Contexts for Women's Manuscript Miscellanies: The Case of Elizabeth Lyttelton and Sir Thomas Browne

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Dear Sister Betty,

Though I make many journeys, yet I am confident that your pen and pencil are greater travellers. How many fine plaines do they passe over, and how many hills, woods, seas doe they designe? You have a fine way of not onley seeing but making a world; and whilst you sit still, how many miles doth your hand travell! I am only unfortunate in this, that I can never meete you in any of your voyages.[1]

So wrote Edward Browne to his sister Elizabeth on 5 July 1669 from Venice. In this letter, written when Elizabeth was about nineteen years of age, Edward is contrasting his actual travels through Europe (printed in two accounts of 1673 and 1677, and revised in an edition of 1685) with her imaginary travels guided by her pen and pencil. Edward may have been referring primarily to her ability to draw and paint, skills we know she practised frequently from the references in the correspondence of their father, Sir Thomas Browne (for example, 'Beside limning, Bet. practiseth washing in black and colours and doth very well'),[2] but this passage is also an eloquent metaphor for Elizabeth's literary activities. Later in life she herself was to travel (to Guernsey, after her marriage to George Lyttelton in 1680) and to send home descriptions of that journey and her new life there, much appreciated by her father ('Thy letters are still our best divertion' and 'You discribed yr voyage very Prettyly', he wrote in letters of June 1681);[3] for a brief period her body joined her hand in its travels. Her brother's description places her in a private, domestic sphere, recording and even creating a world, but not actually experiencing it. Her literary activities, recorded in her father's correspondence and in her miscellany, however, demonstrate that she was in contact with a circle of like-minded people, that she had access to some of the most popular literature of the day, and that she was interested in playing an active role in the preservation of her father's literary reputation after his death. For Elizabeth Lyttelton the family offered a congenial space for manuscript compilation.

[1] British Library MS Sloane 3418; transcribed in *Sir Thomas Browne's Works Including his Life and Correspondence*, ed. by Simon Wilkin, 4 vols (London: Pickering, 1836), I, 190.

[2] *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, ed. by Geoffrey Keynes, 4 vols (London: Faber, 1964), IV, 33, letter 23 (2 December 1668).

[3] Keynes, *Works*, IV, 194, 197, letters 138 (6 June 1681) and 141 (June 1681).

Women did not typically have access to the main venues in which male-authored miscellanies were produced: the universities and the Inns of Court, and also the tavern.[4] None the less, women were readers, owners, and later contributors to university miscellanies, as is the case with Elizabeth Wellden (Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.162) and Elizabeth Clarke (Folger MS X.d.177). Wellden added to a miscellany compiled in the 1630s at Christ Church, Oxford by several family members (Stephen Wellden and N. Wellden, who have signed the first folio) and Elizabeth Clarke transcribed two verses of a song into a licentious collection of jests and poetry compiled at Brasenose College, Oxford in 1595. Women also contributed to miscellanies produced at court, such as the early-sixteenth-century Devonshire manuscript (British Library MS Add. 17492) and Anne Cornwallis's collection from the 1580s (Folger MS V.a.89).[5] But the extended family was perhaps the most common context for the production of women's miscellanies. Ann Bowyer (Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 51) included poems by Ralegh, Churchyard, and Donne with the help of siblings, amidst handwriting exercises and moral precepts. Constance Fowler (Huntington Library MS HM 904) recorded the poems of her circle of Roman Catholic family and friends based in 1630s Staffordshire. Emelia Greenhalgh (Rosenbach Museum MS 240/3) was the owner of and later contributor to a volume connected with the circle of James Stanley, seventh earl of Derby, the man her grandfather had served as governor of the Isle of Man during the civil wars.[6]

Elizabeth Lyttelton's miscellany (Cambridge University Library MS Add. 8460) is a small quarto measuring 204 x 165 mm. It is bound in contemporary brown calf whose only ornamentation is double blind ruling, indicating the practical nature of the volume. The original owner (who compiled mainly sermon notes) reversed the book so that poetry and prose has been written from both ends of the volume, a hundred pages of which are in Lyttelton's

[4] For discussions of manuscript culture see Mary Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992); Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); and H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996). Timothy Raylor has described an early-seventeenth-century drinking club whose members composed songs, ballads, and humorous verses which circulated around London and at court (*Cavaliers, Clubs, and Literary Culture: Sir John Mennes, James Smith, and the Order of the Fancy* (Newark: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1994)).

[5] See Helen Baron, 'Mary (Howard) Fitzroy's Hand in the Devonshire Manuscript', *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 45 (1994), 318–35; Elizabeth Heale, 'Women and the Courtly Love Lyric: The Devonshire MS (BL Additional 17492)', *Modern Language Review*, 90 (1995), 296–313; William H. Bond, 'The Cornwallis-Lysons Manuscript and the Poems of John Bentley', in *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies*, ed. by James G. McManaway and others (Washington: Folger, 1948), pp. 683–93.

[6] See Victoria E. Burke, 'Ann Bowyer's Commonplace Book (Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 51): Reading and Writing among the Middling Sort', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 6 (2001), 1–28, http://purl.oclc.org/emls/06–3/burkbowy.htm; Jenijoy LaBelle, 'The Huntington Aston Manuscript', *The Book Collector*, 29 (1980), 542–67; 'John Greenhalgh, Esquire, Governor of the Isle of Man 1640–1651', *Manx Miscellanies*, 2 vols, *Manx Society*, 30 (1878), II, 5–9.

hand.[7] Mary Browne, Lyttleton's younger sister, evidently an early reader of the volume, has signed the front and back flyleaves. Lyttelton compiled the manuscript in at least two main phases, given slight differences in her penmanship (her earlier entries are neater and in lighter ink): these earlier entries consist primarily of religious verse, Englished extracts from the classics, proverbial couplets, and fragments from Sir Thomas Browne's writing. Sometimes filling in blank spaces left in her earlier transcriptions, Lyttelton returned, probably after 1687, to write a mixture of religious and secular poetry and prose.[8]

Elizabeth was the third of the seven daughters of Sir Thomas Browne and Dorothy Mileham. She was born *c.* 1648, and lived most of her first thirty-two years in her parents' home in Norwich, where her father had moved in 1637 to practice medicine. On 19 December 1680 she married Captain George Lyttelton in her father's parish church, a happy match according to her mother ('Hee is of a very good Humor and Temprat as can be and sartainly as a greable as ever Cuple war').[9] By June 1681 she was living in Guernsey with him, where he had an official post. The couple were living in Windsor by 1712 (George died there in 1717) and Elizabeth was apparently still alive in 1728, when she was mentioned in her first cousin Edward Tenison's will, the man to whom she gave her miscellany on 11 March 1713/14, as a note on the back flyleaf records.[10]

Before her marriage, Elizabeth lived at home with her father and mother, her elder sister Ann (Nancy) until Ann's marriage to Henry Fairfax of Hurst in Berkshire in 1669, her younger sister Mary until her death in 1676 at age twenty-four, and her youngest surviving sister Frances (b. 1662) who married John Boswell of St James, Westminster in 1687. Their elder brother Edward returned to Norwich in 1663 after completing his medical education at Trinity College, Cambridge (a journal from this period (British Library MS Sloane 1906) details his diversions which included attending dances at the Duke of Norfolk's palace and dissecting almost every day), but by the late

[7] For descriptions of the manuscript see Geoffrey Keynes, 'A Daughter of Sir Thomas Browne', *Times Literary Supplement*, 4 September 1919, p. 470, and Geoffrey Keynes, *The Commonplace Book of Elizabeth Lyttelton, Daughter of Sir Thomas Browne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1919). The manuscript is paginated continuously in a later hand from pages 1–174, but the scribes have written on pages 1–45 and then reversed the manuscript and begun writing from the back of the manuscript. I have preserved the sequence of the second part of the manuscript by following the pagination and writing 'rev.' to indicate that the text appears upside-down on the page. That the sermon notes (pp. 170–104 rev., plus two lines on p. 171 rev. and eight lines on p. 102 rev.) were written first is indicated by the way Lyttelton has filled in blank spaces left beneath the notes, on pp. 171 rev. and 102 rev. The manuscript can be corroborated as autograph because examples of Lyttelton's hand are extant among Sir Thomas Browne's correspondence (Bodleian Library MSS Rawl. D. 391, fols 81^{r}–88^{r} and Rawl. D. 108, fols 30^{r}, 31^{r-v}, 71^{r}, 79^{r}, 96^{r}, 97^{v}).

[8] The four John Norris poems that appear in this later section of the manuscript probably postdate the publication of his *A Collection of Miscellanies* in 1687.

[9] Keynes, *Works*, IV, 176, letter 123 (17 December 1680). G. C. R. Morris gives the date of marriage as 11 December, but Keynes follows Wilkin in dating the wedding 19 December ('Sir Thomas Browne's Daughters, "Cosen Barker", and the Cottrells', *Notes & Queries*, 231 (1986), 472–79 (p. 473).

[10] Morris, p. 473; Keynes, *Commonplace Book*, pp. 6–8; Keynes, *Works*, IV, 198–99, letter 142 (20 June 1681).

1660s he was based in London, as a physician and Fellow of the Royal Society, and had travelled in Europe and beyond. Thomas, the second son, travelled in France in the early 1660s, joined the navy in 1664, but died around 1667. Five of their siblings died in childhood. Copious references in Sir Thomas Browne's letters to his eldest son, Edward, between 1665 and 1682, demonstrate that a large circle of relatives, friends, and neighbours visited the Browne household regularly. Local Norfolk families (those of Carlile, Le Gros, Pettus, Burwell, Cotterell, Harman, and Adams) knew Sir Thomas Browne, and since his daughter Elizabeth lived at home from 1648 to 1681, she must have interacted with most of these people. Several of the Brownes's women friends might have provided inspiration for Lyttelton's painting and reading: Joan Carlile's portrait of Sir Thomas and Dorothy Browne now hangs in the National Portrait Gallery, and the family of Nicholas and Frances Burwell valued female reading: in his will of 1670 Nicholas Burwell left his wife 'all her books which she had before I married wth her', and he divided all his own books, with the exception of his law books, between his daughters Mary and Elizabeth.[11]

The relationship between Lyttelton and her father was a close one, in which Browne shared intellectual as well as domestic interests with his daughter. All the Brownes doted on the son of Lyttelton's brother Edward, 'Tomey', who lived at least five years with them. 'Betty' seems to have had the main care of him: 'Hee lyeth with Betty, shee takes great care of him and getts him to bed in due time, for hee riseth early. Shee or Franck is fayne sometimes to play him asleep with a fiddle.'[12] But she also drew pictures relating to her father's work, her brother's travels, and her own interests. In letters to his son Edward, Browne urges him to think of recording 'historicall and narrative observations concerning your last travayles', telling him he will remember details by looking at his notes and letters, adding 'the draughts of things wch Betty drewe will help much'.[13] Referring to a letter sent earlier, Browne writes, 'In that I putt in a paper with the draught of the kidney & heart of a *vitilus marinus* or seale, which Betty drewe out fresh from one I had in blewe paper before'.[14] Accompanying her father's letter describing a stork, Lyttelton wrote to Edward: 'Pray Brother keep one of these Pictures your self and give my sister Fairfax the other; the Bird was taken by the sea side and brought a live to my Father; it was soe Pretty a one I could not but take the Picture.'[15] Lyttelton seems to have helped her father organize his papers; Browne writes in answer to Edward's request: 'Betty & I searched for the Transactions [of the Royal Society], butt could only find the lesser part wherin that discours is not, butt I have sent you all myne wch

[11] Margaret Toynbee, 'Some Friends of Sir Thomas Browne', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 31 (1957), 377–94.
[12] Keynes, *Works*, IV, 76, letter 48 (8 April 1677).
[13] Keynes, *Works*, IV, 49, letter 30 (8 June 1670).
[14] Keynes, *Works*, IV, 56, letter 37 (21 June 1675).
[15] Keynes, *Works*, IV, 151, letter 105 (5 May [1680?]).

are loose.'[16] Though only a few letters of hers survive, we know that she corresponded from her home in Norwich with family friends, such as Mr Dobbins, her sister Ann or Nancy, and Edward, all of whom lived in London, and later from her home in Guernsey.[17]

There are several references in the letters to Edward to material Lyttelton is reading to her father (for example, 'Wee lately read the seidg of Vien by Solyman' and 'Your sister Betty hath read unto mee Mr Ricauts historie of the 3 last Turkish emperours, Morat or Amurah the fourth, Ibrahim and Mahomet the fourth').[18] The most complete list of what Browne's daughter read to him, however, appears in her miscellany. It is headed 'The books which my daughter Elizabeth hath read unto me at nights till she read y^{m} all out' and lists twenty-eight items, then the phrase 'some hundreds of sermons', and ends with a note: 'Many other Books, Treatises, discourses of severall kinds, which may amount unto halfe the quantety of halfe the books in folio, which are before set down' (pp. 44–45). Most of the books listed are on the subject of travels to or history about the countries of Turkey, China, India, America, and Italy. They also read histories of Great Britain, Queen Elizabeth, and King James (by Baker, Camden, and Speed), Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, and classical writers such as Plutarch and Suetonius. The wording of the title suggests that she copied the list from a document in Browne's own hand; her interest was in preserving his literary activities more than her own. Some of the books listed survived in the library of Sir Thomas and Edward which was sold in 1710, after the death of Edward's son, 'Tomey'.[19]

Lyttelton's own taste must have been shaped by their reading. Turkey, for example, was a country that fascinated Browne;[20] it must have also held charms for Lyttelton who included the prose 'A Turkish Prayer or Athemdobilla' (p. 78 rev.) in her miscellany and instructions for a card game, 'Turks and Christians', on the back flyleaf. Her reading of the history of Queen Elizabeth's reign helps explain her interest in a poem on the removal of the queen's body from Richmond to Whitehall by water (her subjects were so distraught, 'sha'd Come by water, had she Come by land' (p. 8)), and the two laudatory couplets appended beneath it that exist in several manuscript copies.[21] She also transcribed 'Queen Eliza answer to

[16] Keynes, *Works*, IV, 29, letter 21 (13 August 1668).

[17] Keynes, *Works*, IV, 174, 180, 43, 151–52, 228, letters 122 (13 December 1680), 127 (24 January 1680/1), 27 (1 March 1668/9), 105 (5 May [1680?]), and 163 ([6 June 1682]). Her father wrote several times about the family's enjoyment of her letters from Guernsey: for example, 'you give us satisfaction by yr letters, continue the same' (p. 201, letter 144 (October 1681)).

[18] Keynes, *Works*, IV, 37, 145, letters 25 (21 December 1668) and 100 (22 December 1679).

[19] Jeremiah S. Finch, *A Catalogue of the Libraries of Sir Thomas Browne and Dr Edward Browne, His Son: A Facsimile Reproduction* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1986).

[20] See Berna Moran, 'Sir Thomas Browne's Reading on the Turks', *Notes & Queries*, 197 (1952), 380–82, 403–06.

[21] *First-Line Index of English Poetry 1500–1800 in Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library Oxford*, ed. by Margaret Crum, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), S387, S389, S1076. One manuscript, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson poet. 153, contains the poem and both of the two couplets on fol. 8^{v}, suggesting that Lyttelton was not unique in grouping these items together.

Bishop Gardner' (p. 17) on the sacrament and an epitaph, altered from William Browne of Tavistock's epitaph on the Countess of Pembroke ('Vnder neath this Sable hears[e] | Lyes the subiect of all vers' (p. 80 rev.)): the former appears in manuscript and print copies (Crum C268) while the latter's variation on a popular standard appears to be unique. The description of the countess as Sidney's sister and Pembroke's mother has become 'Europes wonder Englands Mother' and the adjectives 'fair' and 'learned' have been altered to 'So Wise so Chast'. Lyttelton may also have written 'A Christian paraphrase on those Verses Like Hermit poor, &c' (pp. 61–60 rev.), altering a well-known poem by Ralegh from a lament on lost love to a Christian celebration that 'the beames of Grace shall be my safest Guide'. 'Like to a hermit poor' was set to music by Henry Lawes; perhaps Lyttelton intended her version to be sung as well, given its repeated chorus.[22] Other popular items associated with Ralegh figure in her miscellany: two epitaphs on him (the first believed to have been written by himself, 'Even such is time, which takes in trust' (p. 49 rev.)), and his prose letter to his wife written after his condemnation in 1603 (pp. 173–71 rev.).[23] Ralegh's works might have formed part of Browne's library at one time, or Lyttelton may have had access to these items through manuscript channels.

Several items in Lyttelton's miscellany can be matched with volumes in her father's possession. She has transcribed 'D^{r} Alabasters verses upon D^{r} Reynolds & his Brother' (p. 68 rev.) from Peter Heylyn's *Cosmographie in Four Books*, the 1670 edition of which Browne owned.[24] Heylyn prefaces the poem with a description of the Reformation story of the two Reynolds brothers, one of whom was Protestant (William) and one Catholic (John): each was so convinced by the other's arguments that William became Catholic and John Protestant. Heylyn translated Alabaster's Latin version of the story. We know that Lyttelton read out 'all fox his book of Martyrs' to her father (p. 44); she also chose to transcribe some passages from that volume. She records the prophecies of Jerome of Prague and John Hus about Luther's appearance in a hundred years time (p. 100 rev., 3 extracts), Luther's prayer at his death and his usual prayer (pp. 98 rev., 96 rev.), and the epitaph of

[22] A second poem in the miscellany, 'On his Mistress goeing to Sea' (p. 65 rev.), exists in a musical setting by Lawes and a third on the birth of a daughter to 'S^{r} Pope knight', 'See, this litle Mistres here' (p. 79 rev.), was set to music by John Wilson. There are also numerous hymns in Lyttelton's volume: 'A Hymne to our Creator by D^{r} Dillingham' (pp. 3, 4, 6), 'An hymne to our Redeemer' by 'Dr Evans' (pp. 6, 7, 8, 9, 18, 19), 'An Euening Hymn' (p. 21), 'An hymne to God the Father' by Donne (p. 62 rev.), and 'When our Emmanuell from his Throne came down' by Edward Reynolds, Bishop of Norwich (pp. 13, 15, 17), which has a repeated chorus. Thomas Browne's letter of 8 April 1677 indicates that Lyttelton played at least the fiddle (Keynes, *Works*, IV, 76, letter 48).

[23] Michael Rudick edits copies of each of these poems from manuscript and print versions in *The Poems of Sir Walter Ralegh: A Historical Edition* (Tempe, AZ: Renaissance English Text Society, 1999), pp. 135–36, 80, 133, 196. Anna R. Beer discusses various appearances in manuscript of 'Even such is time' and Ralegh's letter to his wife in *Sir Walter Ralegh and His Readers in the Seventeenth Century: Speaking to the People* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 94–95, 112, 133, 140.

[24] Finch, p. 44, no. 10. The poem appears in Heylyn, p. 303.

Walter Mill, the last martyr in Scotland (p. 63 rev.).[25] This last appears in Lyttelton's miscellany in both Latin and English, but Foxe prints only a Latin version, raising the possibility that Lyttelton translated it herself.[26] Her reading material also included Charles Aleyn's *The Battailes of Crescey and Poictiers* (London, 1633), a volume that the Brownes owned.[27] Her choice of the couplet 'They swell with loue that are with valour fild | and Venus doues may in a head piece build' (p. 69 rev.) from close to the middle of this work (ll. 485–86) suggests that she read the entire poem. Her father does not appear to have owned Joshua Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas's *Divine Weeks and Works*, but four lines from the second day of the second week (ll. 663–66) have been transcribed below the Heylyn poem (p. 68 rev.). These lines commemorate Sir Philip Sidney ('And (world-mourn'd) Sidney, warbling to the Thames') and are followed by four unidentified lines praising his works which 'in fames book are inrooll'd' even though it was Sidney's desire at his death 'that thy Arcadia be Condemn'd with fire' (p. 68 rev.). The Brownes did not share that desire: they owned the 1622 edition of Sidney's *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*.[28]

Lyttelton's habit of extraction can be seen in several shorter poems by Edmund Elys, William Cartwright, John Norris, and John Taylor. Edmund Ely's 'Inconstancy' from his *Divine Poems* (1659) laments his soul's constant turning to earthly things, but Lyttelton has chosen to transcribe only the last six lines, which address God directly, as a kind of prayer ('O My beloued that my Soule might be | more Constant unto thee [. . .] Lord open thou mine eyes that I may see | Thy Glorious Face, I'll Look on nought but thee' (p. 9)). She has indicated in her title to a poem by William Cartwright that she has extracted only part of it: 'A good wish to a new born Child out of Cartwrit' (p. 75 rev.). She omits the first two-thirds of the poem describing the newborn child but transcribes the last eighteen lines detailing the poet's wishes for him, beginning with 'I wish Religion timely be | taught him with his A B C'. It is the generalized wishes for religion, good health, learning, generosity, and lack of sorrow that Lyttelton finds the most relevant for her miscellany. Other choices of extracts might have been dictated mainly by space considerations: she has transcribed the last two verses of John Norris's 'Love' in the blank space left on the bottom half of page 14. She has also copied the first two and the last four lines of John Taylor's poem on Prince

[25] These passages correspond to *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, ed. by George Townsend, 8 vols (New York: AMS Press, 1965), III, 523; IV, 253, 255, 321, 292 (including the Latin footnote); V, 647.

[26] She has also added the reference 'haec Melaⁿcthon' after Luther's first prayer, a reference not found in Foxe. On the other hand, she has omitted a Latin phrase from her first transcription of Jerome's prophecy (p. 100 rev.). Other Latin phrases appear in the volume: 'Amore et Virtute' (p. 72 rev.) and 'sen.[eca] Res severa es[t] veru[m] gaudiu[m]' (p. 23). Lyttelton certainly knew French, as the presence of three poems in that language attests (one on p. 32 and two on p. 101 rev.), and given her father's advice she should socialize with the French women of Guernsey (Works, *Keynes*, IV, 201, letter 144 (October 1681)).

[27] Finch, p. 50, no. 67B.

[28] Finch, p. 46, no. 95. The Aleyn and Sylvester quotations, as well as those in the following paragraph, were located using the *Chadwyck-Healey English Poetry Full-Text Database.*

Rupert on the bottom third of a page, distilling the conceit of stealing the prince's shoes into the conclusion that he 'shall with his Manly feet once trample down | all AntiChristian foes to his renown' (p. 66 rev.). Whether Lyttelton obtained all the poems in her miscellany from printed works is uncertain; several of her selections enjoyed a wide circulation in manuscript. Peter Beal lists fifty-two extant manuscript copies of Sir Henry Wotton's 'The Character of a Happy Life' (pp. 84–83 rev.), which is followed in Lyttelton's volume by Wotton's poem on the Earl of Somerset's fall from grace, 'Dazled thus with heighth of Place' (p. 82 rev.), for which there are eighteen extant copies. Ralegh's 'Even such is time' (p. 49 rev.) was even more popular: Beal lists ninety-two surviving transcriptions of the poem.[29]

As her father presents it, his daughter enjoyed solitude, and her own preferred reading was devotional: 'My daughter Betty who is very seldome out of health, though shee sitts often in cold wether 5 or 6 howers together in her closett reading & praying, & in old [all] wethers & seasons never omitts to go to church, sundayes & weekedayes, to sermons & prayers in our parish, fell into a very extreme waye, whereof God bee thancked shee is now newly recovered.'[30] Writing to her in Guernsey he applauds her reading material: 'I am glad you carried good books and divers sermons.'[31] Religious material does figure prominently throughout the volume. Her interest in martyrs goes beyond Foxe; she has also included a list of Marian martyrs from 1555 (p. 34), and brief descriptions of the deaths of St Andrew, St James, and St Peter's wife (p. 102 rev.). She includes both up-to-the-minute devotional verse, such as four poems by John Norris of Bemerton whose works were first published in 1687, and verse first popular decades earlier, such as Donne's 'An hymne to God the Father' (p. 62 rev.). Browne was a good seventeenth-century father in urging his daughter towards devotional reading material, but he also provided a wealth of different volumes for their mutual enjoyment.

Reading was only one way Lyttelton had access to the variety of literature recorded in her commonplace book: poems on family members and associates also appear in the volume's pages. Epitaphs on her mother who died 24 February 1685 (p. 103 rev.) and her nephew, William Fairfax, who died 27 July 1684 (p. 48 rev.),[32] appear later in the volume. The latter poem was printed in Aphra Behn's *Miscellany* of 1685, where it was attributed to 'Mrs. A.B.' and headed 'Epitaph on the Tombstone of a Child, the Last of Seven that died before', demonstrating the way the same poems could be used to commemorate several people. Lyttelton must have had access to this poem in manuscript since her nephew's death predates the publication date.

[29] Peter Beal, *Index of English Literary Manuscripts, I: 1450–1625*, 2 vols (London: Mansell, 1980), II, 565–68, 579–81, and 379–86.
[30] Keynes, *Works*, IV, 102, letter 67 (25 April 1679).
[31] Keynes, *Works*, IV, 201, letter 144 (October 1681).
[32] Keynes, *Commonplace Book*, p. 17, notes that the date of Fairfax's death and the epitaph are engraved on a tablet in the church of Hurst in Berkshire.

She, or a later reader, crossed out the middle lines of the poem ('wanton as unfledg'd Cupids, ere there Charmes | had learnt the litle Arts of doeing harmes'), perhaps preferring the references to angels and cherubim to this image of secular love. Thomas Flatman's poem on Edward Browne celebrates his travels throughout Europe (p. 33), recorded in his two publications of 1673 and 1677; Flatman may have chosen to write on Browne's travel books because his cousin was acquainted with Sir Thomas Browne (Browne refers to him as 'my honord freind Mr Fla[t-man])'.[33] Several anagrams on her married name ('Elizabeth Littleton | is not a little blest') and her maiden name ('Brounetta Bliss'), along with couplets celebrating the union of a maid with a soldier, were written evidently on the occasion of her marriage by 'a louving Kinsman' (p. 81 rev.); Keynes has suggested that this might have been her cousin Edward Tenison who became bishop of Ossory in 1731.[34]

Other items in the manuscript can be explained by Thomas Browne's acquaintance with their authors. Dr Edward Reynolds, Bishop of Norwich has contributed a poem beginning 'When our Emmanuell from his Throne came down' (pp. 13, 15, 17). He is described in Browne's letter of 1 November 1661 as 'my loveing friend' who has been in Norwich the past three months and has preached often; Browne also refers to having contacts with the bishop in early 1669.[35] Three poems by Richard Corbett, his elegies on his father and on James I, and his poem to his son on his third birthday, 10 November 1630, appear in the final pages of the miscellany (pp. 53–51 rev., 47–46 rev., 50 rev.). Corbett spent thirty years at Oxford; he was made bishop of Oxford in 1628, and bishop of Norwich in 1632, where he died on 28 July 1635. Browne knew him from his time at Oxford; Browne's tutor Dr Thomas Lushington was Corbett's chaplain.[36] Browne wrote a letter to John Aubrey on 24 August 1672 in response to Aubrey's inquiries about Corbett's epitaph for his 'Brief Lives'. Browne writes that though many remember his death and some the place where he is buried (apparently in the choir of the cathedral), Corbett never had an epitaph.[37] It is possible that Lyttelton obtained copies of the Corbett poem through manuscript channels rather than personal connection: the elegy to his father and the poem to his son exist in fifteen and twenty-four manuscript copies respectively, including Lyttelton's version.[38]

[33] Keynes, *Works*, IV, 91, 111, 127, letters 59 (26 January 1678/9), 73 (19 May 1679), and 85 (27 July 1679).
[34] Keynes, *Commonplace Book*, p. 10. Another possible author might be Sir Philip Woodhouse who sent three Latin anagrams to Sir Thomas Browne, recorded in his commonplace book (Keynes, *Works*, III, 273–74).
[35] Keynes, *Works*, IV, 14, 43, letters 11 (1 November 1661) and 27 (1 March 1668/9).
[36] Frank L. Huntley, 'Dr. Thomas Lushington (1590–1661), Sir Thomas Browne's Oxford Tutor', *Modern Philology*, 81 (1983), 14–23 (p. 18).
[37] Keynes, *Works*, IV, 373, letter 223 (24 August 1672).
[38] Peter Beal, *Index of English Literary Manuscripts, II: 1625–1700*, 2 vols (London: Mansell, 1987–93), I, 167–68, 195–97.

Sir Philip Woodhouse (or Wodehouse) may have been the father of the Sir Thomas Woodhouse who figures in Browne's correspondence.[39] Woodhouse is not known to have published any of his works in print, but if Lyttelton's attributions are correct, he translated Arabian, French, and Italian proverbs and wrote moralistic meditations in verse on Aristotle (pp. 25–32, 35–40, 92–85 rev.).[40] In the poem on Aristotle's definition of 'friendly Loue' Woodhouse explains that we should all be pleased with the station God has assigned us:

> God might thou knowst haue made thee but a mole
> and he has giuen thee an Intellectuall soule
> whom he has made a woman, or Cadett
> he mought haue made a mule or marmozett
> whom he has made a Prince or Elder Brother
> he mought haue made a slave or a poor mother. (p. 28)

Lyttelton transcribed these lines but she emended the final three words in a later hand.[41] She crossed out 'a poor mother' and wrote above it 'such anoth.[er]', preserving the rhyme but not the sentiment. This moment of intervention in Woodhouse's text demonstrates a subtle alteration to a line she was evidently unhappy with upon rereading the poem at a later date. On the other hand, Lyttelton seems to have had no problem leaving lines unaltered such as these comparing true love with desire: '(This that Excells in worth, as much as Man | do's Woman, or as Reason Passion)' (p. 25). It is not known whether the Lytteltons had children; perhaps an experience of motherhood led Lyttelton to believe that a mother's role was actually not comparable to that of a slave.

A poem by Katherine Philips, 'A Virgin', is the one poem written in a female voice in Lyttelton's compilation (p. 70 rev.). It begins 'The things that make a Virgin please | she that seeks will find them these', and urges modest and virtuous feminine behaviour. It has been paired with Richard Fanshawe's 'A Happy Life out of Martiall', beginning 'The things that makes a life to Please' (p. 69 rev.), which things include retired country living, simple food, and a sober spouse. Lyttelton's father or brother owned a copy of the 1669 edition of Philips's poems;[42] perhaps they came to own it through

[39] Keynes, *Works*, IV, 43, letter 27 (1 March 1668/9). Sir Thomas Wodehouse of Kimberley in Norfolk died on 29 April 1671. His father, Sir Philip, was created Baronet in 1664 and died on 5 May 1681 (Edward Bysshe, *The Visitation of Norfolk A.D. 1664*, 2 vols, Harleian Society 86 (London: Harleian Society, 1934), II, 240–44).

[40] Though the poem is not attributed to him, it is probable that 'Some Essays of Morality in prozaick Ryme — upon Aristotles definition of friendly Loue' (pp. 25, 27, 28) was written by Woodhouse, given similarities in subject matter and style with the subsequent poem, 'an Essay of Morall fortetude according to Aristotle' (pp. 29–32).

[41] Though at first glance this hand appears different from Lyttelton's main hand in the manuscript, it corresponds with the items she added in the second phase of her manuscript's compilation, when she returned to blank pages and filled many of them. This later hand of Lyttelton's is less cursive, more angular, and contains fewer looped ascenders and descenders, but it is still recognizably hers in all its upper case and many of its lower case graph forms, and in its slope to the right.

[42] Finch, p. 46, no. 107.

Sir Charles Cotterell, Orinda's 'Poliarchus', whose wife was a distant relative of the Brownes, and whose son had married Elizabeth Burwell, the daughter of Sir Thomas Browne's good friend Frances Burwell.[43] Edward Browne had contact with Cotterell and his family in London, one of whose daughters made a great impression on Edward, and the Cotterells are frequently mentioned in Browne's correspondence.[44] Sir Thomas Browne was extremely interested in Robert Boyle's experiments;[45] perhaps that led him to pass on to Lyttelton a verse translation of Juvenal, 'Vnto the wiser Gods the care permit' (p. 9), that was printed in Boyle's *Some Motives and Incentives to the Love of God. Pathetically discours'd of, in A Letter to a Friend* (London, 1659). A poem entitled 'To the King', attributed by Lyttelton to the Earl of Rochester (p. 67 rev.) but printed anonymously in the first volume of *A Collection of Poems on Affairs of State* in 1689, may have reached Lyttelton's miscellany through her brother, Edward, who was Rochester's physician during his last illness in 1680.[46]

Though the sources are varied, a particular position (that, not surprisingly, of her father) can be gleaned from many of her excerpts: royalist and Calvinist conformist. Her allegiance to the king's father, Charles I, is evident in the excerpt from Lord Chief Justice Sir William Scroggs's oration urging the Commons to remember the example of the late king (Charles I), 'that was truly A DEFENDER of the FAITH' (p. 73 rev.).[47] She included Samuel Shepard's epitaph on Arthur Capell to which she added an additional couplet: 'the very birds shall Learn to prate & sing | how Capell sufferd for his Royall King' (p. 60 rev.). And her transcription of 'To the King', beginning 'Great Charles who full of Mercy would'st Command' (p. 67 rev.), contains numerous variants from the printed version in *A Collection of Poems in Affairs of State*, pp. 14–15. The most significant of these is Lyttelton's omission of the lines 'Let not thy *Life* and *Crown* together end, | Destroy'd by

[43] Morris, p. 478. Dorothy Mileham (Thomas Browne's wife) was a cousin of Frances Hobart, who married William Barker. William's late brother John Barker was the brother-in-law of Frances West, who married Sir Charles Cotterell in 1642.

[44] Morris, p. 479; Keynes, *Works*, IV, 18, 132, 157, 167, 174, letters 15 (25 November 1664), 90 (6 October 1679: 'That honest heartie Gentleman Mr Cotterell'), 109 (22 August 1680), 117 (22 October 1680), and 122 (13 December 1680).

[45] Keynes, *Works*, IV, 39, 62, 361–62, letters 26 (23 December 1668), 41 (16 June 1676), 217 (8 May 1669), and 218 (May 1669). The respect was mutual; Boyle referred to him as 'the learned D^r^ Brown' and 'so faithful and candid a Naturalist' in *Certain Physiological Essays* (1661), see *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, ed. by Robin Robbins, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), I, xlv. Boyle's *Some Motives* does not appear in Thomas and Edward Browne's library list, but they did own at least four other Boyle volumes (Finch, p. 53, nos 208A, 208B, 209, and p. 54, no. 248).

[46] Graham Greene, *Lord Rochester's Monkey: Being the Life of John Wilmot, Second Earl of Rochester* (London: Bodley Head, 1974), p. 214. Sir Thomas Browne was interested in Rochester's deathbed conversion (Keynes, *Works*, IV, 153–54, letter 107 (7 July 1680)). This poem has also been attributed to Henry Savile (Crum G468).

[47] Lois G. Schwoerer has described how the attempted impeachment of Scroggs in 1680–81 was a whig partisan effort to embarrass the king and attempt again to force the exclusion of Charles's Catholic brother from succession ('The Attempted Impeachment of Sir William Scroggs, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, November 1680–March 1681', *The Historical Journal*, 38 (1995), 843–73). All Scrogg's printed speeches, from 1676, 1678, and 1679 demonstrate his loyalty to the crown.

a false *Brother* and a *Friend*'. The version Lyttelton copied into her miscellany (or which she altered from the printed version herself) does not contain these lines criticizing James, Duke of York; even though he was Roman Catholic, he was still royalty. Her conformity is evident in the latest datable item in the miscellany, the 1710 petition of the Commons to Queen Anne, expressing their support for her prosecution of the radical preacher Dr Henry Sacheverall (p. 71 rev.).[48]

Geoffrey Keynes has argued that Lyttelton transcribed several items in the miscellany that were written by Thomas Browne: a paragraph on the topic of consumptions (p. 43), attributed to TBMD (i.e., Thomas Browne, Doctor of Medicine), and a poem 'upon a Tempest at Sea' (pp. 94–93 rev.).[49] He also noted that Lyttelton has included two excerpts from one of Thomas Browne's own commonplace books (British Library MS Sloane 1843), one describing 'Seignor verdero', a foolish man who wears multiple shades of green, and another on the species of flowers that grow in meadows (pp. 77–76 rev.).[50] In the latter passage Lyttelton has omitted several phrases, such as in his description of a plant that burns and blisters and on which horses and cows refuse to feed, 'which made mee the more observe it when I have seen peacocks croppe the flowers of it'. Lyttelton probably omitted the quoted phrase because she had not seen peacocks eat the flowers and did not want to write of her father's observations as her own. She has also condensed some of his floral lists and simplified his terminology, in one case calling the Argentina flower by its more rustic name, 'wild Tansey'.[51]

Lyttelton did not just preserve some of her father's notes; she was also instrumental in preserving her father's literary reputation by authorizing the printing of his reflections in *Christian Morals* of 1716. It was published by John Jeffrey, Archdeacon of Norwich, who states in his preface that anyone who doubts this work to be Browne's needs only to be 'Assured by the Testimony of Mrs LITTLETON, Sr. THOMAS BROWN'S Daughter, who Lived with her Father, when it was composed by Him; and who, at the time, read it written by his own Hand'.[52] In the copy she gave the work's dedicatee, David Erskine, ninth earl of Buchan, Lyttelton corrected a sentence, presumably to accord with the manuscript, now lost (from 'when prudent simplicity hath fixed there' to 'where prudent simplicity hath fixed thee').[53] She also preserved individual copies of her father's work: corrections in Browne's own hand appear in Lyttelton's copy of the *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*.[54] In the 1686 copy of Browne's works owned by Dr White Kennet,

[48] This tract does not appear to be extant.
[49] Keynes, 'Daughter', p. 470.
[50] Keynes, *Commonplace Book*, p. 18.
[51] Keynes, *Works*, III, 277.
[52] John Jeffrey's copy of the tract provides several emendations to the text on the authority of Browne's own manuscripts (Thomas Willard, 'John Jeffrey's Copy of *Christian Morals*', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 92 (1998), 81–84).
[53] Keynes, *Works*, I, 241.
[54] Robbins, I, lviii-lix, and II, 1150–51.

Bishop of Peterborough, Lyttelton has written a brief account of her father's life.[55] She wanted to preserve his letters as well; in Bodleian Library MS Rawl. D. 391 (fols 81r–88r) are 'Letters of my fathers wch he writ to my Brother Thomas when he went in to france at [1]4 years of age 1661 [replacing "1660"]'. Though the letters run together with little space between them, Lyttelton cared about their organization: at the bottom of the second letter she has explained an error: 'the letter before this should haue been second' (fol. 81v). Following the letters of her father and mother to Tom, she has written, 'here follows some of them my dear Father & Mother writ to me when I was at Guernsy' (fol. 87r). Lyttelton evidently copied all these letters at the same time, after her move to Guernsey in 1681. These are the only extant versions of the letters to Tom and her; her role in recording her father's words was crucial, and stretched from the print publication of his final work to the scribal publication, among his notebooks and letters, of some domestic correspondence. It is likely that Lyttelton inherited a portion of Thomas Browne's library on his death, given that over a hundred items known to Browne do not appear in the sale catalogue of his books.[56]

Elizabeth Lyttelton made a gift of her miscellany to her cousin Edward Tenison. He was evidently interested in his famous uncle's works; his copy of *Christian Morals*, which survives in Glasgow University Library, has an elaborate inscription complete with coat of arms facing the title-page.[57] He might also have been interested in his cousin's reading, in her circle's links with key writers and concepts of the day, and in her own interaction with manuscript culture. The manuscript remained in the compiler's family, the context that provided her with so much of the material within its pages.

[55] *European Magazine*, 40 (1801), 89–90 (p. 90).
[56] Robbins, I, xxii–xxiii.
[57] Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici and Other Works*, ed. by L. C. Martin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p. xxiv.