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Notes

Introduction

3. Ibid. Baker also points out that Waters probably adapted the idea to crumble and blow from “brittle book” demonstrations given by his former boss, preservationist Frazer Poole.
7. This trend began with several influential forays into material text and culture studies,


NOTES TO INTRODUCTION


25. Ted Underwood helpfully emphasizes the need for multiple perspectives when modeling history, as I have tried to do; see Distant Horizons: Digital Evidence and Literary Change (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), esp. 27. My understanding of data modeling for the humanities has been informed by discussions in Andrew Piper, “Introduction: Reading’s Refrain,” in Enumerations: Data and Literary Study (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 1–21; and Julia Flanders and Fotis Jannidis, eds., The Shape of Data in the Digital Humanities: Modeling Texts and Text-Based Resources (New York: Routledge, 2019).


30. Waters called this “Phased Conservation,” and it remains the standard practice; see Peter Waters, “Phased Conservation” (paper presented at the Library Collections


33. Darnton, “New Age.”


Janneke Adema is working on a history of these experiments, tentatively titled *Living Books: Experiments in the Posthumanities*.


As Stewart writes, “when the familiar verbal transmitter, the book as paper manifold, is either dismembered and rebound or closed upon itself to become a virtual black box not only empty but unplugged, it is only so as to mark out—in the abstract—the never strictly spatial shape of our reading machines to begin with” (*Bookwork*, 13).

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55. In the United States, the Media Archaeology Lab at the University of Colorado, Boulder, founded and directed by Lori Emerson, has been particularly influential; in Europe, the Medienarchäologischer Fundus [Media Archaeological Fundus] at Humboldt University in Berlin, supervised by Wolfgang Ernst. For more on labs, see Lori Emerson, Jussi Parikka, and Darren Wershler, The Lab Book: Situated Practices in Media Studies, an in-progress series of interviews with lab directors hosted by University of Minnesota Press’s Manifold Scholarship.

56. I am particularly persuaded by Thomas Elsaesser’s argument that media archaeology is a symptom rather than a method, and a means of crisis management—the crisis being a more general loss of belief in the Enlightenment project of progress; see “Media Archaeology as Symptom,” New Review of Film and Television Studies 14, no. 2 (2016): 181–215.


-belonging-and-believing-part-1-d26aeeboedd1; and projects like BitCurator (bitcurator.net), Collections as Data (collectionsasdata.github.io), The Blackivists (www.theblackivists.com), and Documenting the Now (docnow.io).


**Cut**


4. “Manuscripts at the World’s Fair” and “Historical Books at World’s Fair,” newspaper clippings in the Fanny Reed Hammond scrapbooks, GEN MSS 258, scrapbook 2, box 1, folder 6, Beinecke Library at Yale University.

5. Auction catalog in Fanny Reed Hammond scrapbooks, GEN MSS 258, scrapbook 2, box 1, folder 7, Beinecke Library at Yale University.

6. Alan Maycock, *Nicholas Ferrar of Little Gidding* (London: SPCK, 1938), 20. Maycock also claims that letters and treatises signed and authored by Virginia Ferrar regarding
her family’s interest in the Virginia colony (after which she was named) must actually have been penned by John Ferrar, since “Virginia would have been incapable of writing the kind of reports that were needed” (79).


8. John Ferrar, Materials for the Life of Nicholas Ferrar: A Reconstruction of John Ferrar’s Account of His Brother’s Life Based on All the Surviving Copies, ed. Lynette R. Muir and John A. White (Leeds, England: Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 2006), §99. All future quotes from John Ferrar’s memoirs will be cited as Muir and White, Materials, by section.

9. Quoted in Mayor, Nicholas Ferrar, 137 (emphasis original).


11. Ibid., §100. For a more extended discussion of this passage, see Paul Dyck, “‘So rare a use’: Scissors, Reading, and Devotion at Little Gidding,” George Herbert Journal 27, no. 1/2 (2003/2004): 67–81.


15. Muir and White, *Materials*, §80. It is unlikely that the community bought many, if any, of these vestments ready-made, as one of Nicholas Ferrar’s letters to his mother lists the materials that most likely became these furnishings: “greene Curtaynes / An Vallance / Blew silke & fring” in an undated letter, and “A peice broade perpetuano [a type of double wool fabric] / 3 ells Laune / 2 Peices Lace statute and silke” in a letter of June 10, 1631. Interestingly, the only other item Ferrar lists sending in his 1631 letter is “Ther Concordances,” without a cost; see Bernard Blackstone, ed., *The Ferrar Papers: Containing a Life of Nicholas Ferrar* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), 244 (letter 6) and 261 (letter 19) and Ferrar Papers 794, Virginia Company Archives.


17. 1641 Cambridge edition of *The Temple* by George Herbert, H1516 copy 1, Folger Shakespeare Library; sammelband containing a Book of Common Prayer, a King James Bible, and Sternhold and Hopkins Psalter, BX5145 A4 1629, University of Louisville Archives and Special Collections. For a rich discussion of the Folger book (with some speculation that it may not have a Little Gidding binding), see Kathleen Lynch, “Devotion Bound: A Social History of *The Temple*,” in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England*, ed. Jennifer Andersen, Elizabeth Sauer, and Stephen Orgel (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 181–84. As Lynch covers, this book is also discussed by Cyril Davenport in “Three Recently Discovered Bindings with Little Gidding Stamps,” *The Library*, n.s., 1 (1900): 210–12. Another folio set of the Book of Common Prayer, a Bible, and a Psalter with a leather binding attributed to Little Gidding is at the Morgan Library (016030), although more research is necessary to prove this attribution.

18. As early as 1899, Cyril Davenport warned against misattributing every needlework binding to Little Gidding (*English Embroidered Bookbindings* [London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Trübner, 1899], 104). He pins the error on Fuller’s statement that the women’s “own Needles were employed in learned and pious work to binde Bible,” but needles are used in all forms of sewn bindings. More likely we are encountering here another patriarchal assumption that women must be responsible for textile labor.
There are two examples of misattribution in the Beinecke Library at Yale University (MLm143 640B and MLm143 657) and at least two at the Morgan Library (006609 and 00209).


20. While I specifically discuss the early modern period, the idea that scissors and needles might be considered “domestic technologies of publication” might be usefully compared with work on Emily Dickinson’s private, bespoke publications; see, e.g., Jeanne Holland, “Scrap, Stamps, and Cutouts: Emily Dickinson’s Domestic Technologies of Publication,” in *Cultural Artifacts and the Production of Meaning: The Page, the Image, the Body*, ed. Margaret J. M. Ezell and Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 139–81.


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27. Gaudio, The Bible and the Printed Image, 10, 7.


While I appreciate this counterpoint, it is my argument that we cannot understand
the creativity of the women of Little Gidding’s harmonies without reading them as primarily material, rather than textual, documents.

30. Ibid.
31. Ibid, §103.
38. Ibid., ll. 11–15.
39. Before this, the household had expressed some interest in publishing its work and may even have tried to print their harmony; however, as Ransome has convincingly argued, Johan Hiud’s similar book, *The Storie of Stories* (1632), beat them to press and they seem to have abandoned the project (*Web of Friendship*, 112). A harmony now at the Bodleian Library, also marked with the King’s marginalia, may have been made as a printer’s dummy for this project.
42. *The King’s Harmony*, C.23.e.4, fol. 2r, British Library.
43. Ibid., fol. 7r. The remaining quotations in this paragraph are on the same page.
44. Gospel Harmony for William Cecil, 341, cols. 1–2, Cecil Papers, Hatfield House.
NOTES TO “CUT”

45. The Revelation of S Iohn the Divine, from Little Gidding, C.23.e.3, British Library.
47. The King’s Harmony, C.23.e.2, cols. 3–4, British Library.
48. Ibid., cols. 33–36.
51. On this print, see Watt, Cheap Print, 176.
54. I am indebted to Paul Dyck for first pointing out this repetition.
57. Ibid., ll. I.8–12.
58. Ibid., ll. II.5–6.
59. Muir and White, Materials, §84, §94; Ransome, Web of Friendship, 65.
60. Muir and White, Materials, §93; Mayor, Nicholas Ferrar, 40–43.
62. George Herbert, The Country Parson, The Temple, ed. John N. Wall (Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist, 1981), 69. Herbert’s The Country Parson was not published in print until 1652 as part of Herbert’s remains, or, sundry pieces of that sweet singer of the temple, Mr George Herbert, sometime orator of the University of Cambridge, ed. Barnabas Oley (London, 1652), but it seems almost certain the Ferrars would have known and read this text in manuscript. Writing on walls was a common feature in English manor houses of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with Martin Luther even prescribing such actions. The quintessential study of this practice remains Juliet Fleming, Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England (London: Reaktion, 2001), but see also: Meakin, Painted Closet; Elizabeth MacCutcheon, Sir Nicholas Bacon’s Great House Sententiae, English Literary Renaissance Supplement III (Amherst, Mass.: University of Hawaii, 1977); Peter Davidson, “Spatial Texts: Women as Devisers of Environments and Iconographies,” in Phillippy, History of Early Modern Women’s Writing, 186–202.
63. Mayor, Nicholas Ferrar, 282.
64. Muir and White, Materials, §124.
65. Muir and White, Materials, §106. The green walls themselves are noteworthy, since it was, as Bruce Smith has shown, an important color in early modern English homes, where assemblages of “woven artifacts” turned bedchambers and closets into
a “constant—and constantly varying—interplay between the verbal and the visual”
(The Key of Green [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009], 127).


67. Ibid.

68. Bathsheba Ferrar to Henry Owen, ca. June 1636, Ferrar Papers 722, Virginia Company
Archives, reproduced in Blackstone, Ferrar Papers, 288–89. On this anecdote, see also
Bernard Blackstone, “Discord at Little Gidding,” Times Literary Supplement, August
1, 1936.


70. John Ferrar to Nicholas Ferrar, July 16, 1632, Ferrar Papers 857, Virginia Company
Archives (Blackstone, Ferrar Papers, 272).

71. John Ferrar to Nicholas Ferrar, November 22, 1633, Ferrar Papers 915, Virginia Com-
pany Archives (Blackstone, Ferrar Papers, 279).

72. E. Cruwys Sharland, ed., The Story Books of Little Gidding (New York: E. P. Dutton,
1899), 2.

73. Ibid.

74. A. M. Williams, ed., Conversations at Little Gidding, (Cambridge: Cambridge Univer-
sity Press, 2006), xxix–xxxiii. Williams uses as evidence Nicholas Ferrar’s description
of the names, quoted from Blackstone, Ferrar Papers, 111–12.

75. Shuger, “Laudian Feminism.” Blackstone makes this point: the Little Academy “was
a clearing house for ideas, a means of spiritual refreshment and recreation; and, above
all, it offered opportunities for creative activity. Individual differences, which had
been to some extent suppressed in the quiet round of community life, could here be
recognised and discussed. The fruits of individual experience, reading, and medita-
tion, could be compared, and given their due place in the synthesis of the Dialogues,”
(Ferrar Papers, 97).

76. Williams, Conversations, 131.

77. Ibid., 135.

78. Three are currently at the British Library under the shelfmark MS Add 34657–59;
an additional two are at Clare College, Cambridge, one of which copies a section of
BL MS Add 34658. A sixth, mentioned by Williams, is at Magdalene College, Cam-
bridge, and copies a section of a Clare College manuscript (Conversations, 316–17).

79. The poems at the end of the book, discussed below, are written in the first person
and are clearly by Susanna Collet. For instance, in the mother’s legacy poem, she
describes herself as giving counsels “Vnto her Children, they twise Seven.” According
to genealogies available today, Susanna had fifteen children, although some are less
easily traced in the extant records and it is possible that one may have died in infancy.
More compellingly, the hand used throughout the book very closely matches that
in a letter written by Susanna on January 6, 1635/1636, around the same time as the
manuscript (Ferrar Papers 1006, Virginia Company Archives). Although there is no
known sample of Joyce’s handwriting that might be used for comparison, the children
at Little Gidding were taught a beautiful, distinctive italic hand in imitation of Nicholas Ferrar’s own formal script; were this book copied by Joyce, it is likely she would have used this more ornate style of writing.

80. Braccia and I have not discovered exactly when Joyce married Wallis and so cannot confirm that her marriage was the impetus for the gift, although Joyce’s age in 1635 (twenty-one) is suggestive of it.


82. Letters from Little Gidding Story Books, vol. 1, Add MS 34657, fols. 5r–7v, British Library.

83. Ibid., fol. 7r.

84. Ibid., fol. 7v.


86. Susanna Collet’s commonplace book, 128838, Morgan Library.

87. Such self-representations through reading were important for women in the period, as Edith Snook has pointed out (*Women, Reading, and the Cultural Politics of Early Modern England* [Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2005]).


NOTES TO “CUT”


98. Poem by Susanna Collet in her commonplace book, 128838, fols. 15.6r–15.7r, Morgan Library.

99. Ibid., fol. 17.2v.

100. Ibid., fol. 17.3r.


111. Bowdler and Bowdler, Family Shakspeare, 1:xviii.


113. Ibid., 1:vi.

114. Ibid., 1:vii.


120. Ibid., 201.


122. The first edition of Masters’s abridgment seems to appear in 1852, and since I cannot locate a print copy of the 1869 edition used in this pamphlet, it may be the only known copy.


124. I am grateful to Emilie Friedman for her help editing this pamphlet in particular; see digitalbookhistory.com/littlegidding/neatline/show/gospel-harmony-1635.


127. We know of her authorship through published indices of copyright, e.g., *Catalogue of Copyright Entries*, part 3: Musical Compositions, n.s. 15, no. 3 (1920): item 3414; n.s., 16, no. 11 (1921): items 22222, 23499; n.s., 16, no. 12 (1921): item 26278; n.s., 17, no. 3 (1922): item 3031.

128. The photographs are kept in a separate small red leather casing that may have been made by the Beinecke library.

129. Edward Reed to Fanny Reed Hammond, GEN MSS 258, scrapbook correspondence, box 2, folder 9, Beinecke Library at Yale University.

130. Ibid., scrapbook 2, box 1, folder 6.

131. Ibid., scrapbook correspondence, box 2, folder 10.

132. Ibid., scrapbook 1, box 1, folder 1.

133. Ibid.


135. Elsie Binns to Fanny Reed Hammond, GEN MSS 258, scrapbook 1, box 1, folder 1, Beinecke Library at Yale University.
Copy

1. Ferrar Print 325, Virginia Company Archives.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., 54.
18. Ibid., 57.

20. When quoting *Theophila* throughout this chapter, in main text, I will parenthetically cite signatures from the first folio edition of 1652 and, when relevant, canto and stanza.


Notes to “Copy”


28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.


32. Ibid.


34. Jenkins, Edward Benlowes, 125.

35. Latin exercise book of Edward Benlowes, MS Rawlinson D 278, Bodleian Library.


45. Ibid., 62.


57. The antipapal works are: Andrew Willet, Synopsis papismi (1614; STC 25699a); Christopher Sibthorp, A friendly advertisement to the pretended Catholickes of Ireland (1622; STC 22522); John Copley, Doctrinall and morall observations concerning religion (1612; STC 5742).


59. Edward Chaney and Timothy Wilks, The Jacobean Grand Tour: Early Stuart Travellers in Europe (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2014); Alison Games, The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in the Age of Expansion, 1560–1660 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). Nicholas Ferrar, too, had traveled abroad as a young man, returning with the boxes of books and piles of Flemish prints that would form the raw materials that were remade in the bookwork of Little Gidding.

60. Thomas Lupton, A thousand Notable things, of sundry sortes (1590), Uu.23.48(2), St. John’s College Library at Cambridge University.

61. It is A. B. Langdale who first assigns this composition date in Phineas Fletcher: Man

62. Zachary Lesser, Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication: Readings in the English Book Trade (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 217. The decorative borders, doggerel “Arguments” added to each canto, and the removal of any characters linking Fletcher’s pastoral world to the text all point to a deliberate ruse to make the book appear more Elizabethan in tone and topic, what Langdale describes as a “complicated and successful hoax, involving Fletcher, Walkley, and possibly Benlowes” (95). That Walkley dedicated the short book to his client the Duke of Buckingham’s young daughter Mary—signing the dedication as “The humblest of your devoted Servants”—certainly suggests more of a motive for the misattribution than does ignorance or a desire for profit. Around this time, William Sheares also brought out Fletcher’s Sicelides a piscatory (1631, STC 10083), a pastoral drama first written for James’s royal visit to King’s College in 1615, without attribution.

63. Annotation in copy of Phineas Fletcher, Piscatorie Eclogs, 239.i.23.(1.), 69, British Library. Unfortunately, the letters in brackets and several other important annotations were cut off when the book was rebound. However, they are supplied in Frederick Boas, ed., The Poetical Works of Giles and Phineas Fletcher, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), xiv. In his letter to Sir John Duke Coleridge, published as Who Wrote ‘Brittain’s Ida’? (mis-assigned to Edmund Spenser) answered in a letter to Sir John Duke Coleridge (1869), Alexander Grosart assumes the “W. Thomson” of Queen’s College who owned and annotated this book was Rev. William Thompson (1712–1766), who edited Sir John Davies and other seventeenth-century English poets.

64. Mary Ethel Seaton, Venus & Anchises (Brittain’s Ida) and other poems (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926).


69. Quoted in ibid., 167.


78. Phineas Fletcher, *The Purple Island, or The Isle of Man: Together with Piscatorie Eclogs and Other Poeticall Miscellanies* (Cambridge, 1633; STC 11082), fol. ¶4v.


81. Ibid., 26.


90. This leaf may have been added by Thompson, but it does not appear to be in his handwriting. The title page to the *Piscatorie Eclogs* is also tipped in, pasted to the first leaf of the text; this may have been done during a later rebinding.


95. Seventeenth-century sammelbands pairing Benlowes’s *Sphinx Theologica* with Crashaw’s *Epigrammatum sacrorum liber* (1634; STC 6009): Peterborough H.2.38, Cambridge University Library; Dd.18.24, St. John’s College Library at Cambridge University; Bd.w. STC 6009 copy 3, Folger Shakespeare Library (STC 1880); S11.4.71 (1–4), Emmanuel College at Cambridge University.

96. Sammelband of Benlowes’s *Sphinx Theologica* bound with poetry books by Richard
Corbett and Robert Wild, Peterborough H.2.38, Cambridge University Library. The other books in this volume are Terentius Christianus (1601); Crashaw’s Epigrammatum sacrorum liber; Richard Corbett (Oxford clergyman), Certain Elegant Poems (1647; Wing C6269C); and Robert Wild, Iter Boreale, Together with Some Other Selected Poems (1661; Wing W2134). Corbett’s and Wild’s books are also found bound together with John Cleveland’s Poems (1651; Wing C4685A) in a book now at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UA03344). On Corbett’s circulation through Oxford manuscript coteries, see Christopher Burlinson, “Response and Accumulation: Textual Editors and Richard Corbett’s ‘Oxford Ballad,’” Studies in English Literature 52, no. 1 (2012): 35–50; and “Maecenas and ‘Oxford-Witts’: Pedagogy and Flattery in Seventeenth-Century Oxford,” in Re-evaluating the Literary Coterie, 1580–1830, ed. Will Bowers and Hannah Leah Crummé (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 35–52.

97. Sammelband binding Benlowes’s Sphinx Theologica with six octavos, 8° Z 40(6) Th.Seld, Bodleian Library.

98. Benlowes’s gift volumes of Sphinx Theologica bound alone: Dd.17.31, St. Johns College Library at Cambridge University; H.8.79, Magdalene College at Cambridge University; 11409.e.10, British Library. A copy is also found alone in a more ornate binding from Benlowes’s time at shelfmark STC 1880, Houghton Library at Harvard University, bearing ownership marks of Charles Moseley of Merton College (1713) and Nathaniell Butler, who received it from Walter Pheasant (1664). Aaron Pratt has convincingly challenged the idea that stab-stitching is a marker of ephemeral texts, an argument that the British Library’s stab-stitched Sphinx Theologica supports (“Stab-stitching and the Status of Early English Playbooks,” The Library 16, no. 3 [2015]: 304–28).

99. Examples of extant copies of Benlowes’s Sphinx Theologica bound alone include: 477969, Huntington Library; Case C 692 .088, Newberry Library; Wj B438 626sb WRE, Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas.

100. Fletcher, Purple Island, sig. ¶3r.

101. Ibid., sig. ¶4r.


103. Without more evidence than has hitherto come to light, it is impossible to know for sure that Benlowes and Schoren printed the engravings themselves in Finchingfield. On the one hand, the printing appears to be the work of amateurs. Offset from stacking the completed sheets too soon mars nearly every extant copy, hinting at the possible limitations of the domestic atelier or Schoren’s expertise with the equipment. So too does a visible “stutter” effect in six of the seven “large paper” copies that I have examined. It comes from pressing the first plate onto the back of the title page while that page’s ink was still wet, causing it to offset onto waste paper used to pack the rolling press. When the next sheet was run through the press, this offset ink set off again from
the packing paper onto the new sheet, effectively “printing” it with a double image. For a demonstration of this, see the embedded video introduction to *The Purple Island*. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that the ink on the preliminaries would stay wet enough to offset after the twenty-five-mile journey from Cambridge to Finchingfield. My tentative judgment is that Benlowes and Schoren printed the engravings at Finchingfield, and that the stutter might offer new insight into the drying times of ink, which might have been “reactivated” when the paper was moistened again for the rolling press. On wet paper and ink in relief processes, see Peter Blayney, “A Dry Discourse on Wet Paper (and Ink),” *The Library* 18, no. 4 (2017): 387–404. I am grateful to Randall McLeod for helping solve the mystery of the stutter; for more on offset, see his “Fearful Asymmetry,” *The Cambridge Companion to Textual Scholarship*, ed. Neil Fraistat and Julia Flanders (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 162–63.

104. To make this positioning work, Benlowes and Schoren have flipped the title page’s half-sheet bifolium inside out, thereby placing the blank leaf that precedes the *Piscatorie Eclogs* in later copies after it in their boutique issue, where it bears the emblem. Bibliographic evidence for this is abundant in the form of a clear and consistent blind impression showing that a page from Fletcher’s dedication to Benlowes (¶3v) was used as bearing type during the process of printing the unsigned internal title page to the *Piscatorie Eclogs* on a half-sheet. Most likely the printer swapped out type for ¶2r, the page imposed next to ¶3v, with the type for the internal title page. This suggests that two noncontiguous parts of the book were printed at the same time, and likely last: (1) two sheets of preliminaries from the front of the book, containing the main title page (¶2r), Phineas Fletcher’s dedication to Benlowes (¶3v–r), Daniel Featley’s note “To the Reader” (¶4r), and Benlowes’s commendatory poem (¶4v), as well as a second sheet of commendatory verse (¶¶1r–¶¶4v); and (2) one half-sheet bifolium from the middle of the book, containing the internal title page to *Piscatorie Eclogs*. In “large paper copies,” the remnants of the blind impression, when present, are on the leaf with the emblem, after the title page. For more on this, see the embedded video introduction.

105. This is Benlowes stamp 2 in the British Armorial Bindings database (ed. John Morris and Philip Oldfield, Bibliographical Society of London and the University of Toronto Libraries), armorial.library.utoronto.ca/stamps/IBEN001_s2.

106. Four of the seven extant copies that I have examined are in their original binding; the other three appear to have been re-bound later. Anne Dutton kindly informs me that Salisbury Cathedral’s copy is also in an original binding stamped with Benlowes’s arms.

107. As Pope has identified, there is one stop-press correction in the edition: the name “Echthros” at XII.14 in the special issue has been corrected to “Ecthros” in the normal issue. However, some regular-issue copies still have “Echthros,” suggesting the correction came some time after the printer decided to issue the book on cheaper paper without the engravings (“Introduction,” 31–32). Thus the more common issue likely came off the press bed after Benlowes’s boutique project. Perhaps Cambridge
University Press wanted to recoup the costs of printing the boutique edition and so produced a cheaper edition for wider circulation. Or perhaps it was part of the press’s agreement with Benlowes to have the rights to reproduce and sell the copy after it was set in type. McKitterick describes an arrangement between Nathanael Carpenter and Oxford University Press to print his *Geography delineated* (1625): Carpenter paid for printing and retained the rights to sell the copies as he wished, gaining “a handsome return on his investment” (*History of Cambridge University Press*, 1:295).

108. Benlowes is largely responsible for introducing English audiences to the popular Drexel via Ralph Winterton. Benlowes had lent Winterton his copy of Jeremias Drexel’s *De aeternitate considerationes* that he had acquired while abroad, which Winterton translated (1632; STC 7235). In a glowing dedication, he names Benlowes as a former Catholic, “yet brought home again by divine providence” and now “wedded to his books and Devotion”—a phrase that presages the ways that his relationship with Schoen and the poets he patronized would take the place of marriage in Benlowes’s life, their books serving as his much-doted-upon inheritors.


112. Copy of Phineas Fletcher’s *Purple Island* with inscription to Anne Willoughby, 78848, Morgan Library.


118. Although Benlowes paid for the engravings, the plates seem to have been owned by or transferred to Quarles, as they were later in security when Quarles obtained a loan
from the printers Francis Eglesfield and John Williams; see John Horden, “The Publication of the Early Editions of Francis Quarles’s Emblemes (1635) and Hieroglyphikes (1638),” *The Library* 8, no. 1 (2007): 25–32.

119. Francis Quarles’s *Emblemes* is one of the few books to be continuously in print throughout the seventeenth century, with over a dozen editions before 1700. On Quarles’s contemporary popularity, see Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books* (New York: Octagon, 1970), 114–15.

120. With the “Invocation,” *Emblemes* introduces pagination, and so I here cite the original’s page number rather than the signature.


123. “Vix ea nostra” is more commonly rendered “Vix ea nostra voco”; “I scarcely call these things our own.”

124. Schoren thought Benlowes owed him annuity that had gone unpaid for many years; Benlowes assumed he had been embezzling it from the rents he collected on his behalf and refused to pay (Schoren v. Benlowes [1658], C 10/711/87, The National Archives [United Kingdom], plaintiff’s bill and defendant’s answer); see Jenkins, *Edward Benlowes*, 130–31.


130. Ibid., 154–55.


133. Thomas Ward describes a similar advertisement on the title page of Waller’s *Poems* as stretching the lyrical voice across multiple technologies and sites of replication.


136. Maria Wakely, “Printing and Double-Dealing in Jacobean England: Robert Barker, John Bill, and Bonham Norton,” *The Library* 8, no. 2 (2007), 139. For further documents pertaining to this decades-long dispute, see the King’s Printer Project, directed by Graham Rees with assistance from Maria Walkley, http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/kingsprinter/index.html. Other smaller engravings used by Benlowes that may have been owned by Norton include a plate of two cavaliers drinking and carousing by Peregrine Lovell, cut in half in *Theophila* and printed on sigs. Y[1]v and [Y2]v, and a small, ill-fitting map of the world printed on sig. Y[1]r.


140. I am grateful to Mary Learner for drawing my attention to this connection in her dissertation, “Material Sampling and Patterns of Thought in Early Modern England” (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2021).


145. Copy of *Theophila* presented to St. Johns College Library, Bb.4.25, St. John’s College Library at Cambridge University.


147. Two copies of Benlowes’s *Theophila* with extra engravings and markings: A.742.1 FOLIO, Boston Public Library; Wing B1879 folio, Chapin Library at Williams College, Chapin Library Wing B1879 folio.

148. The copy with authorial portrait opposite *Mens Author* is A.742.1 FOLIO, Boston Public Library.

149. Presentation copy of *Theophila* dedicated to the Earl of Westmorland, Mildmay Fane, HEW 7.10.9, Houghton Library at Harvard University.
Copy of *Theophila* with authorial portrait before *Mens Authoris* and Theophila stomping the serpent opposite translation as “The Authors Designe,” f Typ 605.52.202, Houghton Library at Harvard University.

Copies of *Theophila* with Astronomia introducing canto 9 and the vestigial frontispiece introducing canto 13: Z7 77 p.32, Beinecke Library at Yale University; folio Y 185. B43, Newberry Library Case; Aj B438t+1652, Harry Ransom Center at University of Texas; G.11598, British Library; C.30.m.8, British Library; Ss.28.2, Cambridge University Library; f PR3318.B25 T3, Clark Library at University of Los Angeles; Folio EC65 B4387 652t, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts at the University of Pennsylvania. In some copies, the plates are situated with respect to recto and verso differently.

Copy of *Theophila* with Astronomia annotated “place this agst pag: 125,” f Typ 605.52.202, Houghton Library at Harvard University.

Copy of *Theophila* with Astronomia introducing canto 13 and the vestigial frontispiece introducing canto 9: Syn.4.65.1, Cambridge University Library. The other two copies with this order are f Typ 605.52.202 and HEW 7.10.9, Houghton Library at Harvard University.

Copy of *Theophila* with vestigial frontispiece facing prelude of canto 9, Manuscripts & Special Collections Folio EC65 B4387 652t, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts at the University of Pennsylvania. The frontispiece cut by William Marshall with *Ludus Literarius Christianus, Anthreron-Tripsis seu Crabronum Tritura* is facing sig. R3r in copies of *Theophila* that include it: f PR3318.B25 T3, Clark Library at University of Los Angeles; W 01 D, Morgan Library; f Typ 605.52.202, Houghton Library at Harvard University.

Copies with signed Bedford bindings include: f PR3318.B25 T3, Clark Library at University of Los Angeles; Ss.28.2, Cambridge University Library; W 01 D, Morgan Library; and Manuscripts & Special Collections Folio EC65 B4387 652t, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts at the University of Pennsylvania. However, many others are in similar nineteenth-century bindings following Bedford’s style.

Copy of *Theophila* resembling Fane copy but with facing-page doubles of etchings for cantos 1–8, f Typ 605.52.202, Houghton Library at Harvard University.

G.11598, British Library; the other copy of *Theophila* with a doubled O2 leaf is C.30.m.8, British Library.

Copy of *Theophila* with Wenceslaus Hollar’s “Winter Woman” in usual location and captioned versions of “Spring,” “Summer,” and “Autumn,” Ss.28.2, Cambridge University Library.

Copy of *Theophila* with “Ex dono Authoris” flyleaf, Wing Bt879 folio, Chapin Library at Williams College.

Copy of *Theophila* with many missing engravings and idiosyncratic positioning for others, B823B43 T 1652, Rare Book & Manuscript Library at Columbia University.


167. Ibid., 8.


170. In thinking about how paratexts might form a social network, I have been influenced by Heidi Craig, Sonia Massai, and Thomas Berger and their ongoing work to produce an expanded digital edition of Massai and Berger’s Paratexts in English Printed Drama to 1642 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), as well as Johnathan R. Ladd, who has done a social network analysis of dedications in early modern printed books. See also Michael Gavin, “Historical Text Networks: The Sociology of Early English Criticism,” Eighteenth Century Studies 50, no. 1 (Fall 2016): 52–80.

**Paste**


7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.


12. Ibid, 3.

13. Ibid., 3 (emphasis original).


17. Quoted in Milton McC. Gatch, “John Bagford as a Collector and Disseminator of Manuscript Fragments,” *The Library*, 6th ser., 7, no. 2 (1985): 107. The original is not in Bagford’s hand, hence the more standard spelling; it is MS Harley 5910.iii, fol. 120, British Library.


20. *A Catalogue of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts*, vol. 2 (London, 1759); items 5892–998 are Bagford’s, with the exception of 5958.


24. Thomas Hearne, *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, 11 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1885–1921), 7:287 (ed. Oxford Historical Society). Hearne also wrote a letter of May 8, 1716: “I am heartily sorry for the Death of honest Mr. John Bagford. He hath not left his Equal behind him. I hope his Collections will be carefully preserved, and that they will be reduced into Method by some judicious Hand. Be pleased to let me know his Age & the Place & manner of his Funeral, & to whom he bequeathed his Collections” (5:218 [ed. D. W. Rannie]).


27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid, 126.


31. Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 358. In this passage, Johns addresses specifically eighteenth-century histories of print, but throughout his monograph, he broadly explores the ways printers, authors, and publishers nurtured trust and credit in the printed word in ways relevant to this discussion.


33. Ibid.


35. Ibid.

36. An excerpt out of a book, shewing, that fluids rise not in the pump, in the syphon, and in the barometer, by the pressure of the air, but propter Fugam vacui. At the occasion of a dispute, in a coffee-house, with a doctor of Physick (London: To be had at Powell’s Coffee-House, date unknown); *The coffee scuffle, occasioned by a contest between a learned knight, and a pitiful pedagogue. With the character of a coffee-house* (London: Printed and are to be sold at the Latine Coffee House near the Stocks, 1662).

37. Balthazar Gerbier, *Counsel and Advice to All Builders* (London, 1663).

45. On the coffeehouse as a place where individuals could send and receive mail or conduct business, see Cowan, *Social Life*, 175–76.
46. For Bagford’s correspondence with Clavell, see MS Harley 5997, British Library.
49. Many original letters from clients inquiring after, asking Bagford to buy for them, or thanking him for certain books can be found in MS Harley 5910.iv, British Library.
50. For notes on private libraries, see Jeremiah Pepyat’s letters to Bagford, MS Harley 5910.iii, fols. 92–93, British Library.
51. John Beaver to John Bagford, 1712, MS Harley 5910.iv, fol. 55r, British Library.
52. Thomas Tanner to John Bagford, MS Harley 5910.ii, fol. 151r, British Library.
55. Ibid., 17.
58. Makerspaces in public libraries are discussed in the library and information sciences; see Árni Már Einarsson, “Sustaining Library Makerspaces: Perspectives on Participation, Expertise, and Embeddedness,” *The Library Quarterly* 91, no. 2 (April 2021), 172–89.
60. Richard Burt, *Licensed by Authority: Ben Jonson and the Discourses of Censorship* (Ithaca,


62. Ibid., 64.

63. Ibid., 57.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid., 46, 78. Writing about how newsbooks and pamphlets entered collections more generally, Michael Mendle iterates that, “because of their variety and their nature, the little books were difficult to accommodate into the scheme that had served to pigeonhole the books of the learned world” (“Preserving the Ephemeral: Reading, Collecting, and the Pamphlet Culture of Seventeenth-Century England,” in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England*, ed. Jennifer Andersen, Elizabeth Sauer, and Stephen Orgel [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008], 204).


71. Quoted in Ibid., 48. On this quote in relation to Pepys’s collecting habits, see Patricia Fumerton, “Recollecting Samuel Pepys: His Life, His Library, and His Legacy,” English Broadside Ballad Archive, ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/pepys-collecting.

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73. See MS Harley 5910.i, from fol. 33 on, British Library. The Bagford Ballads are catalogued in *The Bagford Ballads: Illustrating the Last Years of the Stuarts*, ed. Joseph Woodfall Ebsworth (Hertford, Eng.: Ballad Society, 1878).

74. John Bagford newspaper collection, MS Harley 5958, British Library.


78. The Sloane Herbarium is at the Natural History Museum and is searchable online at data.nhm.ac.uk/dataset/sloane-herbarium; the paper samples are MS Sloane 526–27, British Library.


81. Humphrey Wanley petition to curators of the Bodleian Library and the vice chancellor, MS Harley 5911, fol. 10r, British Library.

82. Two of John Bagford’s volumes of scraps owned by Thomas Hearne, MSS Rawlinson 893 and 894, Bodleian Library. See Gatch, “John Bagford,” 98. Gatch also points out that Hearne’s notes identify MS Rawlinson 894, fol. 32, as a gift from Bagford.

83. John Bagford’s collections of scraps owned by Hans Sloane, MSS Sloane 1086 and 1044, British Library.


88. My thoughts on Bagford’s use of “specimens” has been informed by Kathryn James’s insightful work on Bagford, presented December 9, 2019, at the Material Texts Seminar at the University of Pennsylvania, as well as conversations with her afterward.

90. Description of Wanley’s methods in John Bagford’s notes, MS Sloane 1435, fol. 8r, British Library.

91. Medieval missal page in John Bagford’s notes, MS Harley 5910.i, fol. 82r, British Library. I am grateful to Nicholas Herman for helping me identify a rough date from the style of the illumination.


95. An example of this pasteboard cover may be found at MS Harley 5910.i, fol. 146r, British Library, which is labeled “Caxton & Chaycerworkes.”

96. While it is difficult to tell handwriting from numbers alone, the foliation of the book’s original leaves seems to be continuous and in Bagford’s hand. The new numbers incorporate the inclusions and override Bagford’s original numbers.

97. Collected waste sheets in John Bagford scrapbook, MS Harley 5979, item 14, 2*, British Library.

98. Presentation manuscript by John Bagford, MS Lansdowne 808, British Library. Gatch suggests this volume “may, like Humfrey Wanley’s diary, have become separated from the Harleian collection and found its way into the collection of James West,” since “some of the lots in the sale of West’s library are described in ways reminiscent of Bagford materials, but attempts to trace these have so far been unsuccessful” (“John Bagford,” 99). However, it is composed by the same scribe and has the same appearance as MS Sloane 1085, one of Sloane’s acquisitions from Bagford; see Nickson, “Bagford and Sloane.” MS Sloane 1085 also contains the same table of contents as MS Lansdowne 808, tipped in at the end on a loose note (fol. 125r). It is at least possible this was the lost volume MS Sloane 1084.

99. It is also at the end of MS Sloane 1085.

100. Items 7–10 in British Library’s MS Harley 5949 are from the 1535 Coverdale Bible. Item 3 could be from the title page to *Das neuw Testament* (Basel, Switz.: A. Petri, 1522), but as mentioned above, the print also appears in Ptolemaeus, *Geographia Universalis* (Basel, Switz.: He. Petri, 1545), 32.

101. Woodcut of Matthew, MS Harley 5949, item 13, British Library.
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103. Engraving of Jerome collected in John Bagford scrapbook, MS Harley 5949, item 37, British Library.

104. Image of Mark and lion and image of church fathers collected in John Bagford scrapbook, ibid., items 38, 40.


106. Numerical tables collected in John Bagford scrapbook, ibid., item 61, 64, 67.

107. Images of hands with pen collected in John Bagford scrapbook, ibid., items 87–93.

108. Images of grotesque human letters, ibid., item 117.

109. Hornbook pages with letters collected in John Bagford scrapbook, ibid., items 118–42.

110. Virginia copybook for writing collected in John Bagford scrapbook, ibid., item 243.

111. Advertisement for skins and scrivener advertisement for Edward Cocker collected in John Bagford scrapbook, ibid., items 247, 249.

112. Poem “Cocker’s Farewell to Brandy” collected in John Bagford scrapbook, ibid., item 295.

113. Blanks advertisement for Christopher Coningsby collected in John Bagford scrapbook, ibid., item 384. Item 390 also advertises blanks.

114. The other Bagford volume with advertisements for miracles medicines is MS Harley 5931, British Library.

115. Advertisement for inks at coffee house collected in John Bagford scrapbook, MS Harley 5949, British Library, item 381.

116. Advertisement for rarities at coffee house collected in John Bagford scrapbook, ibid., item 376.

117. William A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, Etc., in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and Their Interconnection* (Amsterdam: M. Hertzberger, 1935), 42. The samples in the E. Williams Watermark Collection at the Folger Shakespeare Library are a receipt from John Hecklefield to Cornelius a Tilburge dated March 15, 1694 (shelfmark L.f.585) and a bond for the performance of covenants from Richard Lord of Clayweald in the parish of Ducklington, Oxfordshire, to Ann Martin of Finchstoke in the parish of Charlbury, Oxfordshire, dated 1699 (shelfmark L.f.734). I have not been able to trace the origins of the lily watermark over an E, but it is similar to the horn over an L or I on L.f.585. I am grateful to Aaron Pratt for suggesting I look more into the company.

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120. Vol. 9 of manuscript catalogue of Harley library, Add MS 45709, British Library; the ninth volume was written by William Hocker in the 1740s (Wright and Wright, “Introduction,” in Diary of Humfrey Wanley, 1:lxxxi).


122. Two bits of evidence run counter to this claim. First, Harley 5949 is described in the first printed catalogue of Harley manuscripts of 1759 as a “Porte-folio,” which, as we have seen, seems to indicate Bagford used some kind of folder to organize loose sheets, sometimes pasted with specimens; and second, the volume has clearly been rebound. The latter might be dismissed as insignificant, but the former invites the possibility that Bagford may have pasted his specimens to loose, folded bifolia rather than a blank bound book—unlikely, in my view, since the fragments are arranged on each side of a sheet in a manner that suggests a codex format rather than poster.

123. List of images extracted from Bagford scrapbooks and moved to Print Room in 1814, MS Add 57982, British Library.

124. Antony Griffiths has begun the work of reconnecting these prints (“The Bagford Collection,” Picturing Places, British Library, bl.uk/picturing-places/articles/the-bagford-collection).

125. List of nineteen prints extracted from Bagford scrapbooks and moved to Print Room in 1850, MS Add 57982, fol. 20r, British Library.


127. 1808 Harley catalogue, Rare Books and Music Reading Room RAC 000, British Library.

128. Handwritten French letter of 1659: originally MS Harley 5949, item 205, British Library; now foliated in the composite volume as item 24.

129. Letter in serifed roman script, originally MS Harley 5949, item 393, British Library, now foliated as item 29; Handwritten petition and letters originally ibid., items 362, 363, and 391; now foliated as items 25–28.

130. Harris, A History, 429.


134. The list of inscriptions (fols. 8–9) is not in Bagford’s hand, contrary to what Davenport writes (“Bagford’s Notes,” 126).


136. The medieval manuscript cover and partial woodcut title page are in MS Harley 5943, British Library, originally items 21 and 22 in the scrapbook. They are now in a volume of printed fragments removed from the manuscript.

137. 1517 Melanchthon titles page and sixteenth-century portrait stamp, ibid., items 27 (originally) and 48.

138. Early print with marginal text squared around main text, ibid., item 29 (originally), and sixteenth-century Netherlandish stamps, ibid., items 24–25. See Davenport, “Bagford’s Notes,” 127.

139. Small-print alphabet and sheepskin with St. George, MS Harley 5943, British Library, ibid., both labeled item 53.

140. Uncut sheet of printed alphabets for hornbooks, ibid., originally item 54.

141. Printed sheets of large, elaborate letter forms, MS Rawlinson D 384, fol. 75v, Bodleian Library. Unfortunately, the fragment is not dated, and I have not been able to locate this account in Hearne’s voluminous printed remarks and diaries.

142. John Bagford to Hans Sloane, 1704, MS Sloane 1435, fol. 1r, British Library.

143. Ibid.; see Nickson, “Bagford and Sloane,” 52.

144. Uncut sheets of playing cards, MS Sloane 526–27, British Library. Gatch suggests these may be Bagford’s, although they are sometimes associated with Wanley (“Bagford as a Collector,” 97n8).

145. The outline of these debates are sketched in Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, ch. 5 (“Faust and the Pirates”).


147. Seven prints removed from MS Harley 5934 in 900, now Add MS 57982, fols. 15r–16r, British Library. The composite volume is MS Harley 5938, 5941, 5949, 5959, 5966, and 5978. An insertion in the 1808 catalogue of Harley manuscripts reports that nine fragments were taken out, either in error or one fragment has gone missing.

148. Gilded Q and woodcut P, MS Harley 5934, items 25 and 24, British Library. Item 25, the Q, has been removed and is now in a separate composite volume of manuscript fragments.

149. Sheet with bodies in letter forms and workman, ibid., items 26, 27.

150. Medieval MS leaf with initials, ibid., item 32.


152. Images of Aldus Manutius’s anchor device, ibid., items 51, 52.

153. Sequence of substrate specimens, ibid., items 77, 78, 79, 80, 81.