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978-1-107-00333-0 - Ben Jonson's Walk to Scotland: An Annotated Edition of the 'Foot Voyage'

James Loxley, Anna Groundwater and Julie Sanders

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BEN JONSON'S WALK TO SCOTLAND

At the heart of this book is a previously unpublished account of Ben Jonson's celebrated walk from London to Edinburgh in the summer of 1618. This unique first-hand narrative provides us with an insight into where Jonson went, whom he met and what he did on the way. James Loxley, Anna Groundwater and Julie Sanders present a clear, readable and fully annotated edition of the text. An introduction and a series of contextual essays shed further light on topics including the evidence of provenance and authorship, Jonson's contacts throughout Britain, his celebrity status, and the relationships between his 'foot voyage' and other famous journeys of the time. The essays also illuminate wider issues such as early modern travel and political and cultural relations between England and Scotland. It is an invaluable volume for scholars and upper-level students of Ben Jonson studies, early modern literature, seventeenth-century social history and cultural geography.

JAMES LOXLEY is Professor of Early Modern Literature at the University of Edinburgh. He has published widely on Renaissance poetry and drama, and also on issues in contemporary literary theory. His publications include *Royalism and Poetry in the English Civil War* (1997), *Ben Jonson* (2002) and *Shakespeare, Jonson and the Claims of the Performative* (with Mark Robson, 2013).

ANNA GROUNDWATER lectures in British and Scottish History at the University of Edinburgh. Her publications include *The Scottish Middle March, 1573 to 1625: Power, Kinship, Allegiance* (2010) and *Scotland Connected: The History of Scotland, Britain and the World at a Glance* (forthcoming, 2014). She is on the councils of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the Scottish Medievalists and the Scottish History Society, and is a fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

JULIE SANDERS is Professor of English Literature and Drama at the University of Nottingham and Vice Provost (Teaching and Learning) at the Ningbo China campus. She has edited plays by Ben Jonson, Richard Brome and James Shirley, and was a contributing editor to *The Cambridge Works of Ben Jonson* (2012). Her other publications include *The Cultural Geography of Early Modern Drama, 1620–1650* (2011), which won the British Academy Rose Mary Crawshay Prize for international women's scholarship in 2012.

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Our work has also benefited immeasurably from the generosity with their time, skills, knowledge and expertise of so many friends and colleagues. Their willingness to answer questions, look over material and make suggestions has been enormously important; in fact, we couldn't have done without it. In this connection, we would like to thank Michael Bath, Peter Beal, Martin Bennett, Mark Brayshay, Michael Brennan, Stephen Daniels, Katherine Duncan-Jones, Kenneth Dunn, Eve Equi, Heather Falvey, Chris Fleet, Eugene Giddens, Julian

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Goodare, Mark Goldie, Ralph Hanna, Margaret Hannay, Gabriel Heaton, David Hitchcock, Ann Hughes, Tom Hughes, Andy Kesson, Emelye Keyser, Stephen Knight, James Knowles, Sally-Beth MacLean, Joseph Marshall, John McGavin, Andrew McRae, Jemima Matthews, James Merryweather, Catriona Murray, Diana Newton, Patricia Panek, Alan Radford, Jamie Reid-Baxter, Nicola Royan, Matthew Steggle, Catherine Stevens, Crosby Stevens, Laura Stewart, Daniel Storza Smith, Sebastiaan Verweij, Katie Wales, Adrian Woodhouse and Henry Woudhuysen. We are also very grateful to Oliver Edwards and Brian Mains, of the Royal Grammar School, Newcastle, to John Ives, churchwarden of St John the Baptist, Muston, to Francis Withers, lay minister at St Mary's, Oxted, and to Revd Susan Blagden, rector of St Dunawd, Bangor Monachorum, for their patient assistance with our queries along the way.

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The cover image from 'Landscape with Travellers and Peasants on a Track', by Jan Brueghel the elder, is copyright the owner and the National Gallery, London, and is reproduced by permission. The page image from the Aldersey manuscript at Figure 1 is reproduced by permission of Cheshire Archives and Local Studies and the depositor, to whom copyright is reserved; Figure 2 is reproduced by permission of the British Library; Figure 4 by permission of the National Library of Scotland; and we are grateful to Cambridge University Library for permission to reproduce Figure 5. The epigraph on p. 107 from Robert Macfarlane, *The Old Ways: A Journey on Foot* (2012) appears by kind permission of the author.

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A NOTE ON NAMES

This edition provides a modernised text of the 'Foot Voyage', in the belief that the task of comprehending the difficult aspects of the account – which is for the most part a matter of understanding names and references or making sense of elliptical, abbreviated or compressed passages – should not be made any harder than necessary by the preservation of archaic habits of spelling and punctuation which differ from contemporary practice. At the same time, we have corrected the most obvious and least consequential scribal errors, while indicating substantive changes in the collations. Where required, such corrections have also been discussed or mentioned in the notes. An annotated transcription of the account that preserves the spelling, punctuation and scribal features evident in the Aldersey manuscript has been published in the online edition of *The Cambridge Works of Ben Jonson*, and may be consulted there.

However, place and proper names present a special challenge for the modernising editor, and the 'Foot Voyage' is particularly rich in both. With place names, emendation in line with current practice would be a matter of standardisation as much as a matter of modernisation – it is often the case that one spelling in a language of a particular town or city's name is now used to the exclusion of alternatives, even though this spelling may well be as archaic as any others. With personal names, one spelling may well appear to predominate, but often there are plenty of variants of a single name in use across the centuries and still amply in evidence today. So here again, only more obviously, to emend would be to standardise rather than to modernise, or to assume that the latter process is nothing other than the former.

This is a potential problem, because the 'Foot Voyage' is in large part the record of a journey through a not yet thoroughly standardised terrain and is to this extent shaped by, and revelatory of, the experience of cultural encounter – what Jonson himself calls 'discovery'. The profusion of names is one of its most striking features, and these are obviously a source of interest, or at least a focus of attention, for the writer – the linguistic sites, indeed, for all his

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encounters. We see him carefully noting variations and pronunciations ('Worsop', 'Bozers', 'Curos'), registering the linguistic geography of particular forms (from southern 'bridge' to northern 'brigg') and – most obviously in the list of Forth harbour towns with which the account concludes – attempting to wrap his pen around lists of names he has clearly never encountered before and certainly not seen written down. The account's idiosyncrasies in the writing of names are revelatory of this attention to the singularities of place and the particularities of the people living there. But they are just as revelatory of the limitations of any such attempt to capture those singularities – of the traveller taking his own locality with him into the experience of encounter. To pursue what we might call comprehensive modernisation – which in this instance definitely needs to be understood as much spatially as temporally, and thus more obviously as standardisation – would erase this layer of the text, and would remake it in the image of a cultural norm, or balance of forces, that is alien to it.

Given this, the text perhaps calls for a process of conservative, or what might even be called strict, modernisation. That is to say, orthographic archaisms can be avoided, without pursuing standardisation of other aspects. In this way, obstacles to textual intelligibility can be filtered out, while evidence of encounter, of attention to the proprieties or singularities of place – a vital element, in fact, in what is intelligible about this text – is retained. The text in our edition, therefore, has been prepared in accordance with the following principles for the treatment of place and personal names.

1. We have modernised obviously archaic doubled consonants or vowels, terminal 'e', and other similar features (e.g. 'Wentfoord', 'Warde', 'wandswoorth').
2. We have standardised names in instances where any difference between the spelling in the text and more usual forms appears to be solely orthographic (e.g. 'Rede', 'Cackstone', 'Bamborough'), or where the pronunciation indicated by the original spelling is consistent with authoritative modern pronunciation of the name (e.g. modern spelling 'Boulmer' for 'Boomer' in the 'Foot Voyage', 'Coquet' for 'Cocket', and 'Kirkcaldy' for 'Carcadhy'). Significant differences from the original spelling have been indicated in the collations and/or the notes.
3. We have substituted standard forms for spellings resulting from what would appear to be scribal errors ('Kerbon', where 'Curwen' or a similar variant would be expected).
4. Where there is more than one spelling used in the text, we have regularised to the form closest to modern usage.

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5. However, we have made a presumption in favour of retaining the original spelling – subject to point 1 above – where one or more of the following are known or probable:
- a. it is a variant in use both in and beyond the early modern period (e.g. 'Withrington', 'Foster', 'Nysam') or reflective of distinctive and attested local, regional or national usage (e.g. 'St Andros', 'King-gorn', 'Kill gorn')
 - b. it is plausibly an authorial error or inaccuracy, probably stemming from unfamiliarity (e.g. 'knights hall' for 'Kneesall', 'wymb' for both '-weem' and 'Wemyss', 'Biggs' for 'Gibbs', 'Eathertonne' for 'Adderstone', 'Cobersmith' for 'Cockburnspath')
 - c. indications for pronunciation suggest a difference from the modern standard (e.g. 'Worsop', 'Pomfret')
 - d. no referent is known, and no standard can be readily inferred (e.g. 'Hoord', 'Pelen').

Both points 2 and 5c depend on the notion of a 'modern standard' pronunciation, which can only problematically be invoked as a control: what is 'standard' from one perspective is a 'local variant' from another. For our purposes, therefore, this is taken to mean a pronunciation widely and currently in use by people familiar with the name. On some occasions, such as the need to choose between the account's 'Carcadhy' and standard 'Kirkcaldy', points 2 and 5b might be thought to conflict. In such instances, we have opted for standardisation if no significant difference in pronunciation can reasonably be inferred, or if the original spelling includes distracting archaisms. In some instances of personal names, in particular, the process of strict modernisation required under point 1 above has produced what we might call a 'synthetic' form, neither standard nor original (e.g. 'Nesbick' for standard 'Nisbett' or 'Nesbitt' and original 'Nesbicke'), but this has only been permitted where the synthetic form is itself an attested variant, and the emendation has been signalled in the collations or notes.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AC Venn, J. and J. A. Venn. 1922–7. Eds. *Alumni Cantabrigienses. . . from the Earliest Times to 1751*. 4 vols. Cambridge. Inc. in ACAD: A Cambridge Alumni Database. <http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/Documents/acad/intro.html>
- AHCD Longstaffe, William. 1858. *The Acts of the High Commission Court within the Diocese of Durham*. Surtees Society, 34.
- Alch. *The Alchemist*, in *The Cambridge Works of Ben Jonson*.
- AO Foster, Joseph. 1891. Ed. *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714*. www.british-history.ac.uk
- AShS Wickham Legg, L. G. 1904. Ed. *A Short Suruey of Twenty-six Counties Observed in a Seven Weeks Journey begun on August 11, 1634, by a Captain, a Lieutenant, and an Ancient, all three of the Military Company in Norwich*. London.
- Barriers *The Speeches at Prince Henry's Barriers*, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*.
- BI Borthwick Institute, University of York.
- BL British Library.
- Bodl. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.
- BR Dodds, Edwin and Herbert Maxwell Wood. 1905. Eds. *The Registers of Berwick-upon-Tweed in the County of Northumberland*. Vol. 1: *Baptisms, 1574–1700*. Newcastle.
- BRO Berwick Record Office.
- BT Brereton, Sir William. 1844. *Travels in Holland, The United Provinces, England, Scotland and Ireland*. Ed. Edward Hawkins. Chetham Society.
- CALS Cheshire Archives and Local Studies.
- CB Camden, William. 1610. *Britain, or A Chorographical Description of the most Flourishing Kingdoms, England, Scotland, and Ireland [Britannia]*. Trans. Philemon Holland. London.

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- CBP Bain, J. 1894–6. Ed. *The Borders Papers: Calendar of Letters and Papers Relating to the Affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland*. Edinburgh.
- CCED *Clergy of the Church of England Database*, King's College London. <http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/>
- CCROH Cambridgeshire County Record Office, Huntingdon.
- CELM Beal, Peter. Ed. *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts*. <https://celm2.dighum.kcl.ac.uk/>
- CL McClure, N. E. 1939. Ed. *The Letters of John Chamberlain*. Philadelphia.
- CP Cokayne, George E. 1887–98. *Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*. Peerage. 8 vols. London.
- CRO Cumbria Record Office.
- CSPD Green, M. A. E. et al. 1856–1947. Ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1603–1704*. London.
- CWBJ Bevington, David, Martin Butler and Ian Donaldson. 2012. Eds. *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*. Cambridge.
- DA Doncaster Archives.
- DCRO Durham County Record Office.
- Disc. *Discoveries*, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*.
- DQS Fraser, C. M. 1988. *Durham Quarter Sessions Rolls, 1471–1625*. Surtees Society, 199.
- DSL *Dictionary of the Scots Language*. www.dsl.ac.uk
- DUL Durham University Library.
- EBBA *English Broadside Ballad Archive*, University of California at Santa Barbara. <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/>
- EBR Wood, Marguerite. 1931. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1604–1626*. Edinburgh.
- ECA Edinburgh City Archives.
- EDD Wright, Joseph. 1898–1905. *The English Dialect Dictionary*. 6 vols. London.
- EMI *Every Man in his Humour*, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*.
- EMO *Every Man out of his Humour*, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*.
- Epigr. *Epigrams*, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*.
- ERO Essex Record Office.
- ES Chambers, E. K. 1923. *The Elizabethan Stage*. 4 vols. Oxford.

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- ESRO East Sussex Record Office.
- FES *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland*. 11 vols. Edinburgh.
- FMG Clay, John. 1894–6. Ed. *Familiae Minorum Gentium*. 4 vols. Harleian Society, 37–40.
- For. *The Forest*, in *The Cambridge Works of Ben Jonson*.
- FRO Flintshire Record Office.
- H&S Herford, C. H. and Percy Simpson. 1925–52. Eds. *Ben Jonson*. 11 vols. Oxford.
- HALS Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.
- HMCL Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. 1893. *The Manuscripts of the Earl of Lonsdale*. London.
- HMCM Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. 1885. *The Manuscripts of Lord Muncaster*. London.
- HMCMH Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. 1902. *The Manuscripts of Colonel David Milne Home*. London.
- HMCMi Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. 1911. *The Manuscripts of Lord Middleton*. London.
- HMCMK Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. 1930. *The Manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kellie*. London.
- HMCP Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. 1891–1931. *The Manuscripts of the Duke of Portland*. London.
- HMCR Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. 1888–1905. *The Manuscripts of the Duke of Rutland*. London.
- HMCS Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. 1883–1976. *The Manuscripts of the Marquess of Salisbury*. London.
- HMCSa Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. 1940–66. *The Manuscripts of Major-General Lord Sackville*. London.
- HN Bateson, Edward, et al. Eds. 1893–1940. *A History of Northumberland*. Newcastle.
- HP04 Thrush, Andrew and John P. Ferris. 2010. Eds. *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1604–1629*. www.historyofparliamentonline.org/research
- HP09 Bindoff, S. T. 1982. Ed. *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1509–58*. www.historyofparliamentonline.org/research
- HP58 Hasler, P. W. 1981. Ed. *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1558–1603*. www.historyofparliamentonline.org/research
- HR Dendy, Frederick. 1901. Ed. *Extracts from the Records of the Company of Hostmen of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*. Surtees Society, 105.

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- Informations* 'Informations. . . to William Drummond', in *The Cambridge Works of Ben Jonson*.
- KE Shaw, William Arthur. 1906. Ed. *The Knights of England*. 2 vols. London.
King's Ent. Part of the King's Entertainment, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*.
- LA Lincolnshire Archives.
- LIA *The Records of the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn. Admissions*. 1896. Vol. 1. London.
- LJ *Journal of the House of Lords*. Vol. II: 1578–1614. www.british-history.ac.uk/
- LMA London Metropolitan Archives.
- LP Lambeth Palace Library.
- MAR Boyle, John and Frederick Dendy. 1895–9. Eds. *Extracts from the Records of the Merchant Adventurers of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*. 2 vols. Surtees Society, 93 and 101.
- NA Nottinghamshire Archives.
- NCR Copnall, H. H. 1915. Ed. *Nottinghamshire County Records of the 17th Century*. Nottingham.
- NHA Nichols, John. 1971. *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicestershire*. 8 vols. Wakefield.
- NLS National Library of Scotland.
- NP Nichols, John. 1828. *The Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First*. 4 vols. London.
- NRO Northumberland Record Office.
- NRS National Records of Scotland.
- ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. www.oxforddnb.com
- OED *Oxford English Dictionary*. www.oed.com/
- PA Parliamentary Archives.
- Pan's Ann.* *Pan's Anniversary*, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*.
- PP Taylor, John. 1619. *The Pennyles Pilgrimage*. London.
- RCAHMS Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. www.rcahms.gov.uk/
- REED Camb Nelson, Alan. 1989. Ed. *Records of Early English Drama: Cambridge*. Toronto and London.
- REED Ches Clopper, Lawrence M. 1979. Ed. *Records of Early English Drama: Chester*. Toronto.

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- REED Cumb* Douglas, Audrey and Peter Greenfield. 1986. Eds. *Records of Early English Drama: Cumberland, Westmorland, Gloucestershire*. Toronto.
- REED Lanc* George, David. 1991. Ed. *Records of Early English Drama: Lancashire*. Toronto and London.
- REED Newc* Anderson, J. J. 1982. Ed. *Records of Early English Drama: Newcastle-upon-Tyne*. Toronto and Manchester.
- RGI* Foster, Joseph. 1889. Ed. *Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521–1889*. London.
- RIBA* Royal Institute of British Architects, Library Drawings Collection.
- RMS* Thomson, J. M., P. J. Balfour, J. H. Stevenson and W. K. Dickson. 1882–1914. Eds. *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*. 11 vols. Edinburgh.
- RPCS* Buron, J. and David Masson. 1877–98. Eds. *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1545–1625*. 14 vols. Edinburgh.
- RPS* *Records of the Parliament of Scotland to 1707*. University of St Andrews. www.rps.ac.uk/
- SA* Sheffield Archives.
- SP* Paul, Sir James Balfour. 1904–14. Ed. *The Scots Peerage*. 9 vols. Edinburgh.
- STS* Scottish Text Society.
- Tilley* Tilley, Morris. 1950. *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Michigan.
- TNA* The National Archives, Kew.
- TWRO* Tyne and Wear Record Office.
- Und.* *The Underwood*, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*.
- UNL* University of Nottingham Library.
- VCHC* Elrington, C. R. and A. P. M. Wright. 1973 and 1978. Eds. *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*. Vols. v and vi. Victoria County History. www.british-history.ac.uk/
- VCHE* Powell, W. 1966. Ed. *A History of the County of Essex*. Vol. v. Victoria County History. www.british-history.ac.uk/
- VCHHe* Page, William. 1912. Ed. *A History of the County of Hertford*. Vol. III. Victoria County History. www.british-history.ac.uk/
- VCHHu* Page, William, Granville Proby and S. Inskip Ladds. 1932 and 1936. Eds. *A History of the County of Huntingdon*. Vols. II and III. Victoria County History. www.british-history.ac.uk/
- VCHM* Baker, T. and R. Pugh. 1976. Eds. *A History of the County of Middlesex*. Vol. v. Victoria County History. www.british-history.ac.uk/

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VCHN	Page, William. 1906–10. <i>A History of the County of Nottingham</i> . 2 vols. Victoria County History. www.british-history.ac.uk/
VCHYC	Tillot, P. M. 1961. <i>A History of the County of York: The City of York</i> . Victoria County History. www.british-history.ac.uk/
VCHYER	Allison, K. J. 1969. Ed. <i>A History of the County of York, East Riding</i> . Vol. 1. Victoria County History. www.british-history.ac.uk/
VCHYNR	Page, William. 1914 and 1923. <i>A History of the County of York North Riding</i> . 2 vols. Victoria County History. www.british-history.ac.uk/
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WP	Cooper, J. P. 1973. Ed. <i>Wentworth Papers, 1597–1628</i> . London.
WR	Walker, John. 1948. <i>Walker Revised. Being a revision of John Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy during the Grand Rebellion, 1642–60</i> . Ed. A. G. Matthews. Oxford.
WSA	Wiltshire and Swindon Archives.
WYAB	West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford.
WYAL	West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds.
YAS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Leeds.
YG	Cliffe, J. T. 1969. <i>The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War</i> . London.
YML	York Minster Library.