importance of the gentry to the governing of the provinces – is a commonplace among modern historians.
13. Richard Helgerson supports such a political reading of the genre when he connects the ‘shift in chorographical activity from the kingdom to the county’ to emergent depictions of an ‘oligarchic England’ in the early seventeenth century. ‘Nation or Estate? Ideological Conflict in the Early Modern Mapping of England,’ *Cartographica* 30:1 (1993): 73–74. Helgerson explores the political implications of chorography in greater detail in the third chapter of *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
 14. Peter Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics, and Society in Kent, 1500–1640* (Hassocks, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1977), 3.
 15. In the chorographic works that follow Carew’s *Survey of Cornwall* (1602), Richard Helgerson detects a ‘much more exclusive focus on individual ownership of the land’ that often took the form of detailed ‘listing of genealogical and proprietary information.’ Helgerson, ‘Nation or Estate?’ 73.
 16. Retha Warnicke, *William Lambarde: Elizabethan Antiquary, 1536–1601* (Chichester, Sussex: Phillimore and Co., 1973), 4. I am indebted to Warnicke for the basic biographical information in this paragraph.
 17. Warnicke suggests that Lambarde may also have moved his residence to Westcombe Manor as early as 1567. *William Lambarde*, 39–40. The Sewers Commission was authorized to oversee and maintain everything from drainage ditches to sea defenses.
 18. In ‘Governing the County,’ Hyde and Zell say that ‘Lambarde (himself the son of a Londoner) exaggerated the metropolitan input’ (20) – an observation that supports the conclusion that I reach in the next sentence.
 19. The ancient powers of the sheriff were curtailed, for instance.
 20. A. L. Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth: The Structure of Society* (New York: Macmillan, 1951), 341.
 21. Clark, *English Provincial Society*, 119.
 22. Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes suggest that Tudor centralization relied heavily on voluntary compliance: ‘the balance of power in the counties remained essentially traditional and the government sought to persuade gentlemen that they had a vested interest in the promotion of good order as defined by the centre.’ *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500–1700* (London: Macmillan, 1994), 184.
 23. Loades, *Tudor Government*, 6. Though this articulation is a bit exaggerated, it is by no means singular. Heal and Holmes generally concur: ‘In 1550 it was still possible to think of England as, in Dr Bernard’s phrase, “a confederation of noble fiefdoms”.’ *The Gentry*, 196.
 24. Loades says that minor liberties and other exemptions ‘belonged to a distributive concept of authority, of which the feudal system itself had been the greatest example.’ *Tudor Government*, 224.
 25. Clark, *English Provincial Society*, 112–113.
 26. For a detailed example of one local official’s response to centralization, see Peter Fleming, ‘Sir Thomas Cheyne, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 1536–1558: Central Authority and the Defence of Local Privilege,’ in *Regionalism and Revision: The Crown and its Provinces in England, 1200–1650*, ed. Peter Fleming,

- Anthony Gross, and J. R. Lander (London: Hambledon Press, 1998), 123–144. Martin Elsky, on the other hand, depicts the complex negotiations (and greater compliance) of the Wroth family later in the century: ‘Microhistory and Cultural Geography: Ben Jonson’s “To Sir Robert Wroth” and the Absorption of Local Community in the Commonwealth,’ *Renaissance Quarterly* 53:2 (Summer 2000): 500–528.
27. Hyde and Zell, ‘Governing the County,’ 19.
 28. See Heal and Holmes on gentry motives of ‘status’ and ‘local power’ and the Crown’s attempts to transform them into ‘an ideology of public service.’ *The Gentry*, 168–184.
 29. It seems significant that the two major JP handbooks of the early modern period – Lambarde’s *Eirenarcha* (1582) and Michael Dalton’s *The Country Justice* (1618) – would both warn against JPs using too much discretion. The implication is that JPs continued to exercise private judgment and procedures that sometimes didn’t square with the official line from Westminster.
 30. Lambarde wrote *Archaionomia* (1568), a Latin translation of ancient Anglo-Saxon laws, as well as *Archeion, or A Discourse on the High Courts of Justice in England* (written in the 1580s, published in 1635).
 31. Clark, *English Provincial Society*, 112.
 32. Hyde and Zell, ‘Governing the County,’ 9–10. The authors derive some of their claims from J. Harris, *The History of Kent* (1719).
 33. Clark, *English Provincial Society*, 118. Hyde and Zell (‘Governing the County,’ 14–16) do not point to a particular decade as crucial, but the developments they note in both the Assizes and the office of Lord Lieutenant are not inconsistent with Clark’s basic assertion here.
 34. In addition to serving on the local Commission of the Sewers, Lambarde also served as Collector for the Greenwich Marsh and was elected to an office on the Rochester Bridge Corporation.
 35. Warnicke, *William Lambarde*, 70.
 36. Constables have scope over a hundred or franchise, while borsholders and tithingmen serve a town or parish.
 37. Usually five to fifteen parishes, in Kent. Warnicke says that after Lambarde ‘gained personal insight into the role of a justice of the peace he realised that to be effective he had to have the co-operation of the lower Kentish officials, whose negligence sometimes increased the problems of law enforcement.’ *William Lambarde*, 72.
 38. Bernhard Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 139.
 39. Though it is difficult to ascertain exactly what Lambarde means by the tag ‘yeomanrie.’ On the next page he uses it interchangeably with ‘common people’ – so it seems to extend to more than just small landowners.
 40. That Lambarde is consciously projecting an ideal here, can be seen in the fractious reality of the JP case notebook that Lambarde kept from 1579–1587, the *Ephemeris*. It has been published by the Folger Shakespeare Library in *William Lambarde and Local Government: His ‘Ephemeris’ and twenty-nine charges to juries and commissions*, ed. Conyers Read (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1962).
 41. In addition to Lambarde’s awareness of the sixteenth-century Kentish rebellions and disturbances that have already been noted in this chapter, he

- writes more generally (and with perhaps more approval) of the natives' traditional defiance and independence: 'the communitie of Kent was never vanquished by the Conquerour, but yielded itself by composition, and besides that Gervasius affirmeth, that the forward in all battels belongeth to them (by a certain pre-eminence) in right of their manhood' (7).
42. Wyatt's Rebellion was raised in 1553–1554 to oppose Mary's intended marriage to Philip II of Spain.
 43. Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry*, 359.
 44. Hyde and Zell, 'Governing the County,' 9.
 45. J. H. Gleason, *The Justices of the Peace in England: 1558 to 1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 71.
 46. *Ibid.* The religiously motivated Northern Rebellion began this year. This event provides the rationale for the Crown's new policy, and may also explain Lambarde's emphasis on the socio-political impact of religious division. Catholicism also played a role in at least two other sixteenth-century rebellions: the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536) and the Western Rebellion (1547–1549).
 47. The author notes that Kent was the first part of England to be inhabited, it was the only county unvanquished by William the Conqueror (thereby securing its ancient privileges), its soldiers are traditionally on the front line of battles by 'auncient prerogative of manhood,' and it has long held a pre-eminence in ecclesiastical matters through the archbishopric of Canterbury (10, 19, 74).
 48. Whether or not such an emphasis on Kent's distinctions from other counties constitutes a 'county community' or could potentially conflict with a larger vision of national uniformity, are questions that are outside the scope of this chapter. Much has been written on the presence of gentry county communities in early modern England. See, for instance, Alan Everitt, *The Local Community and the Great Rebellion* (London: Historical Association, 1969); John Morrill, *Revolt of the Provinces* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1976); and Anthony Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex, 1600–1660* (New York: Longman, 1975). Yet other historians have raised important objections to the county community 'school' of thought. For instance: Clive Holmes, 'The County Community in Stuart Historiography,' *Journal of British Studies* 19:2 (1980): 54–73; and Ann Hughes, *Politics, Society, and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620–1660* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987). For an extensive treatment of this debate and fuller list of sources, see R. C. Richardson, *The Debate on the English Revolution Revisited*, 2nd edn. (New York: Routledge, 1988), 133–149.
 49. Such a tendency goes against Michael Zell's characterization of the *Perambulation* as 'a model of Kent as a shire unified by its long history and common customs' in which '[t]he only differences or distinctions *within* Kent which were referred to by Lambarde was his insistence that north-west Kent, the region nearest London, was full of newcomers from the metropolis.' *Early Modern Kent*, 'Introduction,' 3.
 50. It is a binary organizational model – the general followed by the particular – that Lambarde bequeathed to those chorographers that followed him. For example, the following chorographies make a clear distinction between relatively brief 'general' sections and longer 'particular' descriptions: Smith's

- Vale Royal* (1584), Carew's *Survey of Cornwall* (1602), Risdon's *Chorographical Description of Devon* (1630), and Gerard's *Survey of Dorsetshire* (1633).
51. The Saxon will is in Lambarde's *Perambulation*; the wells are in Wilhelm Bedwell's *A Briefe Description of the towne of Tottenham Highcrosse in Middlesex* (1631); and the proverbs are listed in John Smyth's *Description of the Hundred of Berkley* (c. 1639).
 52. Richard Helgerson discusses particularization as the dominant mode of chorography in *Forms of Nationhood*, 131–139.
 53. Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 2.
 54. William Gray, *Chorographia: or, a Survey of Newcastle Upon Tine* (South Shields, Durham: George Nicholson, 1892), 1.
 55. The general narrowing of focus of English chorographic works from nation to counties, cities, and towns (though numerous exceptions hinder such a tidy chronology) seems to support this mindset.
 56. Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned*, 3, 164.
 57. A good illustration of both tendencies can be seen in Lambarde's one-page entry for Milton. He starts with the town's connection to King Alfred in the ninth century, skips ahead to its being ransacked in the eleventh century, and then closes with 'after which time, I have not read, neither is it likely, that the place was of any estimation . . . more than for the market only' (216).
 58. Lambarde breaks his own rule when he gives a unified treatment of the Wars of the Roses in 'The Brent' section. Yet if anything, his acknowledgment that 'I will breake square for this once, and tell you out both the course and conclusion of all this tragical historie' (420) only serves to highlight the cohesiveness that almost every other entry lacks.
 59. Perhaps he is making some sort of epistemological claim, that one must understand place before one can understand the history that it has produced. If so, he does not end each entry with a peroration about why this place produced this type of historical event.
 60. As Clive Holmes concludes in one of his arguments against the integrity of the county community: 'the bulk of the gentry's administrative experience was forged in smaller units than the county, and it could be argued that these smaller divisions became the cynosures of their loyalties.' Holmes, 'The County Community,' 62.
 61. In *Forms of Nationhood*, Helgerson says that this emphasis on local privileges is a characteristic feature of the chorographies of the period, calling it: 'a sometimes jealous assertion of local prerogative or, when the prerogative was no longer in force, of a fond memory of former authority' (136). However, his eventual claim that focusing on local distinctions only serves to ratify the nation – 'the particularities . . . constantly remind us of the whole' and 'Nationalism is what ultimately justifies a project as particular as Dugdale's' (138) – seems a bit tidy. I would argue that chorography can articulate a genuine reverence for traditional and more organic structures.
 62. For example, the privileges and unique government of the Cinque Ports 'being first granted by Edward the Conquerour, and William the Conquerour, and then confirmed and increased by William Rufus, Henrie the Second, Richard the First, Henrie the Third, and King Edward the First, be very great, considering either the honour and ease, or the freedome and exemption,

- that the inhabitants have by reason of the same' (112–113). More recent monarchs had continued to endorse the arrangement 'in consideration of such service to be done by them upon the Sea' (104).
63. William Lambarde, *Eirenarcha: or of The Office of the Justices of Peace* (London: Ra. Newbery and H. Bynneman, 1582), 7. Later, he restates this approach more pithily as 'not a uniting of minds but a restraining of hands' (9).
 64. Clark, *English Provincial Society*, 125.
 65. Lambarde, *Eirenarcha*, 63. He later explains that 'forasmuch as everie considerable circumstance can not be foreseene at the time of the making of the Lawe, they doe many times leave to be supplied by the discretion of the Executioner of the Lawe' (64).
 66. Quoted in Clark, *English Provincial Society*, 119.
 67. See n. 40. For another example, see the manuscript letter of J. Stockwood (a Tonbridge schoolmaster) to Lambarde requesting informal legal advice for two of his parishioners. (BL.ms. Add. 70638, f. 17)
 68. Warnicke, *William Lambarde*, 130–131.

3 Michael Drayton and Jacobean Court Culture

1. Helgerson places the first part of *Poly-Olbion* (1612) 'firmly . . . in the orbit of the Society of Antiquaries, many of whose members had been among Drayton's closest friends.' Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 128. See also Angus Vine, *In Defiance of Time: Antiquarian Writing in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 171–177.
2. Bart Van Es, "'The Streame and Currant of Time": Land, Myth, and History in the Works of Spenser,' *Spenser Studies* 18 (2003): 209–229 (224).
3. *Ibid.*, 212. The rest of the article traces Spenser's engagement with chorography in the three works that appear in the next sentence.
4. William B. Hunter, Jr. (ed.), *The English Spenserians* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1977), 1–2. For more on the poetic treatment of rivers in early modern literature, see Wyman H. Herendeen, *From Landscape to Literature: The River and the Myth of Geography* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1986).
5. Homer Nearing, *English Historical Poetry, 1599–1641* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945), 24.
6. See S. Naqi Husain Jafri, *Aspects of Drayton's Poetry* (Delhi: Dobra House, 1988), 189.
7. Kathleen Tillotson, 'Michael Drayton as a "Historian" in the "Legend of Cromwell,"' *Modern Language Review* 34 (1939): 186.
8. Nearing, *English Historical Poetry*, 44.
9. Richard F. Hardin, *Michael Drayton and the Passing of Elizabethan England* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1973), 36.
10. Joan Grundy, *The Spenserian Poets* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969), 109.
11. Michael Drayton, *The Works of Michael Drayton*, 5 vols., ed. J. William Hebel (Oxford: Blackwell, 1931–1941). V:144. Subsequent citations are taken from this edition; volume and page numbers will be given in parentheses within the text. According to Hebel, these odes constituted a 'striking innovation'

- because Drayton approaches the genre not just as 'a novel synonym for a song' but as a conventional classical form. As Hebel also notes, one John Soothern actually wrote some classical odes twenty years earlier, but his poems had very little effect on English poetry and went all but unnoticed (V:144).
12. George Parfitt, *English Poetry of the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Longman, 1985), 165–166. Alan Isler explains, 'For the sixteenth-century English, heroic poetry was a sufficiently broad and amorphous category.' Isler continues, 'Epic, romance, history, pseudo-biography, geography – examples of all of these and more might be listed indiscriminately under the single genre heading of "heroic poetry" by the eclectic Elizabethans.' 'Heroic Poetry and Sidney's Two "Arcadias",' *Modern Language Association Publications* 83:2 (1968): 368–379 (369, 373).
 13. Grundy, *The Spenserian Poets*, 110.
 14. *Ibid.*, 115.
 15. In many ways, such an approach seems to approximate classical notions of heroism more closely than contemporary Protestant ones.
 16. Robert Devereux, *An Apologie of the Earle of Essex against those which falsly and maliciously taxe him to be the onely hinderer of the peace, and quiet of his countrey* (London: for J. Smethwick, 1600), B2v.
 17. *Ibid.*, B3.
 18. *Ben Jonson*, ed. C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, 11 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925–1963), VIII:398.
 19. Such details, says Hebel, are a function of Drayton's realism: 'The illusion of actual letter-writing is maintained by description of the scene of writing.' Drayton, *Works*, V:98. But the thoroughness of description, I would argue, moves beyond mere realism. See, for instance, the prominence of Woodstock, Oxfordshire, in Rosamond's epistle to Henry II. Though the letter is less than 200 lines, the argument, epistle, and annotations that follow all describe her place of narration and anchor the letter in its physical surroundings (II:133–139).
 20. Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 274.
 21. As the margin heading in Drayton's *Works* points out, 'the Plaine' is meant to indicate those areas bordering the Salisbury Plain, principally Hampshire and Wiltshire (II:19).
 22. A similar passage in the *Battaile of Agincourt* (1627) is 111 lines long and catalogs the proclivities (via the military ensigns) of almost every English county (III.22–24).
 23. Shortly after Elizabeth's death, Drayton penned *To the Majesty of King James. A gratulatorie Poem* (1603). Whether or not this poem's failure to properly mourn the death of Elizabeth before celebrating the ascension of James irreparably damaged Drayton's aspirations (as almost all of his biographers have alleged), his bid for patronage was not successful and he stopped trying after 1604.
 24. In particular, see *The Owle* (1604) as well as Drayton's satirization of James as 'Olcon' in the pastoral *Shepherd's Sirena* (1627).
 25. R. Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 24–25.
 26. Hardin, *Passing of Elizabethan England*, 27.

27. See David B. Quinn, 'James I and the Beginnings of Empire in America,' *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 2:2 (January 1974): 135–152.
28. For numerical details on James I's selling of titles, see Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).
29. Jean Brink, *Michael Drayton Revisited* (Boston: Twayne, 1990), 66.
30. For general trends in historiography in the period, see F. Smith Fussner, *Tudor History and the Historians* (New York: Basic Books, 1970) and F. J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1967).
31. For the complexity of this commentary, however, and Selden's own ambiguity towards myth, see Anne Lake Prescott, 'Drayton's Muse and Selden's "Story": The Interfacing of Poetry and History in *Poly-Olbion*,' *Studies in Philology* 87:1 (1990): 128–135; and Reid Barbour, *John Selden: Measures of the Holy Commonwealth in Seventeenth-Century England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), chapter 1.
32. Nearing, *English Historical Poetry*, 16.
33. Smuts, *Court Culture*, 16–18.
34. *Ibid.*, 1.
35. Hardin, *Passing of Elizabethan England*, 102–103.
36. Drayton's disenchantment seems to partake of the larger rift that opened up between 'Court' and 'Country' in the early seventeenth century.
37. For instance, Helgerson (*Forms of Nationhood*, 139–145) argues that the poem offers an anti-monarchical form of nationhood centered on the county gentry, whereas Andrew McRae sees *Poly-Olbion* as asserting the centrality of the land itself and 'seek[ing] refuge in a conception of nationhood beyond the reach of "mans devouring hand".' *God Speed the Plough: The Representation of Agrarian England, 1500–1660* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 260.
38. 'Illustrations' written by the antiquarian John Selden accompany the first eighteen songs (published in 1612) but are absent from the last twelve (published in 1622).
39. Vine, *In Defiance of Time*, 169; Nearing, *English Historical Poetry*, 134.
40. Drayton also mentions the ancient British bards in his dedicatory ode to Sir Henry Goodere, asserting that the bards' musical compositions served 'To stirre their Youth to Warlike Rage, / Or their wyld Furie to asswage' (II:345).
41. The only exceptions I find are when the ancient dykes of Cambridgeshire (Song XXI) and Hadrian's Wall (Song XXIX) complain of their neglect.
42. The maps themselves were drawn by one William Hole.
43. Tradition held that Brutus first landed in England at the mouth of the River Dart (Devonshire) and that King Arthur died on the banks of the Camel River (Cornwall).
44. This basic difference can be seen by comparing *Poly-Olbion* to Spenser's most famous topographical passage: the marriage of the Thames and Medway (*FQ* IV.xi). Spenser catalogs the rivers that attend, but leaves out any sense of striving or competition. While Spenser emphasizes convergence (marriage), Drayton has his rivers boast, compete, and take part in mythological sub-plots.
45. Andrew Hadfield, 'Spenser, Drayton, and the Question of Britain,' *Review of English Studies*, 51:204 (2000): 582–599. The author employs this reading in arguing that *Poly-Olbion* seeks to problematize 'the question of Britain.'
46. Such an expectation may partially account for the bitter tone of the 1622 preface. In it, Drayton complains that Part I of *Poly-Olbion* has been largely

ignored despite the fact ‘that there is scarcely any of the Nobilitie, or Gentry of this land, but that he is some way or other, by his Blood interested therein’ (IV:391). For more on the contemporary gentry interest in local history that Drayton seems keen to encourage, see Jan Broadway, *No historie so meete: Gentry Culture and the Development of Local History in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).

4 George Herbert and Caroline Religious Uniformity

1. Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 331.
2. Such attempts, however, have yielded considerable variation. Izaak Walton, the poet’s first biographer, claimed him rather nostalgically for the Laudians. Elizabeth Clarke, on the other hand, sees in Herbert ‘The Character of a Non-Laudian Country Parson,’ *Review of English Studies* 54:216 (2003): 479–496. Judith Maltby, in referring to Herbert as a ‘model conformist parson,’ comes down somewhere in between. “‘By this Book”: Parishioners, the Prayer Book and the Established Church,’ in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603–1642*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 123.
3. Achsah Guibbory, *Ceremony and Community from Herbert to Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 44–78.
4. Annabel Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), 33, 53.
5. Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, ‘The Ecclesiastical Policies of James I and Charles I,’ in *The Early Stuart Church*, ed. Fincham, 26.
6. These canons cover church membership, ordination, discipline, ritual, sacraments, visitations, courts, and other regulations related to the daily procedures of the English Church. For detailed analysis, see R. G. Usher, *The Reconstruction of the English Church*, 2 vols. (New York: D. Appleton, 1910), Vol. I, 385–390; Vol. II, 273–288.
7. On early Jacobean enforcement and its subsequent laxity, see Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism, c. 1590–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 185; also Kenneth Fincham, ‘Clerical Conformity from Whitgift to Laud,’ in *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560–1660*, ed. Peter Lake and Michael Questier (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2000), 141. This does not mean, of course, that the Church stopped enforcement altogether and that local congregations were free to abandon both the Prayer Book and the 1604 Canons. It merely means that there was not a minute focus on following the letter of every canon. As a result, many ministers could get away with what Lake, Tyacke, and other Stuart church historians have called ‘occasional conformity.’ The Prayer Book was used and *most* canons were followed ‘occasionally’ rather than in every service. This might allow a more preaching-minded minister, for instance, to de-emphasize the role of church ritual in worship.
8. Peter Lake, ‘Moving the Goal Posts? Modified Subscription and the Construction of Conformity in the Early Stuart Church,’ in *Conformity and Orthodoxy*, ed. Lake and Questier, 202.

9. Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society, 1559–1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982). Discussed by Fincham in his 'Introduction' to *The Early Stuart Church*, 5.
10. This shared Calvinist doctrine – centering on various notions of predestination – has been written about by Nicholas Tyacke, Julian Davies, Peter White, Peter Lake, and others.
11. Lake, 'Moving the Goal Posts,' 181. Lake argues that the practice was so widespread as to amount to a tacit assumption that was therefore hardly ever documented until some 'exceptional circumstances' brought it into the open (181–182, 203).
12. Fincham, 'Clerical Conformity,' 126.
13. Though it is also interesting to note that the impetus for conformity could sometimes originate at the local level. Maltby gives several examples of congregations presenting their own ministers. "'By this Book",' 119.
14. Fincham, *The Early Stuart Church*, 12.
15. Peter Lake, 'The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the Beauty of Holiness in the 1630s,' in *The Early Stuart Church*, ed. Fincham, 167–168.
16. See Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 732.
17. Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement, c. 1620–1643* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 191.
18. Julian Davies, *The Caroline Captivity of the Church: Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism, 1625–1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 62. In this passage, Davies is speaking of London Diocese prior to Laud's elevation to bishop in 1628.
19. Fincham, 'Clerical Conformity,' 127–129.
20. The growth of these practices is detailed in Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, 242–283. According to Fincham, such a focus actually amounted to an alternative 'evangelical conformity.' 'Clerical Conformity,' 133.
21. Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, 282.
22. Lake and Questier, *Conformity and Orthodoxy*, 123.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Judith Maltby, "'By this Book,'" and John Fielding, 'Arminianism in the Localities: Peterborough Diocese, 1603–1642,' in *The Early Stuart Church*, ed. Fincham, 93–114.
25. Peter White, 'The *via media* in the Early Stuart Church,' in *The Early Stuart Church*, ed. Fincham, 212, 217. See also Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 277.
26. And if the resulting consensus was still unsatisfactory, discontented parishioners could and did exercise other 'local options' of moving, patronizing lecturers, or going to church in other parishes.
27. Margaret Stieb, *Laud's Laboratory: The Diocese of Bath and Wells in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1982), 313.
28. On the tightening of conformity at the end of James's reign, see Davies, *Caroline Captivity*, 8, 63. Herbert was ordained as a deacon in 1626 and as a priest in 1630.
29. Lake, 'The Laudian Style,' 162.
30. Fincham and Lake, 'Ecclesiastical Policies,' 42.
31. *Ibid.*, 24.
32. Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 288.

33. Non-beneficed lecturers, Sharpe reminds us, tended to be more responsive to the wishes of their lay patrons than the church authorities. *Ibid.*, 290.
34. Kenneth Fincham, 'Episcopal Government 1603–1640,' in *The Early Stuart Church*, ed. Fincham, 83.
35. Webster, *Godly Clergy*, 188, 202.
36. Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 291.
37. Stieb, *Laud's Laboratory*, 284.
38. *Ibid.*, 285–287, 305.
39. *Ibid.*, 301.
40. *Ibid.*, 302.
41. Webster, *Godly Clergy*, 250.
42. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, 224.
43. See Davies, *Caroline Captivity*, 80; Sharpe, *Personal Reign*, 348.
44. Davies, *Caroline Captivity*, 57.
45. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, 214.
46. Davies, *Caroline Captivity*, 20.
47. Quoted in Fincham and Lake, 'Ecclesiastical Policies,' 44.
48. Davies, *Caroline Captivity*, 21.
49. Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 291.
50. *The Country Parson* was completed in 1632, but according to biographer Amy Charles, 'Herbert probably worked at *The Country Parson* during most of his time at Bemerton.' *A Life of George Herbert* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), 159.
51. Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation*, 55.
52. That 1633 was the year of the new altar policy and the reissuance of the Book of Sports – two Laudian watershed events – has served to further cement this association.
53. Most historians now see the 1620s as the key decade for the rise of a formal Arminian party in England. Tyacke (*Anti-Calvinists*) specifically identifies the York House Conference in 1626 as a watershed moment. As Davies (*Caroline Captivity*, 24) points out, the 1641 Parliament also looked back on the mid-1620s (rather than 1629 or 1633) as the genesis of Arminian influence. Fincham and Lake ('Ecclesiastical Policies,' 38–40) view the King's religious preferences as 'ambiguous' from 1625–1629, but only because he was holding back to appease Parliament. For them, 1629 was the key year for Charles's emergent religious policies. Of course, the genesis of the Arminian movement can be dated much earlier. Tyacke refers to the Arminian disputes at Cambridge and Oxford in the 1590s (*Anti-Calvinists*, 29–86). For a detailed treatment of a local clash in the first decade of the seventeenth century, see Fielding, 'Arminianism in the Localities.'
54. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, 162. These debates were precipitated by Richard Montagu's publications of *A New Gagg for an Old Goose* (1624) and *Appello Caesarem* (1625). Herbert was actually an MP (for Montgomery borough) in the 1624 Parliament that petitioned *A New Gagg*, though Herbert's own viewpoint towards Arminianism at that time is difficult to ascertain.
55. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, 204–207.
56. Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 143.
57. Kenneth Fincham (ed.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church*, 2 vols. (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1998), Vol. II, 37. Davies

- discusses the 1629 Instructions, though he is primarily interested in the question of their authorship. *Caroline Captivity*, 27.
58. Davies, *Caroline Captivity*, 27.
 59. Webster, *Godly Clergy*, 187.
 60. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, 181, 191.
 61. Lake, 'Moving the Goal Posts,' 204.
 62. Webster (*Godly Clergy*, 151–166) uses this prosecution as a case study of the new pressures to conform within the English Church. Thomas Hooker is also mentioned by Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, 188.
 63. Fincham, 'Episcopal Government,' 84.
 64. Davies, *Caroline Captivity*, 295.
 65. Ronald Cooley, 'Full Of All Knowledge': *George Herbert's Country Parson and Early Modern Social Discourse* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 41.
 66. Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation*, 55–56.
 67. Louis L. Martz (ed.), *George Herbert and Henry Vaughan: A Critical Edition of the Major Works* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 190. All citations of *The Country Parson* are from this modernized-spelling edition. Subsequent page numbers are given in parentheses within the text.
 68. *Ibid.*, 479.
 69. As they forestalled the initial attempt to publish *The Country Parson* in 1641, Laudian censors seemed to realize this as well. For their probable reasons – which don't seem to include Herbert's affinity for local variety – see Daniel Doerksen, "'Too Good for Those Times': Politics and the Publication of George Herbert's *The Country Parson*," *Seventeenth-Century News* 49 (1991): 10–13. *The Country Parson* was finally published in 1652 by a Laudian apologist (of all people), Barnabas Oley.
 70. In fact, Herbert frequently employs the words 'neighbour' and 'neighbourhood' when he is discussing parish socializing, evangelizing, charity, and perambulation.
 71. Lake, 'The Laudian Style,' 166.
 72. *Ibid.*, 173, 167.
 73. And for an early modern writer like Herbert, suggestiveness – or what Patterson calls 'inexactness' – is actually preferable to 'one-to-one correspondences' because it 'provid[ed] writers with an escape route if . . . "exceptions were taken".' *Censorship and Interpretation*, 55.
 74. Herbert's approach may partially stem from issues of practicality and realism. That is, even if Herbert might have preferred elements of the Laudian program, he might balk at the practicality of the acceptance and effectiveness of a rigid uniformity (as he does with the parson's matrimonial state). But if so, Herbert doesn't seem to exhibit a sense of frustration that the Laudian ideal can't be adopted wholesale. On the contrary, there is a sense of artfulness and pleasure at making the appropriate choice throughout *The Country Parson*. Herbert seems to relish preaching and praying (for instance) as performative opportunities in which the parson carefully calculates his self-presentation (voice, gestures, etc.) to allure his audience and elicit a desired response.
 75. The parson's handling of cases of conscience comes up in 'The Parson's Accessory Knowledges,' 'The Parson's Completeness,' 'The Parson's Eye,' 'The Parson in His House,' and 'The Parson's Library.'

76. For more on this fascination with 'circumstance' in the English Church of the 1620s and 1630s, see Reid Barbour's *Literature and Religious Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), Introduction.
77. Gregory Kneidel's recent article probes the religious context of 'exactness' as part of Herbert's 'priestly vocabulary.' 'Herbert and Exactness,' *English Literary Renaissance* 36:2 (2006): 278–303. Local flexibility, I would argue, is a precondition for this parsonly aim to flourish.
78. Martz's endnote glosses 'country-duty' (Herbert's phrase) as 'national duty' (482). Such an interpretation, combined with the very next sentence's reference to bishops, suggests that Herbert has Church canons and other national religious directives in mind. The somewhat obsequious tone of the next sentence – '[the parson] carries himself very respectfully, as to all the Fathers of the Church, so especially to his Diocesan, honouring him both in word and behavior' – suggests Herbert's awareness that he is walking a thin line.
79. Ramie Targoff, *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 98.
80. Ronald Cooley has written incisively on this tricky passage, and my basic interpretation is indebted to him. Cooley also observes that the ambiguity of Herbert's formulation serves his own need to appeal to multiple audiences within the parish. 'John Davenant, *The Country Parson*, and Herbert's Calvinist Conformity,' *George Herbert Journal* 23:1–2 (1999/2000), 1–13 (9–10).
81. Other adjustments that Herbert leaves up to his parson include the frequency with which Communion is given (219) and the age at which children take their first Communion (218). The preponderance of such instances in *The Country Parson* (though most of them would, strictly speaking, be allowed by the higher authorities) suggests an approach to parish religion that affirms the value of local variation. Though Herbert doesn't directly challenge any major Laudian injunctions – this would have been extremely difficult in the religious climate of the 1630s – it is the consistency of Herbert's mindset and methodology of adaptation that presents a tacit challenge to the new conformity. It is not really that Herbert wants to be subversive; it is simply that Herbert's religious vision does not depend on uniformity in the same way that the Laudians' does.
82. Brian Vickers, *Francis Bacon and Renaissance Prose* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 77.
83. *Outlandish Proverbs* are reprinted in *The Works of George Herbert*, ed. F. E. Hutchinson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 321–355. Those mentioned in the text are (in order of occurrence) # 643, #181, and #168.
84. Diana Benet, 'Herbert's Proverbs: The Magic Shoe,' in *Like Season'd Timber: New Essays on George Herbert* ed. Edmund Miller and Robert DiYanni (New York: Peter Lang, 1987), 149.
85. Quoted in Vickers, *Francis Bacon*, 72.
86. Targoff, *Common Prayer*, 85–117.
87. Debora Shuger, *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 91–119.
88. For instance, Herbert dutifully stipulates in 'The Parson's Church' that 'all the books appointed by authority be there' but he is otherwise silent on their effective use (208).

89. While at Cambridge, Herbert also composed some Latin verse to defend the English Church from Puritan criticism. The *Musae Responsoriae*, Herbert's response to some of Andrew Melville's verses, does praise as well as defend specific rituals of the Church. However, it is difficult to evaluate their relationship to the argument that I am launching here. Since said rituals were somewhat loosely enforced when Herbert was writing (between 1620 and 1622) such praise does not necessarily equate with Herbert's full endorsement. In fact, differences between the *Musae* and *The Country Parson* may even reflect a shift in Herbert's attitude towards Church ritual (from specific praise to ambiguous moderation) once enforcement begins to tighten.
90. Unfortunately, the poem's composition cannot be dated with any certainty. 'The British Church' is one of those poems that Amy Charles judges 'would be hazardous to venture further in assigning specific dates to.' *A Life of George Herbert*, 87.
91. Martz, *George Herbert and Henry Vaughan*, 458–459.

5 Izaak Walton, Lucy Hutchinson, and the Experience of Civil War

1. This characterization is from Andrew Marvell's 'An Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland,' line 30.
2. For more on Parliamentary retreat during the 1650s – particularly amongst the Presbyterian gentry – see J. T. Cliffe, *Puritans in Conflict: The Puritan Gentry During and After the Civil Wars* (New York: Routledge, 1988), 180–183.
3. Izaak Walton, *The Compleat Angler* (New York: Modern Library, 1937), 38. All citations of Walton are from this edition, with subsequent page numbers provided parenthetically within the text. The *Angler* was originally published in 1653, but was expanded significantly for a second edition in 1655. The third (1661) and fourth (1668) editions contain only minor alterations, but the fifth and final edition (1676) published in Walton's lifetime has substantial changes. Since the first three editions are not readily accessible to modern readers, I have chosen the Modern Library (4th) edition rather than the more commonly reprinted 5th edition because the former is basically a 1650s text while the latter is more of a Restoration text. For a complete textual history of these seventeenth-century editions, see John R. Cooper, *The Art of The Compleat Angler* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1968), 166–184.
4. *The Compleat Angler's* generic variety has fueled a critical search to identify and explain the literary predecessors for these extra-fishing components. Cooper, for example, has separate chapters on the pastoral, georgic, and dialogue components of the work in *The Art of The Compleat Angler*. Meanwhile, Joe Snader argues that it is this very blend of 'didactic narrative' and 'scenes of pleasure and mirth' that has made the *Angler* so appealing to readers. 'The Compleat Angler and the Problems of Scientific Methodology,' *John Donne Journal* 12:1–2 (1993), 182.
5. Jonquil Bevan, *Izaak Walton's The Compleat Angler: The Art of Recreation* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1988), 21. Steven Zwicker makes a similar claim that the book is 'an act of self-definition and consolation for the exiled and sequestered community of Stuart loyalists.' 'Hunting and Angling: *The Compleat*

- Angler and The First Anniversary,* in *Lines of Authority: Politics and English Literary Culture, 1649–1689* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 64.
6. Thomas Weaver, Edward Powell, and Gilbert Sheldon, for example. By 1653, Walton had already written the biographies of two exemplary Anglican clergymen (Donne in 1640 and Wotton in 1651) and would go on to compose three others (for Herbert, Hooker, and Sanderson).
 7. B. D. Greenslade, 'The Compleat Angler and the Sequestered Clergy,' *Review of English Studies* 5:20 (Oct. 1954): 361–366.
 8. Earl Miner, *The Cavalier Mode from Jonson to Cotton* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971), 44–45, 304–305.
 9. Zwicker, 'Hunting and Angling,' 68–74.
 10. Cooper, *The Art of The Compleat Angler*, 47.
 11. *Ibid.*, 69. Bevan argues that the gypsies and beggars in the text 'call to mind the activities of the "Diggers" or "True Levellers".' *The Art of Recreation*, 110.
 12. Theobalds was built by Lord Burghley in the sixteenth century, came into royal possession in 1607, and was eventually demolished during the Commonwealth.
 13. Bevan, *The Art of Recreation*, 59.
 14. Izaak Walton, *The Compleat Angler*, ed. John Buxton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 342.
 15. Marjorie Swann, 'The Compleat Angler and the Early Modern Culture of Collecting,' *English Literary Renaissance* 37:1 (Winter 2007), 100.
 16. Walton moved to London in 1611 at the age of 18 and maintained a residence there throughout the Civil War and Interregnum.
 17. Piscator and Venator may be Latinized abstractions, but the vast number of other people who inhabit the text – including Thomas Wotton, Gilbert Sheldon, George Herbert, Thomas Wharton, John Donne, and Alexander Nowell – are real enough.
 18. Walton always maintained close connections with Stafford. In the 1650s he bought farmland there and by 1655 was 'probably dividing his time between Clerkenwell and Staffordshire.' Bevan, *The Art of Recreation*, 17. One of the poems in *The Compleat Angler* actually mentions 'Shawford-brooke,' a branch of the River Sow that runs through land owned by Walton. Buxton (ed.), *The Compleat Angler*, 350.
 19. P. G. Stanwood, *Izaak Walton* (New York: Twayne, 1998), 64–65.
 20. Cooper, *The Art of the Compleat Angler*, 62–64.
 21. Although all of Walton's five biographies – Donne (1640), Wotton (1651), Hooker (1665), Herbert (1670), and Sanderson (1678) – are useful in assessing *The Compleat Angler*, I will refer most frequently to the *Life of Wotton*. It is the only one published during the Civil War and Interregnum years and, as such, the one that most fully partakes of the historical milieu in which I am attempting to place *The Compleat Angler*.
 22. Allan Pritchard, *English Biography in the Seventeenth Century: A Critical Survey* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 80–81. Walton's biography of Donne is the exception since 'Donne was entirely urban in his tastes and had refused rural preferments when they were offered him' (86).
 23. *Ibid.*, 81.
 24. For instance, 21 of the 55 pages of the *Life of Wotton* are devoted to his Eton retirement, whereas only 13 pages describe his twenty years of diplomatic

- service in Venice. Sanderson eventually became Bishop of Lincoln, while Hooker was appointed rector of the Temple Church and spent a lot of time in London.
25. Pritchard, *English Biography*, 83.
 26. *Ibid.*, 79.
 27. Izaak Walton, *The Lives of John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Richard Hooker, George Herbert, & Robert Sanderson*, ed. S. B. Carter (London: Falcon, 1951). In subsequent citations, page numbers are provided in the text.
 28. Pritchard, *English Biography*, 82.
 29. Henley Bridge spans the Thames west of London, connecting Oxfordshire to Berkshire.
 30. As many of the place references in the paragraph also reveal, Walton tends to follow chorographers in imagining counties as distinctive local units.
 31. Walton even mentions 'Cambden' by name. See, for instance, pp. 193, 210. The verses from Drayton are taken from a sonnet in *Idea's Mirrour* (1594).
 32. On the importance of practical experience in completing one's angling education, see also pp. 20, 130, 171, 190, and 206.
 33. This argument also helps address the perceived disconnect between the piscatory and non-piscatory parts of the work that critics have long lamented. Cooper articulated 'the critical problem' in *The Art of the Compleat Angler* as a lack of artistic unity between the 'wholly practical and informative handbook' and 'those passages of narration, of pastoral description, and of moral and religious meditation wherein the charm of the book and its value as literature are felt to lie' (5). Marjorie Swann has recently suggested that forty years later little has changed: 'scholars who analyze *The Compleat Angler* as a conservative political work pay little attention to Walton's plethora of fish.' *The Compleat Angler and the Early Modern Culture of Collecting*, 100.
 34. David Hill Radcliffe, "'Study to be quiet": Genre and Politics in Izaak Walton's *Compleat Angler*,' *English Literary Renaissance* 22:1 (1992), 97.
 35. Zwicker, 'Hunting and Angling,' 89.
 36. Radcliffe, "'Study to be quiet",' 110.
 37. Cooper, *The Art of The Compleat Angler*, 74. Here, Cooper reads the *Angler* primarily through a pastoral lens in which the two main characters 'get their identity from the city' and move 'from city to country and back again.'
 38. N. H. Keeble, 'Introduction' to *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson* (Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle, 1995), xx. All citations of Hutchinson are from this Everyman's Library edition that is based on the original manuscript held in the Brewhouse Yard Museum in Nottingham. Subsequent page numbers are given in parentheses within the text.
 39. Keeble, 'Introduction,' 2.
 40. In considering the narrative content of the *Memoirs* in its own right, my analysis will supplement the recent critical focus on Hutchinson's status as a woman writer. See, for instance: David Norbrook, "'But a Copie": Textual Authority and Gender in Editions of *The Life of John Hutchinson*,' in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts, III*, ed. W. Speed Hill (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2004), 109–130; Susan Wiseman, *Conspiracy and Virtue: Women, Writing, and Politics in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 179–233; Paul Salzman, *Reading Early Modern Women's Writing* (New York: Oxford University Press,

- 2006), 135–175; Sharon Cadman Seelig, *Autobiography and Gender in Early Modern Literature: Reading Women's Lives, 1600–1680* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 73–89.
41. According to the *Memoirs*, Thomas Hutchinson was arrested when Charles I 'had broken up a Parliament . . . and durst not trust those gentlemen . . . to return for some time to their own counties, for which they served' (40).
 42. The contemporary title by which the work is known – *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson* – was only appended in 1806 by Julius Hutchinson, the first editor of the work.
 43. This accident occurred just after the death of Margaret Hutchinson, John's mother. He was subsequently raised by her sister, Lady Ratcliffe, who 'had such a motherly tenderness toward him that he grew and prospered in her care' (38).
 44. The Hutchinson estate of Owthorpe was located in the Vale of Belvoir, approximately 12 miles southeast of Nottingham (Keeble, *Memoirs*, 359). Bulwell was then a small town some 4 miles northwest of Nottingham.
 45. In fact, before finally accompanying her husband into Nottinghamshire, Lucy Hutchinson, rather 'than to leave at once her mother and all the rest of her dear relations, had propounded to him to buy an office, which he was not of himself very inclinable to' (56).
 46. Such evidence, even allowing for Lucy Hutchinson's subjectivity in labeling the Parliamentary side as the party of peace, seems to lend support to John Morrill's claim that many people across England were hesitant to get involved on either side. *Revolt in the Provinces: The People of England and the Tragedies of War, 1630–1648*, 2nd edn. (New York: Longman, 1999), 132–151.
 47. For a sampling of Lucy Hutchinson's vituperative complaints against such people, see pp. 113, 115, 173, 183–184, and 192.
 48. For other Royalist attempts to bribe John Hutchinson, see pp. 134, 142.
 49. Lucy Hutchinson also begins the *Memoirs* with a long view of the political and religious developments that led to the English Civil War (pp. 57–75).
 50. Robert Mayer sees these dilations as helping to establish Lucy Hutchinson's narrative authority and setting a 'pattern that she follows throughout the text, alternating between the narrative of her husband's life and an account of the larger events of which his (and her) life formed a part.' 'Lucy Hutchinson: A Life in Writing,' *Seventeenth Century* 22 (2007), 320, 314. But the space that she devotes to them as well as the qualifiers with which she introduces them seem to support Susan Cook's assertion that 'Lucy's intentions for these interludes, though, are always to explain them in terms of footnotes to her husband's history.' "'The Story I Most Particularly Intend": The Narrative Style of Lucy Hutchinson,' *Critical Survey* 5:3 (1993), 274.
 51. For instance, she describes the groundswell of support for restoring the monarch thus: 'the town of Nottingham, as almost all the rest of the island, began to grow mad and declare themselves so in the desires of the King. And the boys, set on by their fathers and masters, got drums and colours and marched up and down the town, and trained themselves in a military posture, and offered many affronts to the soldiers of the army that quartered in the town' (275). She then goes on to describe a violent incident between the two parties.

52. '[T]he godly of those days,' Lucy Hutchinson complains, '. . . would not allow him to be religious because his hair was not in their cut nor his words in their phrase, nor such little formalities altogether fitted to their humour; who were, many of them, so weak as to esteem rather for such insignificant circumstances than for solid wisdom, piety, and courage' (87). Again, the author asserts the superiority of inner virtue over the external markers of party affiliation.
53. Cliffe, *Puritans in Conflict*, 197–201. Cliffe's appendix, 'A Catalogue of Leading Puritan Gentry Families,' lists the families who had estate revenue of £1,000 or more prior to the outbreak of the Civil War.
54. *Ibid.*, 65.
55. Much of this timeline is drawn from the excellent 'Chronology' in the front of Keeble's edition, as Lucy Hutchinson hardly ever includes exact years.
56. Including the foresight to burn two houses near the fort at the edge of the bridge 'into which if the Cavaliers had put any men, they might have done much mischief to the assailants' (132).
57. On the morning of the assault, Hutchinson plants additional 'colours' and townsmen among the troops 'to make the better show' (131); later the Nottingham troops 'call[ed] to the Cavaliers in the fort, and [kept] them in abusive replies' while a small group of soldiers quietly crept in and disabled some of their defenses (132).
58. In fact, Lucy Hutchinson does begin her manuscript by writing an address 'To My Children,' a section of which is devoted to the abstract description of 'His Virtues.' This section breaks off abruptly – 'All this and more is true, but I so much dislike the manner of relating it that I will make another essay' (30) – implying a preference for the concrete examples of her husband's activities (that follow) rather than an abstract catalogue of his virtues.
59. For further analysis on these factors, see Keeble's note on p. 361. For more on the antagonism between rural gentry (the Hutchinsons) and urban elites (the Committee) that may have contributed to the Colonel's difficulties, see David Norbrook, "'Words more than civil": Republican Civility in Lucy Hutchinson's "The Life of John Hutchinson",' in *Early Modern Civil Discourses*, ed. Jennifer Richards (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 68–84.
60. See, for instance, pp. 175, 182, 187, and 197.
61. For similar passages, see pp. 246, 300, and 303.
62. When the short-lived Second Civil War was about to break out in the spring of 1648, John Hutchinson turned down a second commission to resume his duties as Governor of Nottingham Castle. As it turned out, Nottingham did not play an important role in this conflict, though Oliver Cromwell did stop at the town (and was visited by John Hutchinson) on his way north to a victory at Preston.
63. This conclusion would certainly be supported by John Hutchinson's vexed experience with local office during the First Civil War.
64. According to Keeble, Lucy Hutchinson's emphasis on these pursuits is also part of her argument that her husband exceeds the Royalist gentlemen 'in precisely those accomplishments upon which Royalists prided themselves, which, indeed, they supposed distinguished their Cavalier culture from the vulgarity of all rebels and fanatics' (xxii). For more on John Hutchinson's art collecting – including his purchase of paintings from Charles I's dispersed

- royal collection – see Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 268–269.
65. Occasional conformity (described in the previous chapter) aided this goal, as when parts of the Prayer Book service were shortened to leave more time for preaching.
 66. Keeble, *Memoirs*, 364.
 67. Lucy Hutchinson reports that her husband ‘had a great intimacy with many of these’ and ‘owned and protected them as far as he had power’ (222).
 68. The *Memoirs* makes a similar assertion when the Colonel’s authority is later extended to the town of Nottingham: since ‘the Parliament and generals had, at such a distance, been moved to put it unsought for upon it, it was a work which God called him to’ (138).
 69. For instance, when advised to quit his post at Nottingham and join the Parliamentary army (since the latter might later prove much more pardonable than to ‘keep a castle against your King’), John Hutchinson ‘was resolved to persist in the same place in which it had pleased God to call him to the defense of it’ (122).
 70. Although the religious claim that God calls people to specific tasks is not strictly a Puritan one, William Haller shows how it galvanized the Puritan movement and ‘gave . . . to the general doctrine of God’s calling a definite application.’ *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1957), 124.
 71. Alexandra Walsham, ‘The Godly and Popular Culture,’ in *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, ed. John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 282.
 72. *Ibid.*, 282.
 73. Hutchinson’s characterization is typical of the seventeenth-century Puritan autobiographer, who is ‘likely to be exclusively focused on those aspects of life which he takes to be directly relevatory of God’s mercies.’ Joan Webber, *The Eloquent ‘I’: Style and Self in Seventeenth-Century Prose* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 13. The *Autobiography*, or ‘The Life of Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson, Written by Herself,’ is a manuscript fragment that was included in the first published edition of the *Memoirs* (1806) but is no longer extant. In Keeble’s edition, it only runs to about thirteen pages.
 74. Lucy Hutchinson’s preoccupation with the relevance of ‘little things’ can also be seen in her engagement with Lucretian philosophy – she translated the entire *De rerum natura* in the 1640s and 1650s – and its commitment to the materiality of even those things we cannot see. See Jonathan Goldberg, ‘Lucy Hutchinson Writing Matter,’ *English Literary History* 73 (2006): 275–301.
 75. As when, for instance, Waller’s plot to deliver London to the King was brought to light just in time (105) and when the members of the disbanded Rump Parliament chose to ‘submit to this providence of God’ and take a wait-and-see approach (254).
 76. N. H. Keeble, ‘Puritanism and Literature,’ in *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, ed. Coffey and Lim, 313. On self-examination as a basic feature of Puritan religion, see Owen C. Watkins, *The Puritan Experience* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), 9–12. On the formative role of

- conscience in the life and ministry of John Bunyan, a famed Puritan contemporary of the Hutchinsons, see Richard Greaves, *John Bunyan and English Non-conformity* (London: Hambledon Press, 1992), 70.
77. John Hutchinson entreats the 'double dealing' Mr. Millington 'to declare himself ingenuously as his conscience led him, though it should be against him' (171).
 78. Hutchinson released some of the Parliamentary cannoniers who had been imprisoned for 'separating from the public worship and keeping little conventicles in their own chamber,' declaring that he 'was not satisfied in keeping men prisoners for their consciences so long as they lived honestly and inoffensively' (159, 167).
 79. The most dramatic example is the Colonel's decision to assent to the King's execution (235), though, as we have already seen, he felt an internal prompting to join the Parliamentary side at one time but not another.
 80. Lucy Hutchinson's approach to contingency may also owe something to her engagement with the 'mitigated skepticism' of Lucretian philosophy, as 'the Epicureans were considered preeminent exemplars of a careful and irenic method.' Reid Barbour, 'Between Atoms and the Spirit: Lucy Hutchinson's Translation of Lucretius,' *Renaissance Papers* (1994), 8.
 81. In addition to instances where John Hutchinson uses his conscience with regards to the larger Puritan cause and his duties in Parliament, the *Memoirs* also mentions the consciences of Presbyterians, Royalists, the King, and those Parliamentarians who recanted their beliefs at the Restoration.
 82. The entire episode (as well as the quoted material in this paragraph) can be found on p. 123.
 83. Keeble includes this poem as an appendix in his edition of the *Memoirs* with the title: 'Verses: Written by Mrs. Hutchinson in the small book containing her own life, and most probably composed by her during her husband's retirement from public business to his seat at Owthorpe' (339–340).
 84. Keeble translates this inscription: 'Away, keep far off, you profane people (Virgil, *Aeneid* VI.258),' *Memoirs*, 375.
 85. Keeble, *Memoirs*, 375.

6 The Country House Poem and the Localization of Empire

1. At Haddon Hall in Derbyshire, for instance, the estate chapel also functioned as a parish church.
2. See, for example, William A. McClung, *The Country House in English Renaissance Poetry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 28–45, 123–131; Malcolm Kelsall, *The Great Good Place: The Country House and English Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 32–48; James Turner, *The Politics of Landscape: Rural Scenery and Society in English Poetry, 1630–1660* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 142–146; and Kari Boyd McBride, *Country House Discourse in Early Modern England* (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 2001).
3. A conventional critical reading of the genre. See, for example, Hugh Jenkins, *Feigned Commonwealths: The Country-House Poem and the Fashioning of the Ideal Community* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1998).

4. Alastair Fowler lists 'To Richard Cotton, Esq.' first in his book *The Country House Poem: A Cabinet of Seventeenth-Century Estate Poems and Related Items* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994). Rather than use the standard editions for dozens of authors, all quotations, line numbers, page numbers, and dates will come from this book which conveniently combines these important poems into a single scholarly edition.
5. 'To Richard Cotton, Esq.' was first published in Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes* (1586). The modern facsimile reprint is *A Choice of Emblemes*, introduced by John Manning (Brookfield, VT: Scolar Press, 1989), and it is from this edition that the Latin motto translation is taken.
6. Kathryn Hunter, 'Geoffrey Whitney's "To Richard Cotton, Esq.": An Early English Country House Poem,' *The Review of English Studies* 28:112 (1977): 439–440.
7. William Smith's 1584 chorographical description of Cheshire observes: 'Likewise, doth every man keep certain Hives of Bees; but no greater store, commonly, than to serve their own turn; yet some do bring to the Market both Wax and Honey.' Daniel King, *The Vale Royale of England* (Little S. Bartholomews: John Streater, 1656), 18.
8. Hunter, 'Geoffrey Whitney,' 439.
9. Heather Dubrow, 'The Country-House Poem: A Study in Generic Development,' *Genre* 12 (1979), 162. The particularized landscapes of the country house poem probably originate with Virgil's *Georgics*. In fact, H. M. Richmond makes the *Georgics* the origin of a seventeenth-century 'rural lyricism' that often features particular places. "'Rural Lyricism": A Renaissance Mutation of the Pastoral,' *Comparative Literature* 16:3 (1964), 193–196. Alastair Fowler argues persuasively that the georgic mode is the key to unifying the otherwise irreconcilable variety found among English country house poem representatives. 'Country House Poems: The Politics of a Genre,' *The Seventeenth Century* 1:1 (1986): 1–14. Other classical models for the English country house poem include Martial's Epigram III.lviii and Horace's Second Epode. For a more complete discussion of these and other models, refer to Kelsall, *The Great Good Place*, 10–24.
10. Ever since Richard Harris set up a cherry orchard in Teynham in the 1530s, Kent had become famed for its fruit-growing. Drayton mentions cherries specifically when 'Saluting the deare soyle' of Kent in Song XVIII of *Poly-Olbion* (1612). Penshurst's 'walls . . . of the country stone' assert the estate's architectural continuity with the surrounding natural landscape and human dwellings. For more on country house architecture, see McClung, *The Country House*.
11. Richmond, 'Rural Lyricism,' 204.
12. For an alternate interpretation of the winter weather's significance, see Mary Ann C. McGuire, 'The Cavalier Country-House Poem: Mutations on a Jonsonian Tradition,' *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 19:1 (1979), 99.
13. This aesthetic, as we shall later see, includes a delight in the importation and composite arrangement of foreign objects.
14. For a fuller treatment, see Dubrow, 'The Country-House Poem,' 176–177.
15. R. H. Tawney, 'The Rise of the Gentry, 1558–1640,' *Economic History Review* 11 (1941). The emerging money economy is also seen by Don

- Wayne (*Penshurst: The Semiotics of Place and the Poetics of History* [Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984]) as a tension in 'Penshurst'; by Charles Molesworth ('Property and Virtue: The Genre of the Country House Poem in the Seventeenth Century,' *Genre* 1 [1968], 141–157) as a factor in the Civil War, and by Marjorie Swann (*Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001]) as an informing tenet of the Restoration country house poem.
16. Fowler, 'Country House Poems,' 12.
 17. Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500–1700* (London: Macmillan, 1994), 282–286.
 18. See, for example, Herrick's 'The Hock Cart' (1648) and Marvell's 'Upon Appleton House' (c. 1654).
 19. For a detailed explanation of this dynamic, see Molesworth, 'Property and Virtue,' 146.
 20. Swann's *Curiosities and Texts* is particularly useful in demonstrating 'how collecting practices were used to imagine – and sometimes to realize – new forms of selfhood and social identity in seventeenth-century England' (12). See also Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 186; Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behavior and Material Culture in Britain, 1660–1760*, 2nd edn. (New York: Routledge, 1996), 191; and Walter E. Houghton, Jr., 'The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century,' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 3:1 (Jan. 1942), 63.
 21. Nicholas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry, 1480–1680* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 15.
 22. McGuire, 'The Cavalier Country-House Poem,' 97.
 23. Jyotsna G. Singh (ed.), *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in the Era of Expansion* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 5.
 24. *Ibid.*, 2.
 25. *Ibid.*, 12.
 26. C. G. A. Clay, *Economic Expansion and Social Change: England, 1500–1700*, 2 vols. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), Vol. II, 138–139.
 27. Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, 129, 135.
 28. Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560–1660* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 46.
 29. Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, 151.
 30. *Ibid.*, 14.
 31. Barbara Sebek, 'Global Traffic: An Introduction,' in *Global Traffic: Discourses and Practices of Trade in English Literature and Culture from 1550 to 1700*, ed. Barbara Sebek and Stephen Deng (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 1.
 32. Clay (*Economic Expansion*, 141) says that in 1602 London drew two-thirds of its imports from northwest Europe but by 1650 this number had shrunk to only one-third (140). Trade with Spain and the Levant was initially responsible for this decline, but 'it was the extra-European trades which were to make the running in the latter part of the century.'
 33. Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, 3. The author also demonstrates that luxury consumption increased over the course of this period, despite the interruption of the Civil War (230–276).
 34. *Ibid.*, 216–217.

35. *Ibid.*, 179–182.
36. The borrowings in these areas were ‘not new’ but ‘gained momentum.’ *Ibid.*, 228.
37. Amy L. Tigner, ‘The Flowers of Paradise: Botanical Trade in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England,’ in *Global Traffic*, ed. Sebek and Deng, 138.
38. Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, 153.
39. *Ibid.*, 358.
40. Singh, *A Companion to the Global Renaissance*, 2.
41. Blair Hoxby, *Mammon’s Music: Literature and Economics in the Age of Milton* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 5–8.
42. *Ibid.*, 1.
43. See Daniel Vitkus, ‘The New Globalism: Transcultural Commerce, Global Systems Theory, and Spenser’s Mammon,’ in *A Companion to the Global Renaissance*, ed. Singh, 31–49; and Richard Kroll, *Restoration Drama and ‘The Circle of Commerce’: Tragicomedy, Politics, and Trade in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
44. Games, *The Web of Empire*, 9.
45. Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, 18.
46. Anna Neill, *British Discovery Literature and the Rise of Global Commerce* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 23. This was not a purely theoretical hope, as Anna Bryson has shown how the shift from ‘courtesy’ to ‘civility’ in English manners looked to continental – and especially Italian – models. *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
47. Sebek, ‘Global Traffic,’ 10.
48. Hoxby, *Mammon’s Music*, 2–3.
49. The first and third treatises were written by Thomas Munn; the second by Lewes Roberts. These and similar documents are available in J. R. McCulloch (ed.), *Early English Tracts on Commerce* (Cambridge: Economic History Society, 1952).
50. Sebek, ‘Global Traffic,’ 2.
51. See Bruce McLeod, *The Geography of Empire in English Literature, 1580–1745* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 90; Andrew Hadfield, ‘The Benefits of a Warm Study: The Resistance to Travel Before Empire,’ in *A Companion to the Global Renaissance*, ed. Singh, 102–103; and Sebek, ‘Global Traffic,’ 10.
52. See Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, 183; Gitanjali Shahani, ‘“A Foreigner by Birth”: The Life of Indian Cloth in the Early Modern English Marketplace,’ in *Global Traffic*, ed. Sebek and Deng, 180, 186.
53. Alison Games, ‘England’s Global Transition and the Cosmopolitans who made it Possible,’ *Shakespeare Studies* 35 (2007): 24–31 (25).
54. Hadfield, ‘The Benefits of a Warm Study,’ 101.
55. *Ibid.*, 103. Joyce Appleby draws a similar conclusion – ‘Luxury was not a personal indulgence; it was a national calamity’ – in ‘Consumption in Early Modern Social Thought,’ in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), 166.
56. Sebek, ‘Global Traffic,’ 10.
57. Games, *The Web of Empire*, 8.
58. According to Clay, ‘Never before had a war been fought so exclusively for economic reasons.’ *Economic Expansion*, 189.

59. Games, *The Web of Empire*, 290–293, 298–299.
60. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 56.
61. Hadfield, 'The Benefits of a Warm Study,' 103–104.
62. Lea Knudsen Allen, "'Not every man has the luck to go to Corinth": Accruing Exotic Capital in *The Jew of Malta* and *Volpone*,' in *Global Traffic*, ed. Sebek and Deng, 95–114.
63. *Ibid.*, 107.
64. Tigner, 'The Flowers of Paradise,' 138.
65. McLeod, *The Geography of Empire*, 82. In this chapter, the author also discusses the country house as an emblem of colonization that involves similar strategies for taming, controlling, and ordering unruly forces.
66. Simon Schama, 'Perishable Commodities: Dutch Still-Life Painting and the "Empire of Things",' in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. Brewer and Porter, 478.
67. Schama attributes this mindset to Barthes in 'Perishable Commodities,' 479. Although Schama goes on to critique this view and argue that such paintings also encode a critique of the vanity of worldly goods, his analysis – like Barthes's – arises from a careful reading of the symbolism and compositional arrangement of the particular objects in the painting.
68. Appleby, 'Consumption in Early Modern Social Thought,' 162.
69. Hoxby, *Mammon's Music*, 3.
70. 'By the time of the Civil War,' reports R. L. Greenall, 'it has been estimated that there were as many as 350 families of gentry in Northamptonshire, and the county had become famous for its country houses, which ranged from great Elizabethan "prodigy houses" down to the modest manor houses of the squires.' *A History of Northamptonshire* (London: Phillimore, 1979), 60. As Earl of Westmorland, Mildmay Fane's estate at Apethorpe was somewhere between these two extremes.
71. For a detailed biography, see Gerald Morton, *A Biography of Mildmay Fane, Second Earl of Westmorland, 1601–1666* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990).
72. In a similar passage in 'A Peppercorn or Small Rent,' Fane characterizes Campden House as a place 'Wherein I may survey at ease / What travellers by land and seas / With toil and trouble seek to gain, / Although at home I still remain' (lines 7–10). Later, he observes that the variety of this estate constitutes a 'sampler of the Creation' (line 161).
73. J. T. Cliffe, *The World of the Country House in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 61.
74. Lucia Impelluso, *Gardens in Art*, trans. Stephen Sartarelli (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty, 2005), 58.
75. Cliffe, *The World of the Country House*, 61.
76. Fowler, *The Country House Poem*, 231.
77. *Ibid.*, 232.
78. *Ibid.*, 231.
79. For the basic features of landscape sketched out in this paragraph, I am indebted to Henry V. S. Ogden and Margaret S. Ogden, *English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1955).

80. Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, 324.
81. Turner, *Politics of Landscape*, 18.
82. *Ibid.*, 5.
83. Fowler, *The Country House Poem*, 242.
84. For a more detailed technical description, see Ogden and Ogden, *English Taste in Landscape*, 37–40; and Turner, *Politics of Landscape*, ch. 1.
85. Ogden and Ogden, *English Taste in Landscape*, 40. H. V. S. Ogden, 'The Principles of Variety and Contrast in Seventeenth Century Aesthetics, and Milton's Poetry,' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 10:2 (Apr. 1949), 171.
86. Turner, *Politics of Landscape*, 14–15.
87. In the seventeenth century, 'enameling' was already a specialized decorative – and painterly – term. According to the *OED*, the term was applied to 'the process of entirely covering metals with enamel, to form a ground for painting in vitrifiable colours, or for any ornamental or economic purpose.' *OED online*, 'Enamel, v.' Entry 1.a.
88. Fowler, *The Country House Poem*, 248.
89. Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales*, 301.
90. Cliffe, *The World of the Country House*, 45. Cliffe lists the Dutch artist Jan Siberechts as an early practitioner of the former.
91. Ogden and Ogden, *English Taste in Landscape*, 160.
92. *Ibid.*, 72.
93. Turner, *Politics of Landscape*, 10.
94. On this trend, see Olive Cook, *The English Country House: An Art and a Way of Life* (New York: Putnam, 1974), 58, 112. See also McClung on the role of professional architects in building country houses that '[bear] little or no relationship to the community around it.' *The Country House in English Renaissance Poetry*, 89–90.
95. Oliver Hill and John Cornforth, *English Country Houses: Caroline, 1625–1685* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1985), 26. For a description of the basic features of Pratt's 'centrally planned house,' see Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales*, 301.
96. Thomas Fuller, *History of the Worthies of England* (London: T. Tegg, 1840), Vol. I, 6. Subsequent volume and page numbers included in the text.

Conclusion

1. Folger, STC 4503, copy 2.
2. Alexander Pope, 'Windsor Forest,' *The Poems of Alexander Pope*, gen. ed. John Butt, Vol. I (ed. E. Audra and Aubrey Williams, London: Methuen, 1961), pp. 149–150, lines 14–16.
3. Pope, 'Epistle to Burlington,' *The Poems of Alexander Pope*, gen. ed. John Butt, Vol. III-ii (ed. F. W. Bateson, 1951), p. 142, line 57.
4. Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 136, 146.

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