"putting Hercules into a pinte-pot:"

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CONSTRUCTIONS OF LITERARY REPUTATION

by

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Abstract

This thesis considers how the construction of literary reputation varies, through different editions of seventeenth-century biographies, in relation to events in political and church history during this period. The main focus is on Izaak Walton's textual changes to his Lives of John Donne, Henry Wotton, Richard Hooker, George Herbert, and Robert Sanderson, although consideration is also given to other biographers, elegists and historians who were writing on similar subjects. An analysis of the role of literary executors in determining how a literary figure is seen by posterity—through their presentation of death, friendships and writings—then leads to speculation as to the implications of such actions with regard to authorial self-presentation, intentionality, and interpretation of an author's work after his death.
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Introduction

Posthumous reputations do not appear, uninitiated, from nowhere. They are often carefully moulded by an author himself in the actions of his last months, or, more often, by a friend who steps forward after the death to remind the world that "all the instruments agree/ The day of his death was a dark cold day."¹ Lamenting the lack of an adequate account of Richard Hooker’s life, or an edition of his work, John Gauden observed in 1662 that nothing is more deformed, then to see the Heroick eminences of grand Persons, shrunk to pittifull Epitomies, like Aesops Fables, wrapping up Achilles in an Enchiridion, and putting Hercules into a pinte-pot . . . : Great saints do merit great shrines; eminent wisdom and valour may well expect Iliads.²

Gauden’s fear seems to have been that those people who were responsible for the construction of the reputation of an author would not match the magnitude of the author’s worth with a work of appropriate proportion or stature. His own handsome edition of Hooker’s work may, of course, be considered an exception. And actually he need not have worried on account of other authors who died in the seventeenth century. Indeed, the mid


part of this century seems to be unsurpassed in its production of posthumous folio editions of sermons, carefully selected volumes of letters, and reams of elegies on any minor somebody who had shuffled off his mortal coil. The tendency of biographers and editors--motivated, perhaps, by a desire not to appear to denigrate the reputation with which they were entrusted--seems to have been towards the creation of volumes of collected works, biographies, and elegies, which were more than equal to the memory of the dead. To be sure, a considerable process of reduction was involved in summarizing the life of a famous person through the production of one volume of biography, or one edition of his works. But in order to overcome the inherent reductionism of editing or life-writing, the guardians of an author's literary legacy found ways of constructing as complete a picture as they felt possible (or necessary) through the inclusion in their editions of letters to and from the dead person, testimonials from often famous people, reports of the esteem in which they were held and comments on the reception and significance of their works, as well as through such details of bibliographical interest as grand title-pages, portraits of the author, and dedicatory letters to his surviving relatives. A pinte-pot it might have been, but it was a very carefully constructed one.

Actually, it was not a pinte-pot which was associated with John Donne's reputation, but a wooden urn, upon which he stood for the death-bed engraving which was later to become his
statue. Izaak Walton's first known attempt at biography—the 1632 elegy on Donne's death—refers obliquely to this monument in its thirtieth line, and he describes it again in detail in the second (1658) edition of his Life of John Donne which had first accompanied a collection of sermons in 1640. It was with these biographies of the Dean of St Paul's that Walton seems to have made his own name, and, certainly, the subsequent revisions of 1670 and 1675 suggest that it preoccupied him over a period of many years. Walton may also have had a hand in editing the literary remains of Sir Henry Wotton, ambassador to Venice and Provost of Eton; the Reliquiae Wottonianae of 1651 includes an introduction by him as well as the first edition of his Life of Wotton. The Life of Mr. Rich. Hooker followed in 1665, perhaps in response to the inaccuracies of Gauden's 1662 biography and edition of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, to which I have already referred. It was reprinted in revised form in 1666, and then again in 1670 and 1675, along with the Lives of Donne and Wotton, and the newly written Life of Mr. George Herbert (which was also reprinted in 1674). After the success

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4 The Life of John Donne (London, 1658) 111-113. See bibliography for the different editions of all Walton's biographies.
of these collected Lives, Walton embarked on his final biography (although he was also, it seems, collecting material for a Life of Wotton's friend, John Hales of Eton)--the Life of Dr. Robert Sanderson, which was published in 1678 and revised for a 1681 edition, two years before Walton's death.

The frequency and extensiveness of Walton's revisions to all of his biographies must make us pause for thought. Many of them may be explained in terms of new information which has come his way and which he has woven in in order to create a fuller or more accurate picture. David Novarr's analysis of this process is particularly insightful. But there are also changes to the works relating to overall design and tone which are not due simply to a desire to paint a better likeness. It is here that we might begin to question quite what Walton's motives are, and whom his intended readers are. For if revisions are not motivated by the discovery of information about something that happened during the author's lifetime, then there must be external factors influencing his writing. Indeed, it would not be unreasonable to see the biographies as operating within a dual time frame, signifying both in the author's world and long

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5 I use "Life" throughout to refer to a biography.


after his death, and thus being influenced as much by the concerns of the biographer's age as by the events of that of his subject. It is this duality which needs to be examined more closely. From the standpoint of the twentieth century looking at a seventeenth-century biographer describing events of a still earlier period, it is difficult to be objective or to make any claims to an historical veracity which eluded Walton. To attempt to do so would be unprofitable, not to mention unwise. It is, however, important that we start to ask why Walton writes and revises as he does, what the implications of these actions are for our understanding of those authors whose reputations he has created, and how his and their actions have meaning within their different temporal worlds.

From the wide array of problems and challenges which analysis of Walton's work raises it is possible to discern distinct areas of interest where we may begin to understand his preoccupations and concerns. Perhaps most important of these areas is the subject of death which figures prominently (and increasingly, through the revised editions) in all of the biographies. In the 1658 Life of John Donne, the definition of the term "biography" is considerably stretched by an account which devotes more than a third of its hundred and forty-eight pages to the Dean's final illness and death. But such a focus

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8 It is not usual in the seventeenth century, unlike in the twentieth, for a biography to be written before a person has died.

9 Ironically, the 1640 biography is entitled The Life and Death of Dr Donne but in 1658 the "and Death" is dropped.
may be explained, it seems, by the fact that it is often only
during the days before death that an author may consider how he
will be viewed by posterity, and only in the period after death
that his contemporaries will begin to examine how his reputation
will be seen by the larger world. If, as has already been
suggested, biographies signify as much within the consciousness
of their later readers as in relation to the life of the dead
person, then clearly death is a central point in the transition
from one frame of reference to another, standing between the
ending of a life and the beginning of a Life. It is a topic
which preoccupies Walton most in his early elegy and biographies
of Donne, and it is in these works that he seems most concerned
to work out what the most appropriate response is to the death
of an author.

If the Lives of Donne make it apparent that biographies are
written for the living as well as for the dead, the work of the
Interregnum years shifts the focus still more to the
interrelation between two time frames. Walton’s emphasis on the
judgement of a character through his acquaintances takes on a
new importance when his own acquaintance with some of his
subjects, and with the surviving friends of his others, is taken
into account. David Novarr’s analysis of the revision of the
Lives has shed light on the apparent reasons for and the
personal influences behind some of Walton’s changes to his work,
and Jonquil Bevan’s more recent careful studies of Walton’s
family sources of information, and his relationship with his
publisher, has furthered our understanding of his working methods. But it seems important also that connections be traced between the friendships outlined in the biographies and Walton's own familiarity with these people in his own lifetime. Particularly relevant is the intimacy between Donne and Henry King, and King and Walton, as well as that between Sanderson and George Morley, and Morley and Walton. Study of these relations appears to reveal not only how Walton came to be involved in the biographical enterprise, but also how the design of the Lives is influenced by the concerns of members of the Laudian wing of the Church of England at various points during the Church's troubled history. Biography may, in Walton's words, be "an honour due to the dead," but it is also written, as he was aware, with regard to the wishes of those who have an interest in safeguarding reputation in a certain way for distinct and decidedly current reasons.

The safety of an author's reputation is most at risk, though, in the interpretation of literary works after death. Robert Sanderson decreed in his Will that none of his hitherto unpublished works should be printed posthumously for fear of

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11 "Epistle to the Reader," *Lives* (1670). Reprinted in George Saintsbury's edition of Walton's *Lives* (London: Oxford UP, 1927): 5-7. Future references will, for convenience, be given to this edition (which follows the 1675 edition of the *Lives of Dr. John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Richard Hooker and Mr. George Herbert*, and the 1678 *Life of Dr. Robert Sanderson*) unless it is appropriate to refer to an earlier version, in which case this will be noted.
misinterpretation which he could not answer from the grave. For, as Auden knew, "The words of a dead man/ Are modified in the guts of the living."\(^{12}\) Walton ignored Sanderson's request in including Pax Ecclesiae as an appendix to his 1678 Life, whilst at the same time acknowledging the validity of the concern in his Preface to the same edition.\(^{13}\) He clearly felt that the duty of a literary executor was to override any wishes which were made rashly or which went against the public good. Handling literary remains is, however, a tricky business, and only later in his life does Walton seem to have interpreted its demands more freely. The changing stress in his work from an earlier sense of personal responsibility to do well by the dead, to a later more public and political urgency to capitalize on certain aspects of an author's reputation--particularly in his use of Hooker and Sanderson's writing--appears to be connected with the time in which he is working. His unusually long career spans three distinct periods of English history--the years before the 1642 Revolution, the Interregnum, and time after the 1660 Restoration--each with its own challenges and preoccupations for a High Church Royalist writing the Lives of a dean, a provost and diplomat, two academic divines, a parson, and a bishop. His methods of writing biography --the processes of describing death, characterizing friendship through letters and accounts, and printing excerpts from the writing of his

\(^{12}\) Yeats 49.

\(^{13}\) Saintsbury 346.
subjects--vary, it can be seen, according not only to the characteristics of the person whose life he is writing, but also with an eye to the effects, in his own time, of his constructions of history and reputation.
Chapter 1--1631-1675.

Donne's Death: The Beginning of the Life

The rest may be silence for Fortinbras, but for many a literary executor death is just the beginning of an outpouring of elegy, tribute, and recollection, the cumulative effect of which can hardly be described as silence. Izaak Walton is no exception to this general rule. Commenting on the burial of John Hales of Eton, Walton's acquaintance John Aubrey noted that his "altar monument of black marble . . . [has] a too long epitaph." For Walton, however, the concept of epitaphian excess does not seem to have existed. From his early elegy on Donne, to his Lives, to his collections of notes on Hales and Ben Johnson, Walton appears to have been the player that stepped forward onto the stage to provide early and often lengthy comment on dead men of letters, demonstrating a profound awareness that that first perspective on a life which death occasions is often the most telling, and certainly the most lasting impression that a nation receives of its literary dead.

John Donne's death was actually somewhat unusual in this respect in that he succeeded in having the first--or perhaps last--word on the subject. Henry King's elegy on Donne notes

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that "Thou, like the dying Swanne, didst lately sing/ Thy
Mournfull Dirge, in audience of the King"\textsuperscript{16} and seems to be referring to the \textit{Death's Duell} sermon which Donne preached at Whitehall on February 25, 1631, and which King's elegy accompanied in what was the first posthumous publication of Donne's work. According to Walton, many of the congregation "that saw his teares, and heard his hollow voice . . . [thought] that D. Donne had preacht his owne Funerall Sermon."\textsuperscript{17} Walton even went so far as to borrow, without acknowledgment, certain choice phrases from this and from an earlier funeral sermon on Magdalen Danvers, for use in his own account of Donne's death.\textsuperscript{18} Preachers can, it seems, speak from before the grave if not from beyond it. The peculiar problem in eulogizing Donne stems not only, however, from the fact that Donne was himself a preacher of funeral sermons, but also from the fact that he was a poet--and not always a particularly religious one--before the time of his ordination in 1615. Thus, a dual difficulty is created for the would-be elegist or biographer--how does one play down the sometimes secular verse of one's subject as the "facetiously Composed"\textsuperscript{19} lines of a rash young man, regretted in later, more pious, life, whilst at the same time taking into account the

\textsuperscript{16} Grierson 1: 371.

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Life and Death of Dr Donne} (1640). Saintsbury 75.


\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Life of John Donne} (1658) 75. Added to this edition and retained subsequently. Saintsbury 61.
inspiring, or perhaps curtailing, but nonetheless important effect of the poet’s work on one’s own poetic tribute? Is silence the only answer?

It was and it wasn’t. It is important to note their response and how the elegies came to be put together with Walton’s first published work, as it seems that their poetic tribute influenced his own later literary efforts and mapped out some of the difficulties involved in writing both a secular and a sacred biography at the same time. Through investigation of the different poets’ elegiac outpourings on Donne it is possible to set Walton’s work within a context of other verse tributes and to discern how his elegy is in many ways conditioned by the circumstances surrounding the collective enterprise of eulogizing Donne. This influence appears to continue into his later prose works and to determine how the life of a literary subject is to be presented to the wider world. Moreover, analysis of the circumstances surrounding the compilation of the 1633 Poems can, it may be argued, suggest some of the ulterior motivations and concerns behind any biblio- or biographical project, and, more particularly, the personal interests at stake in any such undertaking.

The elegists of the 1633 edition of Donne’s Poems certainly had no shortage of material with which to work. But this fact seems to have been more help than hindrance. Yet although they insist that Donne has said all that there is to say and that their poetic coffers are therefore empty, the very
existence of their own efforts belies their self-proclaimed poverty of expression. And when they overcome their inarticulateness—which, of course, they all do, to a lesser or greater degree—they do so in order to focus very definitely on Donne's religious thought. According to comments in a letter from Henry King to Walton, published as prefatory matter to the collected Lives, both King and Walton had in their possession many of Donne's papers, at least until they were removed from Walton by Donne's son, John Donne the Younger, in the late 1630s. The 1632 publication of Death's Duell, along with King's elegy, and the engraving from a picture which he owned, would imply that he assisted Richard Marriot, the publisher, in the production of this work, and it has also been suggested, though without conclusive evidence, that he helped Marriot to prepare the Poems of 1633. Whatever his actual involvement in 1633, it is clear that he could have already been familiar with the poetry of some of the contributors, if not with the poets themselves. The Stoughton Manuscript miscellany, which

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20 Lives (1670) (2) and retained in 1675. Saintsbury 15.

21 The Death's Duell engraving was the model for the statue of Donne, paid for by Dr Simeon Foxe, which is in St Paul's Cathedral. See the addition to the Life of John Donne (1658) 119-120. Saintsbury 83.


23 For discussion of the uncertain authorship of some of the poems and the difficulties of distinguishing between two people with similar names, see Grierson 2: 254-60 and Geoffrey Keynes, "A Footnote to Donne," The Book Collector 22 (1973) 165-8.
Fig. 1 Frontispiece to *Death's Duell* (1632).
contains many of King's poems from (on the whole) the period before the mid-1630s and which seems to have been compiled by a scribe in his employ, also contains contributions by three of the Donne elegists--Thomas Carew, Thomas Browne, and Jasper Mayne--and has strong connections with King's friends from his days at Westminster School, and Christ Church, Oxford, with which many of the elegists were associated. What is also interesting is the fact that some of the contributors to the 1633 memorial to Donne--including some of those with Christ Church connections and poems in King's Stoughton Manuscript--were also part of the group of young men which gathered around the young Lucius Carey, second Viscount Falkland, at his Oxfordshire estate, Great Tew. Here, in the pre-Revolution years, Sir Edward Hyde (later Lord Clarendon), Carew, and Mayne joined figures such as Henry Hammond, George Morley, and Robert Sanderson (who were to play a prominent role in Restoration politics, as well as in Walton's later biographies) in religious discussions which tended towards repudiation of both Calvinist and Arminian dogmatism and towards insistence on reason and moderation in matters of doctrine. It was on men familiar with Teyian tolerance that the task of responding to


25 Jasper Mayne, as well as being the 1652 translator of Donne's Epigrams, was also archdeacon of Chichester 1660-1672 (under Henry King until King's death in 1669).
Donne’s poetry and stressing his abilities as a preacher fell.26

We do not know whether the elegies that were published in 1633 were commissioned or were a collection of spontaneous effusions occasioned by Donne’s death. It would be unwise to suggest, however, that they were put together with a common propagandizing purpose or a desire on the part of King, or whoever the editor was, to appropriate Donne’s reputation for the defence of a specific religious position. But it is clear from certain similarities of theme and metaphor that the poems were not randomly, diversely, or uncircumspectly selected. Although the volume did not appear until two years after Donne’s death, several poems refer to verses being pinned, as was the custom, to the hearse (King27, Hyde, Thomas Carie, Lucius Carie); two compare writing verse to shedding a tear (Walton, Mayne); some lament that Donne’s own "phansie" overshadows them so much that they have lost their own poetic gifts28 (King, Browne, Hyde, Corbet, Valentine, Walton, Thomas Carie, Bushby);


27 There is evidence that King wrote a poem which was actually retrieved after having been pinned in such a manner: as Margaret Crum notes (Poems of Bishop Henry King 3) the manuscript of his Latin elegy on John Spencer, the first editor of Hooker’s Laws and family friend of the Kings, has pin holes at the corners. (MS. Rawl. D. 912, fol. 305).

others, following, perhaps, this conclusion of their fellow contributors, resolve that silence is the most fitting epitaph (King, Walton, Porter); and three share images of mining and ore (King, Thomas Care, and Wilson). Although none of these characteristics is uncommon in the elegies of the period, their frequency and the similarity of tone with which they are employed are remarkable and would seem to imply that the poets had access to each others' poems before publication and then revised their work, or that they all composed to a common brief, or that some poems were written earlier than others and the poets who wrote later worked under their influence. The first suggestion barely seems plausible given that some of the common themes and metaphors are extended through whole poems, making substantial revisions unlikely. The second and third suggestions are not mutually exclusive; we know that King and Hyde's poems were published in 1632 (in Death's Duell) and therefore available to the other elegists at least one year before the printing of their own poems. Whatever other directions may have been given, the elegists were at least aware of the groundwork done by the authors of the first two tributes. When the elegies were reprinted in the 1635 edition of the Poems, they were accompanied by three new elegies--two in English by Sidney Godolphin and John Chudleigh, and one in Latin by Daniel Darnelly. Their obvious continuation of certain of the themes of the earlier elegies--especially of shedding tears and of poetic inadequacy--would at least demonstrate that the
common purpose of the 1633 poems was abundantly clear to the 1635 elegists and may also imply that they worked to similar outlines with regard to content and style. Certainly, part of the heading to Darnelly's poem--"Illi honoris, tibi (multum mihi colende Vir) observantiae ergo Haec ego"--intimates that someone--possibly King--had prompted him to write his verses. And King, if it were he, would hardly exclude the poems in 1633 if they had been written then at his prompting, only to include them in 1635. Rather, it seems that the additional elegies were commissioned by the editor or publisher to support the work begun in the first volume. It is not unreasonable, then, to suppose that the 1633 elegists were also working with a design common to and within both editions, if not actually with an entirely unified and coherent purpose.

Of especial significance with regard to such a similarity of design is the careful balancing of Donne's poetic and spiritual gifts found in many of the elegies, including Walton's, which influences, as will later be seen, the first prose biography of Donne. For example, King's and Hyde's poems praise Donne's poetic gifts and emphasize the specifically religious uses to which these skills were put: as Hyde neatly summarizes, "Hee then must write, that would define thy parts:/ Here lyes the best Divinitie, All the Arts." Where consideration is given at all to Donne's poetry in the other elegies--and sometimes it is actually given very little space at all--this same careful balance is aimed at. Jasper Mayne seems
particularly concerned to play down the perceived libertinism of
Donne's youth and to follow an Augustinian model of waywardness
before a dramatic conversion; this, at least, is the sense of
his somewhat contrived self-criticism in the lines

But I do wrong thee, Donne, and this low praise
Is written only for thy younger dayes.
I am not growne up, for thy riper parts.

Lucius Carie effects a similar swift shift of focus in his
concluding couplet: "Then let his last excuse his first
extremes,/ His age saw visions, though his youth dream'd
dreams." Only Thomas Browne's poem--seductively subtitled
"Upon the promiscuous printing of his Poems, the Looser sort,
with the Religious"--draws explicit italicized attention to a
possible conflict of interests, and the only reward for his
over-acute perceptiveness was the non-inclusion of his elegy in
the 1635 collection. Otherwise, on the whole, the later
elegists are content to remain on the safe territory of praise
of Donne's abilities as a preacher, and to stress his knowledge,
reason, moderation, and fairness in exercising the power which

29 In all the biographies of Donne, Walton also referred to
Augustine in relation to conversion and the developing pattern of
his life. Saintsbury 47-48. And see Mark Vessey, "John Donne
(1572-1631) in the Company of Augustine: Patristic Culture and
Literary Profession in the English Renaissance," *Revue des Etudes

30 Grierson 1: 383.
31 Grierson 1: 382.
32 Grierson 1: 372.
his position of authority commanded. It is hard not to hear the beginnings of Great Tew's philosophy of tolerance and equity in Lucius Carie's rather inappropriate comparison of Donne's decanal rule with the sovereignty of a king:

And his authoritie so well employ'd,
That never any could before become
So Great a Monarch, in so small a roome;
He conquer'd rebell passions, rul'd them so
As under-spheares by the first Mover goe,
Banish't so farre their working, that we can
But know he had some, for we knew him man.33

Donne's reputation had been claimed as an example of those qualities of religious leadership which King and his friends would encourage in leaders of the Church in later years of unrest and uncertainty. Their aims at this stage are neither fully conceived nor explicitly expressed, but they did prepare the ground for the later championing of Donne as a model of reason and virtue in spiritual matters.

Walton's own poetic efforts are no exception. Inevitably, for one who claims to be "[Donne's] Convert," he quickly disposes of the early verse--"Did his youth scatter Poetrie, wherein/ Was all Philosophie? Was every sinne,/ Character'd in

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33 Grierson 1: 382. Walton also emphasized Donne's tolerance and stated (inaccurately) that he did not belong to any particular Church, perhaps because he wished to avoid discussing his early Roman Catholicism: "And Reason and Piety had both persuad'd him that there could be no such sin as Schisme, if an adherence to some visible Church were not necessary." Added to The Life of John Donne (1658) 9-10 and retained subsequently.
his *Satyres*?"--and moves--"But, more matur'd"--to the religious poetry, with a marginal reference to Donne's sequence, *La Corona*, just in case the reader had missed the significance of "A *Crowne of sacred sonets*, fit to adorne/ A dying Martyrs brow." He seems very determined to bring out the progression from youth to experience and, in parallel, from secular to spiritual. Indeed, this sense of sequence is further paralleled in the ordering of Donne's own poems in their second edition. Although their arrangement in 1633 is somewhat haphazard and reveals little about the possible order of their composition, this is not, interestingly, the case in 1635, in which the most worldly poems occupy first place, and through which a progression from secular to religious writing can clearly be seen. Speculating on Walton's involvement in the 1635 volume, David Novarr cites the lines (signed "Iz:Wa:")) under the engraving of the young Donne by William Marshall as possible confirmation that it was Walton's vision of the patterning of Donne's life which determined the rearrangement of the poems:34

This was for youth, Strength, Mirth, and wit that Time Most count their golden Age; but t'was not thine. Thine was thy later yeares, so much refund From youths Drosse, Mirth & wit; as thy pure mind Thought (like the Angels) nothing but the Praise Of thy Creator, in those last, best Dayes.

34 Novarr 31-34.
Fig. 2 Engraving prefixed to Donne’s *Poems* (1635).
Witness this Booke, (thy Embleme) which begins

With Love; but endes, with Sighes, & Teares for sins.

It is a plausible suggestion, and one which is certainly borne out by Walton's repetition of this structure and focus on "those last, best Dayes" in both the 1640 Life, which served, appropriately, as prefatory matter to a collection of eighty of Donne's sermons, and also, still more obviously, in the expanded 1658 version of the same biography.

Bearing in mind that the patterning of the elegies is somewhat determined by the circumstances affecting their composition and compilation, and that Henry King seems to have been a strong influence on Walton's poetic work, it is also interesting to note that he was involved in the extended enterprise of putting together Walton's first biographies. The idea that Sir Henry Wotton should write Donne's biography seems to have come from Walton, who was, as Wotton's reply "To Iz Walton, in answer of a letter requesting him to perform his promise of writing the Life of Dr. Dunne" suggests, in close contact with King. After thanking Walton for his "first motion, touching a just office, due to the memory of our ever-memorable friend," Sir Henry responds that "That which you add of Dr King (now made Dean of Rochester, and by that translated into my native soil) is a great spur unto me."35 As King was not promoted to the decanate until February 6, 1639, Walton and King

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were in contact at the time when Walton was, by his own account, "[preparing] particulars . . . in a readiness to be augmented, and rectified by [Wotton's] powerfull pen." 36 Of course, Donne's papers, entrusted to King in his Will, were lost by Walton at some point around this time to Donne's son; as King reminds Walton in a letter dated "Novem. 17 1664" (and printed as a preface to the 1670 and 1675 Lives),

How these were got out of my hands, you, who were the Messenger for them, and how lost both to me and your self, is not now seasonable to complain: but, since they did miscarry, I am glad that the general Demonstration of his Worth was so fairly preserved, and represented to the World by your Pen in the History of his Life . . . 37

Although Donne the Younger was not perhaps the most upstanding young man of his generation--as the charges against him for beating a young boy who happened to startle his horse demonstrate--there is actually no evidence to suggest, as some critics have done, that his relations with King and Walton were entirely acrimonious after the "transfer" of his father's papers into his possession. 38 King's comment in his letter to Walton

36 Opening paragraph to the Life and Death of Dr. Donne (1640) N.pag.

37 Saintsbury 15.

38 See, e.g., Ian Hamilton, Keepers of the Flame: Literary Estates and the Rise of Biography (London: Hutchinson, 1992) 1-15. Hamilton's insinuative argument that Donne the Younger tricked Walton into giving up the papers is witty but actually
shows that, even though he was not directly involved in the actual writing of the 1640 Life or in the editing of the volume of sermons which it was to accompany, he was certainly not antagonistic to the project. It has usually been stated by commentators that Walton saw the Donne papers while they were almost definitely in King's possession between the 1632 publication of Death's Duell and Donne the Younger's return to England from the Continent in 1637. But it would seem, however, that King could still have had the collection --or part thereof--up to a year later than this, and that Walton's note-taking for Wotton, to which he refers in 1640, could have been done with King's knowledge and permission, in the first half of 1638. A document in the Public Record Office, to which Robert Krueger draws attention in a 1964 article, suggests that young Donne did not gain possession of the group of eighty sermons, which were published with the Life in 1640, at least until after September 1638, when he was granted a license by Accepted Frewen, Vice Chancellor of Oxford University at that time, to publish a separate collection of fifty sermons (which did not actually appear until 1649).

It seems unlikely that he would unsubstantiated. The article by Krueger on the publication of the sermons (see my bibliography) which Hamilton quotes and, we must presume, has read, would suggest a quite different scenario.

See e.g., Novarr 27-28.

Robert Krueger, "The Publication of John Donne's Sermons," RES 15 (1964) 151-60. The licence from Frewen is Items 25 and 26 in MS. 281 Magdalen College, Oxford; the record of the lawsuit is PRO, pressmark C8/110/14.
have requested a licence for only fifty if he had eighty more. Moreover, there were subsequent legal wranglings between Donne and an Oxford publisher, Francis Bowman, who claimed in court that in January 1639/40 Donne had effectively attempted to blackmail him into publishing the extra eighty, as well as the fifty for which he had already contracted by threatening otherwise to have the eighty printed by another printer with dedicatory and prefatory matter, thus cornering the market before Bowen could bring out his own edition. As Krueger rightly surmises, unless Donne had set out from the beginning to deceive Bowman, he did not have the eighty sermons when he contracted with Bowman for the fifty in 1639/40—and however unscrupulous he was, he certainly did not have them in 1638 when he applied for the first license. It would appear, then, that Donne gained possession of a large portion of papers in 1639/40.

This information is relevant when considering Walton’s 1640 Life, and particularly when analyzing the connections between the aims of those involved in constructing a reputation, and the overall shape and form of the work they produced. Walton, as we have seen, could have consulted the Donne papers whilst they were in King’s possession in the 1630s. He appears to have been working on them after Wotton’s death on December 5, 1639, up to the completion of the Life on February 15, 1639/40. When Donne threatened Bowman with the publication of the 80 sermons with a prefatory Life (a threat which he made, according to Bowman’s testimony, in January 1639/40) he seems to have been absolutely
certain that someone—and it can hardly have been anyone other than Walton—could complete a biography within a short space of time, and that it would be at his disposal for publication with the sermons by John Marriot and Miles Flesher, with whom both Walton and King had a good working relationship.\(^{41}\) There was hardly time for any acrimonious dispute between the parties and there is no indication thereof in their writings. It is only King’s letter, written considerably after the event, and made public still later, which suggests a certain regret at Donne’s taking over of the papers—and even this slight tone of irritation is mingled with praise of Walton’s achievements in having written a good biography. There is no reason to suppose that Walton and King’s common purpose to safeguard Donne’s reputation as a worthy religious figure, pursued to whatever joint degree in the early 1630s, was not continued through into the full biography of 1640.

And even if King was not perhaps the most enthusiastic supporter of the 1640 edition, by the time Walton’s Life came to be expanded and printed independently of the sermons he was well caught up again in the extended project. In 1658, after sixteen years of Cromwellian rule, the need to present Donne and his contemporaries as "patterns of Apostolicall Charity"\(^{42}\) was still greater than it had been in the 1630s, given that tolerance

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\(^{41}\) See Bevan, "Izaak Walton and his Publisher." 344-6.

\(^{42}\) Added to the Life of John Donne (1658) 25 and retained in subsequent editions. Saintsbury 32.
towards the High Church Anglicans was still very low, and that episcopal succession--based on an apostolic model--was in danger of being broken because the consecration of bishops, which required permission of election, nomination, and assent from both the King and the now largely defunct diocesan chapters, could only take place under highly irregular circumstances. 43

The praise of Donne and of Henry's father, Bishop John King, which had been included in 1640, but which was here expanded to note that King was "famous in his generation, ", 44 could only serve to stress how important it was that the succession should continue so that the present age should have similar models of piety and strength. There is also a sense of this need for leadership by example in Walton's 1658 addition of a determined comparison between the present state of disarray and the first and most blessed times of Christianity, when the Clergy were look'd upon with reverence, and deserved it, when they overcame their opposers by high examples of Vertue, by a blessed Patience and long Suffering. 45

We have no reason to doubt that this was the case, and that Donne's life was one example of such leadership and piety, but this should not allow us to ignore the fact that Walton's


44 Life of John Donne (1658) 43.

45 Life of John Donne (1658) 40.
information is very carefully put together to provide a construction of reputation, the very artificiality of which is suggested by the multiple purposes to which it can be put, not least of which is the reconstruction within a later age of a somewhat weakened church.

It has already been noted that in order to use Donne’s life as a religious example it was necessary to give more prominence to the later, more spiritually edifying years; in the 1658 Life this emphasis becomes still more apparent in the inclusion of new information which relates almost wholly to the circumstances surrounding Donne’s death. Although the reasons for the textual changes between editions are complicated, it would seem that there are distinct motives behind the expansion of the death scenes, which are closely connected with the difficulties of putting the secular and religious, and the earthly and heavenly life into proper perspective. Of particular note is the apparent influence of Jeremy Taylor’s work, Holy Dying (1651), published as a companion to Holy Living (1650), and including a title page from an engraving by the Dutch artist, Pieter Lombart, who also engraved the portrait of Donne found in the 1670 and 1675 editions of the Life, and in the 1651 Letters. This is, however, only a minor example of connections with Walton’s work, which seems to follow closely Taylor’s dictum that “it is a great art to dye well.”

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Fig. 3 Engraved title page to *Holy Dying* (1651).
Fig. 4 Engraving prefixed to Walton's Lives (1670, 1675).
with the treatise is implied by his note in his copy of Eusebius, reminding himself to "vew," amongst other things, "doc. taylers living and dying." He shares Taylor's Arminian insistence on the salvation of the sinner through Christ's sacrifice:

But all that I can do, and all that I am, and all that I know of myself is nothing but sin, and infirmity, and misery; therefore I go forth of my self, and throw myself wholly into the arms of thy mercy, through Jesus Christ . . .

In a similar passage, included first in the 1658 Life and retained thereafter, Walton has Donne express a similar belief in universal redemption:

And though of myself I have nothing to present him but sins and misery; yet I know he looks not upon me now as I am of my self, but as I am in my Saviour, and hath given me even at this time some testimonies . . .

The follies of Donne's earlier secular life would seem to be absolved by the realization which he reached later in life--and also, interestingly, relatively late in the composition of Walton's Life--that the earthly life can have no appeal when man's sins are considered, and when the confusion and

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47 Novarr Appendix A 500.

48 Taylor 156.

unhappiness of daily life are contrasted with heavenly existence.

This solution may get Walton out of the tricky problem of what to do with Donne and his early secular lyrics, but it does not make his task as a biographer any easier. For if one has just demonstrated the inferiority of bodily life, why should one then proceed to write a biography detailing the rewards and achievements associated with it? It would seem that one way around this potential problem was to write the 1658 Life in such a way as to reemphasize the fact that life's rewards and benefits are only of value in so far as they are precursors of still greater advantages to be enjoyed in heaven. This work was not the first to present Donne's achievements in such a way; the 1635 Poems was supplemented with four of Donne's letters, the combined effect of which appears to have been to have shown his own awareness that death is a far superior state to life: the second letter laments his desire for fame in having had the Anniversaries published, and the last two discuss the tiring nature of preaching, and Donne's hope that he might die in the pulpit as a result of his "divine labours." David Novarr is right to conclude that the letters "counteract the licentiousness of some of the [secular] poems now added for the first time."⁵⁰ They also suggest the value Donne placed on his friendships, a consideration which was to become increasingly significant in Walton's own work. The first letter added to the

⁵⁰ Novarr 38.
1635 volume is of special interest, for in it Donne writes, probably to Martha Garrard,\textsuperscript{51} of the importance of their correspondence, stating,

since there is a religion in friendship, and a death in absence, to make up an entire friend, there must be an heaven too: and there can be no heaven so proportionall to that religion, and that death, as your favour.

The conceit flatters her by playing on and suggesting a transcendence of the fact which many of his letters show he believed--namely that friendship continues after death. There is no conclusive evidence to suggest that Walton was behind the inclusion of these letters, but doubtlessly he was aware of them. And by the time that he came to consider Donne's friendships in 1658, it would have been still clearer to him that the correspondence could provide him with numerous supportive examples for his redefined emphasis on earthly life as a copy or shadow of the perceived glories of the life to come: for, in 1651, Donne the Younger had edited (somewhat unscrupulously and inaccurately, we might add) his father's correspondence and the \textit{Letters to Severall Persons of Honour} had been published by Richard Marriot and J. Flesher, again with the

\textsuperscript{51} Novarr notes only that it is addressed to a lady. But see R.E. Bennet, "Donne's Letters from the Continent in 1611-12," \textit{Philological Quarterly} 19 (1940) 68-9, and "Donne's Letters to Severall Persons of Honour," \textit{PMLA} 56 (1941) 127 which suggest that the "La G" to whom this letter is addressed in the 1651 \textit{Letters} is George Garrard's sister.
Lombart engraving as a frontispiece. Here was a reminder, in Donne's own words, of what Walton had suggested in 1640 in relation to Donne and Wotton--that there was such a friendship contracted in their youths, that nothing but death could force the separation. And though their bodies were divided, that learned Knights love followed his friends fame beyond the forgetful grave.\(^{52}\)

Walton's appending of several of Donne's letters to the 1658 biography, three of them to Henry Goodere, to whom Donne seems to have written every Tuesday for much of his life, suggests that he perceived the value of Donne's own expression of the value of correspondence, and of the peculiarly religious significance of friendship and communication: or, in Donne's words, "mankind hath very strong bounds to cohabit and concurre in other than mountains and hills during his life."\(^{53}\) This focus on the "lesser Chappels, which are my friends"\(^{54}\) would seem to create a connection between the pursuits of daily, earthly life, and the pursuit of a more enduring communion, of which friendship is a precursor. Again, Donne's life has been used to demonstrate the subordination of the temporal to the

\(^{52}\) Opening to The Life and Death of Dr. Donne (1640) N.pag.

\(^{53}\) Life of John Donne (1658) 124. These letters were not included in 1670 or 1675.

\(^{54}\) Life of John Donne (1658) 137.
enduring, the worldly to the heavenly, and the physical to the spiritual.

It appears that Henry King is implicated in Walton’s decision to put this particular slant on Donne’s life and death, not least, we might presume, because of the friendship which existed between his own father, John King, and Donne, during their years in the service of Sir Thomas Egerton, the Lord Keeper. Walton’s description in the 1658 dedicatory letter to Sir Robert Holt of their intimacy as a "marriage of souls" stresses the spiritual, eternal quality of their feelings and may even, as E.E. Duncan-Jones has proposed, refer to Donne’s own punning expression of a year’s acquaintance with King in "The Anniversarie"—"Here upon earth we are Kings."55

Certainly, Donne’s description of "a love increased there above,/ When bodies to their graves, soules from their graves remove"56 seems a likely influence, if not a direct source, for Walton’s interest in the continuation of friendship after physical separation. He was clearly not averse to including a remembered word or phrase from his subject’s work in his own writing; as David Novarr notes, a passage in the 1640 Life, referring to Donne’s sadness, appears to be suggested by the line from Donne’s "A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning," which speaks of "Dull sublunary lovers’ love." In the 1658 Life,


56 Grierson 1: 24.
perhaps aware of his borrowing from Donne, Walton changed "sublunary" to "earthly" and wrote that "now his very soul was elemented of nothing but sadness." When the poem was incorporated in full in the 1675 Life, after Walton’s description of Donne’s vision of his wife’s miscarriage, Walton made some important textual changes—which lead Novarr to suggest that Walton was quoting from memory and had simply got it wrong.\(^{57}\) But there is no reason to claim that he should be, since he possessed a copy of the 1650 reprint of Donne’s Poems.\(^{58}\) Moreover, as Novarr should be well aware, Walton’s revisions are rarely made lightly or thoughtlessly. In most manuscript collections, Donne’s stanza reads:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{But we by a love, so much refin’d,} \\
\text{That our selves know not what it is,} \\
\text{Inter-assured of the mind,} \\
\text{Care lesse, eyes, lips, and hands to misse.}\end{align*}
\]

Walton’s version reads,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{But we, by a Soul so much refin’d} \\
\text{That our Souls know not what it is,}\end{align*}
\]

\(^{57}\) Novarr 112-3.

\(^{58}\) Jonquil Bevan, "Some Books from Izaak Walton’s Library," The Library 6th ser. 2 (1980) 261. Walton’s copy, now in Harvard College Library, was given to him by Marriot in 1650 according to the inscription.

\(^{59}\) Grierson 1: 50.
Inter-assured of the mind,
Care not, hands, eyes, or lips to miss.\textsuperscript{60}

The changes are minor, but surely significant, strengthening as they do the sense of affection in the "soul" rather than "love" or "self," and reinforcing the carelessness about bodily union and longing.

Donne's poetry—in its apparently original or somewhat rewritten forms—also seems to have influenced King to a quite considerable extent. His "Exequy", likely written on the death of his wife, shares similar emotions with both Donne's "Anniversarie" and his "Valediction"—with the former in the declaration "That fitt of Fire/ Once off, our Bodyes shall aspire/ To our Soules' blisse" and with the latter in the sentiments of the concluding couplet: "I am content to live/ Divided, with but half a Heart,/ Till wee shall Meet and Never part."\textsuperscript{61} Although King's surviving work does not contain any explicit connection between his father and Donne, it is nonetheless clear that the two were associated in his mind; in his elegy on Donne, King repeats a line that he had first used in a much earlier epitaph for his father: a version of the phrase "Commit we then Thee to Thy selfe" serves to send each of the now united friends to the grave.\textsuperscript{62} One cannot help but

\textsuperscript{60} Life of Dr. John Donne (1675) 33-4. Saintsbury 43-44.

\textsuperscript{61} Crum 68-72.

\textsuperscript{62} Crum 77 and 186. The phrase seems to originate from the Latin version of John King's epitaph, which includes the line "Quod frugale magis, tibi te committimus unum." Although there is a copy
wonder whether Walton was aware of King's association of the two, as well as Donne's influence on the young poet, when he came to use John King and Donne as examples of the translation of earthly love into heavenly.

Certainly, King would not be among those whose beliefs Walton questions in a passage, just before the quotation from Donne's "Valediction," which describes the noise of two lutes set opposite each other: they "warble a faint audible harmony, in answer to the same tune: yet many will not believe there is any such thing, as a sympathy of souls." For Donne and John King, in Walton's 1658 Life, such a sympathy had existed. Apart from suggesting the influence of Henry King and his and Walton's aim to present a religious Life by focusing on spiritual communion, the image also raises an interesting question. If communication is the basis of friendship whilst two people are alive, and if their friendship is to last after death, does communication continue despite the extended, though, for Walton, still temporary, separation which death occasions? It would seem that it does, most immediately through the carrying out by a literary executor of what Michael Millgate has called "testamentary acts"—that is, following the instructions of an author's Will, preparing his papers for public view, and

of this epitaph in Henry's hand in Bodl. MS. Rawl. D. 398, fol. 195, this is not, as Crum points out, enough evidence to suggest that he composed it.

63 Life of Dr. John Donne (1675) 31. Saintsbury 41.
considering how his reputation shall be seen by the world.\textsuperscript{64} Walton emphasizes such actions in the passage at the beginning of the 1640 Life, where, after describing the close friendship between Donne and Wotton, he shows the development of their amity in Wotton’s decision to have Walton prepare notes for a possible biography. More concretely, as the 1658 Life suggests, Henry King and Simeon Foxe seem to have been responsible for ensuring that the visual representation of Donne, which he had desired on his death-bed should be created, was turned into a statue, by which all could see Donne in a state of readiness for death.\textsuperscript{65} Walton’s response to this monument is important in that it reveals his concerns about writing biography. Mentioning man’s desire for fame in a deliberately understated preparation and perhaps excuse for Donne’s commissioning of the shrouded portrait, he adds,

It is observed, that a desire of glory or commendation is rooted in the very nature of man, and that those of the severest and most mortified lives, though they may become so humble as to banish self-flattery, and such weeds as naturally grow there; yet they have not been able to kill this desire of glory, but that like our radicall heat it will both live and die with us; and many think it should do so; and we want not sacred

\textsuperscript{64} Michael Millgate, Testamentary Acts: Browning, Tennyson, James, Hardy (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992).

\textsuperscript{65} Life of John Donne (1658) 120. Saintsbury 83.
examples to justify the desire of having our memory
to out-live our lives.\(^{66}\)

His distinct unease—syntactical as well as philosophical—appears to return us to the problem with which we began, of how the biographer or elegist can overcome the silence of mourning to provide poetic tribute to a great author, whilst at the same time de-emphasizing the secular in favour of the religious, and glorifying the heavenly rather than the earthly.

A certain resolution of this problem in the later Lives of Donne can be seen if the progression of the ideas relating to it is traced through the different literary responses over the forty year period between Donne’s death and the final biographies. The 1633 elegists clearly have the most difficulties in articulating their professed grief and present an interestingly diverse response to the question of whether, as a poet commemorating a poet, one should be inspired by one’s subject, and thus allow his poetic life to continue through its influential manifestation in one’s own work, or whether one should bewail one’s inability to say anything as everything has already been said by the dead poet, and thus make a poem out of not being able to make a poem. Thomas Care’s verse, unusually conceitful for him, tends towards the former, whilst Edward Hyde, perhaps in response, is critical of that friend which would

\(^{66}\) Added to the Life of John Donne (1658) 110-11, and retained subsequently. Saintsbury 77.
Steale from thy owne workes, and that, varied, lend,
Which thou bestow'st on others, to thy Hearse,
And so thou shalt live still in thine owne verse.

He and several other of the elegists, including King, consider it preferable to "owe/ Unto thy Hearse, what we can never pay,/ Then, with embased Coin those Rites defray." For them, it is better to keep silent than to produce only some half-conceived imitation. Walton's own position is interesting because more complicated than any of these responses, and merits further examination as it demonstrates that even as early as 1633 he understood some of the problems associated with writing biography. His philosophy seems to centre on one passage--lines 55-66, which undergo some minor revisions between the early versions in the Poems of 1633 and 1635 and the first inclusion of the elegy in the Donne biography in 1670:

But sure the silent are ambitious all
To be Close Mourners at his Funerall;
If not; In common pitty they forbare
By repetitions to renew our care;
Or, knowing, griefe conceiv'd, conceal'd, consumes
Man irreparably, (as poyson'd fumes
Do waste the braine) make silence a safe way
To'lnlarge the Soule from these walls, mud and clay,
(Materialalls of this body) to remaine
With Donne in heaven, where no promiscuous paine
Lessens the joy we have, for, with him, all
Are satisfied with joys essential.

Although the sense of the verses is by no means clear, Walton seems to be suggesting that those who restrain themselves in their grieving either do not want to be "Close Mourners," or refrain from renewing our grief by expressing their own, or simply cannot express their emotions and allow themselves to be destroyed by grief, thus committing a form of suicide so that they can join the deceased in heaven where "with him, all/ Are satisfied with joys essential. Walton made no attempt to unravel his convoluted syntax in the revisions in the 1670 version, but some minor changes of word choice do show the expansion of his ideas on silence and grief. The verses suggest that silence—a lack of communication or an inability to communicate—is a "safe way" to lose the body and free the soul from the constraints of earthly life, or "To' inlarge the Soule

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67 Interpretation is confused by the fact that "forbear has two distinct meanings— to cease or refrain from an action, or, in an archaic sense, from Old English "forberan," to endure. Although the passage's emphasis on endurance in suffering calls for the latter sense, the grammar of the sentence would suggest the former, as "forbear" cannot be intransitive, which this usage clearly is. One cannot endure to do something. Therefore, they must be refraining from renewing grief.

68 The phrase "Close Mourners" seems to have a specialized sense and to refer to the position of the bereaved in a kind of hierarchy of mourning. We might, perhaps, compare the closeness of those who write funeral elegies and, more particularly, the physical closeness of those graveside mourners who could have actually pinned their verse to the hearse. OED only records usage later than Walton's and admits uncertainty as to the origin of the expression.

69 Life of Dr. John Donne (1670) 85-88.
from these walls, mud, and clay/ (Materiall of this body.)" As such, it is an appropriate part of mourning. Conversely, though, as we have already seen, communication is associated with life and friendship and a unity of souls which can transcend death. This is emphasized in 1670 when the phrase "consumes/ Man irreparably" is changed to "consumes/ Mans life insensibly," thus implying that death is not final and irreparable, but should only be considered to be a dulling of the senses which lasts until such time as the body shall be resurrected to full enjoyment of the nicely non-clichéd and definitely life-affirming "joyes essentiall." For Walton, then, both silence and poetry are a fitting response to death--silence when contemplating death as an end to the achievements of earthly life which one cannot take beyond the "silent grave," and poetry when remembering the communication of friends which is a precursor of heavenly communion.

Walton's transition from one response to the other was summed up neatly in 1651 in his elegy on William Cartwright, which affirmed "nor will I grieve/ Longer in silence" and accepted that the "perfect Harmony" of Cartwright's words and deeds is

Lost to us Mortals, lost, 'till we shall have
Admission to that Kingdom, where He sings
Harmonious Anthems to the King of Kings.\(^{70}\)

Such emphasis on the music of heaven was to be developed further

\(^{70}\) Shepherd N.pag.
in the 1670 *Life of Mr. George Herbert*, which contains three separate references to singing holy songs in heaven. But its significance for the *Life of John Donne* had been realized earlier; in the notes in his copy of *Eusebius*, Walton concisely noted the theme which was to dominate the design of the 1658 biography and which had already been suggested by his earlier elegy:

And his better part is now doing that in heaven which was most of his employment on earth magnifying the mercies and making hims and singing them to that god to whom be glory and honer and."

The libertine young poet has here been turned into a writer of hymns, and Walton has demonstrated the justification which he has found for writing the life of a great poet and preacher. By 1670 there has been some resolution of the issues raised in the 1633 elegy and explored in the biographies of the intervening years through changes in emphasis relating to the presentation of responses to life and death. The rest is not silence, but it may take careful orchestration on the part of a literary executor to balance the demands of celebrating poetic gifts put to secular use, with the need to impress upon the reader the power of religious expression, and of that music which, according to Walton, Donne felt

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72 Novarr 499.
has raised the affections of my heart, and quickened my graces of zeal and gratitude; . . . that I alwaies return from paying this publick duty of Prayer and Praise to God with an unexpressible tranquillity of mind, and a willingness to leave the world."
Chapter 2--1642-1660

Friendship

Part 1: Acquaintances and the Gathering of Information

If, as the biographies of Donne suggest, literary reputation is put together according to a certain pattern and with an eye to the investment of surviving relatives and friends in such a construction, then we must ask how these personal influences condition both the gathering of information about the dead author and the presentation of the relationships of these people with him within the Life. In the biographical information from the Interregnum period--particularly the Life of Sir Henry Wotton and the later notes on John Hales--it is especially apparent that Walton is relying heavily on sources close to him and to the dead about whom he is writing. The result is a mixture of anecdotes, personal allegiances, and historical analysis from which it is sometimes difficult to disentangle the concerns of Walton’s own friends, those of his subjects (which sometimes coincide with his own) and the circumstances surrounding the publication of his and their works through the bookseller and his close acquaintance, Richard Marriot. But one thing that does become clear through the mass of varied detail is that both a biography and the life of a person are best judged by the esteem in which they are held by friends and
acquaintances of similar interests and with a common religious and political understanding.

Most noteworthy of these sources is Henry King, whose influence in the Donne biographies has already been demonstrated. Included in the 1670 and 1675 Lives is Henry King's letter to Walton, to which I have already referred, praising his work in the four biographies which he had completed at that time. In confirmation of his own evaluation, King adds a comment by John Hales, whom he considers to be "the best Critick of our later time," that "He had not seen a Life written with more advantage to the Subject, or more reputation to the Writer, then that of Dr. Donnes." The intimacy between the Kings and Hales seems to have been a close one--a fact which Walton strongly brought out in the 1670s in his collection of notes for Hales' Life. Margaret Crum notes that after the Royalists' failed defence of Chichester in 1642, Henry King fled from his soon-to-be plundered Cathedral and palace with his family and moved to the parish of Sheers, near Guildford, and thence to Blakesware in Hertfordshire. Walton ignores this period in King's life (perhaps because Henry's son John seduced the daughter of a friend in a neighbouring parish during the first stay) and focuses only on King's later removal to the house of Lady Salter, where "they got a steward and a Chaplin (which was their freind Mr Hales) and their they made a kind of

74 Lives (1670) (2). Saintsbury 15.

75 See note 6.
Collage as to praying the Church prayers. rec the Sacramt and // and// . . .76 One might conclude that Hales, who according to Nathaniel Ingelo, joined this "Collage" sometime after King (and a year after his ejection from Eton in 1648), would have been at home in such surroundings. As chaplain to Sir Dudley Carleton at the 1618-19 Synod of Dort, where he "said goodnight to John Calvin," and then canon of Windsor and chaplain to Laud in 1639, Hales' position during the Interregnum would have been as difficult as that of King--the publication in 1642, anonymously and unsanctioned, of his tract on Schism and Schismatics certainly gives some indication of his opposition to Cromwellian rule and his possible sympathy with the latitudinarianism of the Great Tew circle, with which he seems loosely to have been associated.77 That it is Hales' endorsement of the quality of Walton's work which King chooses to repeat in his 1664 letter, and which Walton chooses to include in 1670 and 1675, is surely significant. For if Donne's reputation had been claimed in the 1630s by the tolerant wing of the Anglican Royalists and had stood as an example of virtue and piety in the 40s and 50s, now, after the Restoration, Hales' opinion would appear to stand as a validification of the importance of their efforts for other Anglican Royalists during difficult years of religious and political uncertainty.

76 Crum 20-22

It was, however, Anne King, Henry's sister and Lady Howe by marriage, with whom John Hales had particular affinity. Walton notes her plans to "have Mr Ha. picture taken" and her decision, when the artist arrived too late and then Hales died on May 19, 1656, to create her own memorial by drawing a pencil sketch and composing a poem in which she apologized because
the lines were figur'd by a woman's hand,
who had noe Copy to be guided by
but Hales imprinted in her memory. 78

As her brother had been entrusted with care of Donne's picture, so too Anne King acted as literary executor in paying the first tribute to Hales. 79 It is interesting to note that Jasper Mayne, author of one of the elegies on Donne, praised the drawings contained in her "table Book of Pictures" in a poem which circulated in several manuscript collections. 80 We appear to have come a full circle from the Great Tew poets' memorial of Donne, arranged, possibly, by Henry King, to the praise of one of them of the portrait by King's sister of a man whose opinion King had himself quoted to endorse his friend Walton's continuation of the work begun by the Great Tew poets in the 1630s. But such is the value of a friend's positive testimony

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78 Butt, "Izaak Walton's Collections for Fulman's Life of John Hales," 271.

79 It was also one of the only tributes for many years: the collection of his works, The Golden Remains of the ever-memorable Mr. John Hales of Eton College, was first published in 1659.

80 Crum 22.
that it is scarcely ignored. Moreover, as Walton was well aware, acquaintances were not only useful because they helped to recommend a work to people of similar religious or political persuasions, but also because they could pass on that first hand information without which a biographer could not hope to provide an adequate life or a just evaluation of the reputation of the dead. That Walton himself relied heavily on such sources, even when he was to some extent familiar with his subject himself, is apparent from the Hales notes which, in their fragmentary and rough nature suggest an anecdotal basis for this potential Life which may have been repeated in his other works.

Certainly, the conversational style of the 1651 *Life of Sir Henry Wotton* would imply that much of Walton’s information came from people close to his subject who recounted their own memories, and it seems not unlikely that John Hales was himself one source of such recollections. We know from Walton’s 1665 *Life of Mr Rich. Hooker* that Walton had "many discourses" with Hales about Hooker before Hales' death in 165681 and these conversations may also have included discussion of Wotton, Hales' companion at Eton. Bearing in mind that Walton’s notes on Hales refer only to the years around his time at Eton, it would be reasonable to suppose that Walton was already fairly familiar with the events of this period and that the subject of his last planned Life was also implicated to some extent in the construction of the Life of his second subject. It seems

81 Saintsbury 161
probable that information about Wotton was associated in Walton's mind with Hales; this is certainly suggested, as David Novarr has noted, by the alteration to the Life of Sir Henry Wotton in 1672 (the year before the dating of Walton's letter to Fulman about Hales) of a passage concerning a conversation between the two men. Wotton had said that "though my daves, which truly have been many, and mix'd with more pleasures than the sonnes of men do usually enjoy," but in the later version this was expanded in the next paragraph to "I have in my passage to my grave met with most of those Joys of which a discoursive soul is capable: and, being entertain'd with more inferior pleasures than the sons of men are usually made partakers of." We might also note Walton's use here of "discoursive" which is rather unusual in the period; indeed, OED records the first use of this adjectival form in 1669 in Anthony Wood's Life and Times, where it is used of Mr Davenport who is found to be "a complaisant man, very free and discoursive." Interestingly, the comment occurs in the August 1669 section after a passage relating Gilbert Sheldon's approval of Wood's work and before another one praising the English Roman Catholics for their loyalty to the King "in all the time of his troubles," and describes a man, also a Roman Catholic, with whom Wood was to enjoy a continued acquaintance. Both the context and the sense of the sentence would seem to imply a pleasant toleration in matters of friendship which Walton, even if he is not alluding

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82 Novarr 189. Saintsbury 149.
directly to Wood, has certainly picked up on and is keen to associate with Wotton in his acquaintance with Hales. There is an interesting parallel here between the conversations of Walton with Wotton and Hales, in which biographical information is imparted, and those of Hales and Wotton, in which friendship is confirmed and developed. As his sources become his subjects, Walton appears to become more certain of the value of communication between men of similar interests.

We might recall at this point Walton's description of the "marriage of souls" of Donne and John King in the dedicatory epistle to the 1658 *Life* and the usefulness of spiritual friendship in characterizing a person and creating a picture of them by which future ages shall know them. Friendship, for Walton, clearly has a stronger function than merely allowing him to gather points of information and appears to be of spiritual rather than purely practical value. In the *Life of John Donne*, as we have seen, amity on earth could prefigure the rewards of heaven and could help Walton to emphasize the religious and spiritual in Donne's life rather than the secular and worldly. But even in the Lives where this is not necessary—with Sanderson, for example, for whom a hasty marriage and decidedly profane love poems do not have to be explained away—friendship can serve as a reliable indicator of the esteem in which a

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83 Wotton and Hales also shared a belief in the importance of moderation and tolerance in religious views. Wotton's motto, as Walton records, was "THE ITCH OF DISPUTATION WILL PROVE THE SCAB OF THE CHURCH." Saintsbury 142.
person was held during his lifetime. That mutual esteem is often connected with mutual interests is clearly demonstrated by the relationship of Hooker and Hadrian Saravia, "increasing daily to so high and mutual affections, that their two wills seemed to be but one and the same: and their designs for both the glory of God, and peace of the Church." More important is this evaluation for Walton than virtue assumed because of family history or connections. Henry King had already noted in his elegy that Donne's tomb lacked a coat of arms to "blazon" it, but had implied that such heraldic displays were as worthless as an "easie elegy" produced at the drop of a quill. In a poem on William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (1580-1630) which was collected in King's Stoughton Manuscript, Jasper Mayne also commented, in similar language to that of King, that

Hee that will blaze thy Coates, and only lookes
How thou wert noble by the Heralds bookes
Mistakes thy Linage; and admiring bloud
Forgets thy best descent, Vertue and Good

These are too great for Scutcheons, and make thee
Without Porefathers, thine owne Pedigree.

Although perhaps a common way of flattering the memory of the dead by allusion to their virtue as well as their pedigree, the

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84 Saintsbury 215.
85 Patron of Jonson, Massinger, Jones and Browne, and dedicatee of the Shakespeare First Folio, along with his brother Philip.
86 Hobbs, ed. [114].
comments are nonetheless interesting in the light of the apparent tendency among this group of people to characterize a person in relation to the circles in which he moves. Walton had certainly noted the trend, for, in his Life of Dr. Robert Sanderson he felt the need to play down any possible reference to titles, reminding us that those which are not acquir’d, but deriv’d only, do but shew us who of our Ancestors have, and how they achiev’d that honour which their Descendants claim, and may not be worthy to enjoy.87

But friendship, in contrast, is seen to be a truer indicator of character and something which will, and indeed should, endure a test of time; as Walton comments of Sanderson and Gilbert Sheldon, future Archbishop of Canterbury,

Their first meeting prov’d the beginning of as spiritual a friendship as human nature is capable of; of a friendship free from all self ends: and it continued to be so, till death forc’d a separation of it on earth; but 'tis now reunited in heaven.88

That a measure of Sir Henry Wotton’s character could be gained from similar sources is, despite the family pedigree with which his Life opens, equally apparent. There has been

87 Saintsbury 350.

88 Saintsbury 361. Apparently Sheldon, then an undergraduate, was convinced that his summons to the Proctor meant that he had broken a university statute, "the fear of which made his Bed restless that night." Hooker’s father was Sheldon’s god-father and had suggested a meeting.
speculation that Walton was the editor of the *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, a collection of Wotton's essays and letters, which Richard Marriot brought out in 1651. Certainly, the dedication is signed J: W:, the picture of Wotton by Dolle (leaning on his left arm which is resting on a table) is the same as that in the 1670 *Lives*, also published by Marriot, and Walton's *Life* was published for the first time within the same rather hurriedly produced volume in the company of Wotton's tracts on moral architecture and kingship and his panegyric on King Charles. One quirky piece of information might, however, add further weight to the suggestion that Walton was involved as editor: would anyone other than Walton have included "fish ponds" as the last item of interest on the contents page? It seems unlikely. But whatever Walton's role he would doubtless have been aware of the correspondence between Wotton and numerous prominent political figures, which showed the diplomat to be a highly respected player in international and domestic affairs. Even King James, upon his arrival in England, summoned Wotton because of his reputation and his wisdom in matters of travel and business.89 The emphasis on friendships and acquaintances in the *Life of Wotton* clearly has a highly charged political air which should remind us that Walton's focus on relationships, even when, as with Donne, it gives a decidedly spiritual edge to his interpretation of a character, is never employed without external or non-personal motivations. Nor is the reference to

89 Saintsbury 112.
fish ponds, if it is Walton’s, as naive or irrelevant as it might seem—for, as a letter from Wotton to Walton about the progress of the Life and Death of Dr. Donne makes clear, literature, business and angling are closely connected:

I shall write at large to you by the next messenger (being at present a little in business), and then I shall set downe certain general heads, wherein I desire information by your loving diligence; hoping shortly to enjoy your own ever-welcome company in this approaching time of the fly and the cork. \(^9^0\)

We can only presume that many of Walton and Wotton’s discussions on other subjects associated with the state of the Church and religion generally also took place on the banks of the Thames where

> When I would beget content, and increase confidence in the Power, and Wisdom, and Providence of Almighty God, I will walk with the Meadows by some gliding stream, and there contemplate the Lillies that take no care, and those very many other various little living creatures, that are not only created but fed (man knows not how) by the goodness of the God of Nature, and therefore trust in him. \(^9^1\)

If pastimes are an indication of the interests of a person, then

\(^9^0\) Smith 2: 405.

descriptions of the company he keeps whilst pursuing them can serve to locate them within a wider frame of cultural and political reference. And without recourse to this "company" Walton would have neither information for his biographies, nor a like-minded audience to whom he could address his carefully focused work.

The full significance of the relationship between Anglicans and anglers has only recently been brought out by Jonquil Bevan's study of Walton's _Compleat Angler_ and its various stages of revision during the 1650s. As she demonstrates, there are several reasons for seeing the work as being addressed to the deposed clergy of the Cromwellian era and indeed for seeing its emphasis on the peacefulness, moderation and good nature of the anglers as a call to others to follow such behaviour in difficult times--for "angling seems more a kind of moral vocation than a sport."92 Again, we might add, it is one practised by men of similar inclinations. Given also that the many major changes in content and illustration are only made possible by the publisher, Richard Marriot's willingness to expand the text, it is particularly interesting to note that Walton is involved at this time with other publications by the same publisher, many of which would appear to support Walton's Anglican Royalist agenda. Among the numerous Marriot works of the 1650s (with Thomas Maxey) are Donne's _Essays in Divinity_.

(1651), Henry King's *Poems, elegies, paradoxes, and sonnets* (1652), and Edward Sparkes' *Scintillula altaris* (1652) which contained a short verse by Walton praising the organization of the book around the church calendar so that "Each Saints day/ Stands as a land-mark in an erring age."^93^ Marriot and the printers with whom he worked were apparently willing to take risks for their cause--as Bevan notes, John Grismond, with whom Marriot worked after the death of Thomas Maxey in 1656/7 had even dared to print the politically sensitive work, *Eikon basilike*, which led to his being charged in 1649 with bringing out a "virulent and scandalous pamphlet."^94^ 

The bookseller and printer would seem to be a vital link in the process of providing resistance to the Cromwellian government. Looking back on this period, Walton recalls a story told him by Sanderson (whom Walton had met in a booksellers in Little Britain) of a non-conformist who had complained to the bookseller that "he had sold a book in which there was false Divinity; and that the Preface had upbraided the Parliament, and many godly Ministers of that party for unjust dealing." Sanderson's repetition of the booksellers response is ironically revealing:

To which his Reply was, ('twas Tim Garthwaite) "That 'twas not his Trade to judge of true or false

^93^ Shepherd N.pag. And see Bevan "Izaak Walton and his Publisher," 347-8.

^94^ Bevan "Izaak Walton and his Publisher," 350.
Divinity, but to print and sell Books: and yet if he, or any friend of his would write an Answer to it, and own it by setting his Name to it, he would print the Answer, and promote the selling of it.\textsuperscript{95}

But the production of books is hardly so apolitical, and Walton's own involvement with Marriot's enterprise in the 50s would seem to disprove Sanderson's thesis. Indeed, one only has to compare Marriot's publication list with the actions of some of the Anglican protagonists in the early 50s—a time of very limited religious indulgence to the High Church supporters—to see a sense of common purpose. For example, Anthony Farindon was one of the few priests noted for his refusal to stop celebrating the Eucharist regularly: Marriot published his sermons in 1657.\textsuperscript{96} In addition, though unconnected with Marriot, Jasper Mayne, 1633 elegist on Donne, was in charge of a church which became known as a centre for pro-Anglican propaganda and translated Donne's Latin epigrams for the 1652 \textit{Paradoxes, Problems, Essays, Characters}.\textsuperscript{97} The publication of the works of known High Church activists at this time can be seen to be no coincidence if we bear in mind the fact that Henry Hammond, member of Great Tew, and now principal orchestrator of the Church's defence, had set himself and his colleagues the task of justifying the Church's intransigence on

\textsuperscript{95} Saintsbury 392-3.

\textsuperscript{96} Bosher 12.

\textsuperscript{97} Bosher 29.
theological and historical grounds--leading, paradoxically, as Robert Bosher has pointed out, to the Interregnum becoming a "golden age of High Anglican theology and apologetic."\textsuperscript{98} As Brian Duppa, uncle to the Lady Salter with whom Hales and King made their "collage," remarked to Anthony Farindon, 

Certainly there was never more need of the press, than when the pulpits . . . are shut up . . . Let all good sons of the Church go on their duty, and when they can no longer preach to the ears of man, let them preach to their eyes.\textsuperscript{99}

In the case of Walton and Marriot, these political allegiances were closely bound up with personal ties. For, in matters of religion, as in matters of friendship, it is often difficult to separate the public from the private. The characterization of a man through his acquaintances and day to day pursuits upon which Walton bases his often anecdotal biographies can also be applied to the biographer. That, in this case, the two parties worked to their mutual benefit is clear from Bevan's careful work which has traced their work from the earliest elegies on Donne, to Richard Marriot's publication in 1673, without prefatory matter, of Hales' \textit{Sermons}--seemingly in anticipation of the biography which Walton was about to write. The esteem in which Walton held his long-time friend is

\textsuperscript{98} Bosher 36.

\textsuperscript{99} Tanner MSS., Bodleian Library, 52, fol. 207. Bosher 37.
suggested by Walton's bequest to Marriot of one of his mourning rings and the note in his Will that

I give my old friend Mr Richard Marriot ten pownd in mony, to be paid him within 3. months after my deth. and I desyre my son to show kindness to him if he shall neide, and my son can spare it.\textsuperscript{100}

Without the support of a sympathetic publisher, Walton would have had no outlet for his descriptions of the pastimes and friendships of other men of similar religious and political beliefs.

Part 2: Women and the Role of the Biographer

Writing of women, the young John Donne asked,

doe wee, in that easynesse and prodigality wherein we
dayly loose our owne soules, allow soules to wee care
not whom, and so labour to perswade out [sic] selves
that sith a woman hath a soule, a soule is no great
matter? 101

Although Donne’s apparent misogynism is easily excused by
consideration of the playful tones of the Paradoxes and
Problems, we might wonder if the sentiments of his biographer
have the same contextual explanation. It is not that Walton
denies to womankind souls, as Donne would jestingly have us do;
it is just that he largely ignores the female presence in the
biographies of his male subjects. His focus may, perhaps, be
attributed to the emphasis which he wanted to place on
friendships between men of common interests and opinions, and
the way in which these amicable relationships demonstrate a
person’s character and the esteem in which he was held by those
who knew him. Specifically, a man’s ability to survive in a
political world would seem to be measured by his verbal skills.
It is a perceived lack of such skills which leads Walton to have
his subject in the Life of Dr. Robert Sanderson express the wish

101 John Donne, Paradoxes and Problems, ed. Helen Peters
that he had taken the position of chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton
when Wotton went ambassador to the State of Venice, so that he
might have conversed "with several men of several Nations; and
might thereby have kept myself from my unmanly bashfulness." Inadequacy in discourse appears to have been considered
emasculating, though whether by Sanderson or by Walton as
ventriloquist is uncertain. As the Reliquiae Wottonianae makes
clear, though, this was not a problem which Sir Henry had to
worry about. Indeed, an addition in the 1672 Life of Sir Henry
Wotton, to which I have already referred, suggests that he
associated full enjoyment of life with normal, day-to-day
relations and communications:

I have in my passage to my grave met with most of
those Joys of which a discoursive soul is capable; and
being entertain'd with more inferior pleasures than
the sons of men are usually partakers of.

The discursive emphasis is, however, very much on the sons. And
in biographies where communication between men of similar
interests is paramount, we might ask what Walton's attitudes to
the women associated with his subjects are, what is included and
what is excluded from his representation of their relationships,
and why he chooses to associate them with certain historical
types or constructions of womanhood.

102 Saintsbury 396.
103 Saintsbury 149.
Where women do play a part in the mens' lives and reputations, they do not usually appear to exert a positive influence. Joan Churchman may serve as a case in point, having been accepted as a wife by Hooker, according to Walton, because he was too trusting of her mother and had too bad eyesight to discern the faults of her appearance. Not content to cast aspersions on her looks and character, Walton also makes her responsible for the confusion over the textual history of Hooker's Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity—for reasons which, as C.J. Sisson has shown, have more to do with a clash of family interests than any real fault on her part.\textsuperscript{104} The fortunes of Ann More are not much better, her marriage to Donne being blamed for his loss of worldly opportunities and poverty.\textsuperscript{105} The last version of the Life of Dr. John Donne (1675) does go some way towards remedying this rather biased picture by emphasizing their spiritual affinity and closeness even when separated. But one might suspect that Walton's inclusion of the probably fabricated story of Donne's vision of his wife's miscarriage is made because the episode usefully illustrates that Donne, like his great spiritual predecessors, Augustine, Bildad (in the book of Job) and Saul, had visions at important moments in his

\textsuperscript{104} C.J. Sisson, The Judicious Marriage of Mr Hooker and the Birth of The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1940).

\textsuperscript{105} Life of John Donne (1658) 20-23 and 74--"His marriage was the remarkable errour of his life." And see the addition to the Life, 1670 28-31 of Donne's letters, explaining that his depression is caused by fear for the health of his family. Saintsbury 30-31; 60; 36-38.
life. Likewise, the 1658 expansion of the passages referring to his mourning of her death, "like a Pelican in the wildernes" allows comparison to be made between Donne in his suffering and such biblical types as Jeremiah ("Lo, I am the man that have seen affliction") and even Christ himself. And, of course, Donne quickly turns from his sorrow to consideration of his duty to God, and St Paul's phrase, "Wo is me if I preach not the Gospel." If Donne's relationship with his wife is largely played down in order to stress his spiritual calling to the Church, and if his potential as a great preacher and divine is only realized after her death, are we to conclude that a man's reputation is not strengthened by closeness to a woman? Might we furthermore suppose that no spiritual friendship, or the "marriage of souls" which Walton identified between Donne and John King, can exist for a man and a woman?

The character of Magdalen Danvers would seem to suggest that, if this is on the whole the case, there are at least some exceptions. Walton's interest in her friendship with Donne corresponds with his increasing awareness of the importance of the relationship between Donne and her son by her first marriage, George Herbert. Significantly, too, the first tentative steps which Walton admits he is taking towards writing

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106 Life of Dr. John Donne (1675) 29-32. Saintsbury 39-41. And see R.E. Bennet, "Donne's Letters from the Continent in 1611-12."

107 Life of John Donne (1658) 53. Saintsbury 51.

108 Dedicatory Epistle to The Life of John Donne (1658).
the life of this woman, --"of whose person and wisdom, and
vertue, I intend to give a true account in a seasonable
place"¹⁰⁹--are found in a biography which opens with a
description of the administration by Mary Magdalen of rites of
death to the dying Christ.¹¹⁰ Is a comparison intended--as
Donne had indeed suggested in a dedicatory poem to his now lost
Hymns which Walton included in the Life of Mr. George
Herbert¹¹¹--between the two Magdalens? Do the ministrations of
this suppliant woman grant her a place within the world of
spiritual biography which usually focuses, as Walton
acknowledges, on "patterns of Apostolicall Charity?"¹¹²

Before we rush to reclaim Walton as a feminist theologian,
a note of caution should be sounded. The main reason for the
inclusion of details of Magdalen Danvers in the Life of Mr.
George Herbert is that it allows Walton to discuss the
friendship between her son and Donne, and to give yet another
example of the spiritual affinity of two men. She is only
granted what me might call digressionary status, for, as Walton
reminds us,

my design was not to write hers, but the Life of her
Son; and therefore I shall only tell my Reader, that
... I saw and heard this Mr. John Donne (who was

¹⁰⁹ Saintsbury 261.

¹¹⁰ Saintsbury 258-9.

¹¹¹ Saintsbury 266-7.

¹¹² Life of John Donne (1658) 25. Saintsbury 32.
then Dean of St. Pauls) weep, and preach her Funeral Sermon, in the Parish-Church of Chelsey near London, where she now rests in her quiet Grave; and where we must now leave her, and return to her Son George, whom we left in his Study in Cambridge." Still, the digression proved to be a useful one, for Walton borrowed phrases from Donne's sermon to describe the preacher's own preparation for death. For example, Donne said of her, "wee were more miserable if wee might not die," and Walton records that Donne, on his deathbed, asserted "I were miserable if I might not dye." It was also an interest in Donne's death which led Walton to include details of Donne's seal--of Christ upon an anchor, "drawn in little" and engraved "very small in Heliotropian Stones, and set in gold"--in the 1658 Life. Walton implied, wrongly, as Helen Gardner has shown, that he gave such a seal to Herbert shortly before dying and that Herbert then composed a poem on it. The resulting verses "In Sacram Anchoram Piscatoris" were included in, as ever, varying forms in the different versions of the Life of John Donne, the most notable textual change being in the quatrain which in the 1650 volume of Herbert's poems reads,

113 Saintsbury 267.

114 And see Simpson, "The Biographical Value of Donne's Sermons."

115 Life of John Donne (1658) 80.

When Love being weary made an end
Of kinde Expressions to his friend,
He writ; when's hand could write no more,
He gave the Seale, and so left o're.\textsuperscript{117}

In 1658 Walton rephrased the stanza considerably and changed the last line to "He gave his soul, and so gave o're."\textsuperscript{118} The passing on of a coat of arms in a family usually takes place through the male line, but it would seem here that the act of giving a seal bearing such a "herald" (as King called it in his elegy on Donne\textsuperscript{119}) is especially significant within male friendship, standing metonymically, it would appear, for what Walton had elsewhere called a "marriage of souls." Thereby can, perhaps, be explained Walton's use of Herbert's family motto a few lines after the description of the seals; in his deathbed scene, Donne is made to echo the realization of human weakness which Herbert took as his maxim, when he confides, "And my preparation for this change is become my nightly meditation upon my bed, which my infirmities have now made restlesse to me .. . who am \textit{lesse then the least of his mercies}\textsuperscript{120}[my emphasis]. Such is the spiritual understanding between these two religious men that the adopted words of one spring naturally to the mouth of the other as he prepares for death. But, we might ask, if

\textsuperscript{117} Qtd. in Gardner 145.

\textsuperscript{118} \textit{Life of John Donne} (1658) 85.

\textsuperscript{119} Grierson 1: 371.

\textsuperscript{120} Added to the \textit{Life of John Donne} (1658) 107.
the giving of seals is interchangeable with the giving of souls, should we assume that women are excluded from such a commun(icat)ion?

Not necessarily. In "An Acknowledgment," written to a parting female friend, Henry King had used the emblem of Christ and the anchor as consolation that he and his loved one would be reunited. After the initial sadness which the picture occasions--

Lastly the Anchor which enfast'ned lyes
Upon a paire of Deaths, sadly applyes
That Monument of Rest . . .

--King allows himself enough "poore Comfort" to be able to conclude the lament, safe in the knowledge that "Yet Death shall fixe and anchor mee with You." He is as certain here and in his "Exequy"121 as in the poems on his father or Donne that souls, whether male or female, will be united. Moreover, even Walton does admit that the friendship of man and woman may have a religious, or even sacramental quality to it--with the evidence of Donne and Magdalen Danvers' letters in his hand, he is able to confirm that there were "many sacred Indearments betwixt these two excellent persons."122 He even suggests that, had she not died before Donne, he would have sent her one of his seals too. Curiously, though, her name is only added to the list of

121 Probably written on the death of his wife. Crum 10.

122 Saintsbury 267. Interestingly, a similar phrase is used of Donne and Herbert in an addition to the Life of John Donne (1658) 82.
potential recipients in 1670\textsuperscript{123}; in 1640 and 1658, we can only assume, Walton had forgotten to include her. He is generally cautious in his discussions of their relationship and is especially and perhaps unnecessarily concerned to stress the lack of sexual interest on either side. A page or so earlier in the \textit{Life of Herbert} he reminds us, with all the circumlocutory skills and typological examples of a seventeenth-century biographer, that

This Amity, begun at this time, and place, was not an \textit{Amity} that polluted their Souls; but an \textit{Amity} made up of a chain of suitable inclinations and vertues; an \textit{Amity}, like that of St. Chrysostoms to his dear and vertuous Olimpias; whom, in his Letters, he calls his \textit{Saint}: Or, an \textit{Amity} indeed more like that of St. Hierom to his Paula; whose affection to her was such, that he turn’d Poet in his old Age, and then made her \textit{Epitaph}; \textit{wishing all his Body were turn’d into Tongues}, that he might declare her \textit{just praises to posterity}.

\textsuperscript{124}

Perhaps the gentleman doth protest a little too proverbially? And, just in case we are not convinced by these protestations, Walton also informs us that Donne’s poem "The Autumnal" was written to celebrate the beauty of Magdalen Danvers in her later

\textsuperscript{123} \textit{Life of Dr. John Donne} (1670) 56. Saintsbury 63.

\textsuperscript{124} Saintsbury 265.
years.\textsuperscript{125} But, as many doubting commentators have as good as pointed out, even the most post-menopausal of women would hardly consider herself flattered if she were told to "Call not these wrinkles graves; If graves they were/ They were Loves graves; for else he is no where," or were compared to those "Whose very tooth to a severall place is gone,/ To vexe their soules at Resurrection."\textsuperscript{126} Perhaps she would be relieved to know that, by this time, Donne does believe women to have souls, but otherwise she might consider herself to be damned by faint praise. Admittedly, Walton does not quote the most obviously counter-blazonic lines in the Life, but he does conclude his paragraph with the pointed observation that "both he and she were then past the meridian of mans life."\textsuperscript{127} It would be unfair to suggest that Walton thought that the poem's subject was not Magdalen Danvers and that it would not have flattered her to think that she was, but deliberately said so in order to de-emphasize any possible interest between the two--for that would suppose that he thought that such an interest existed, and there is no evidence beyond his rather prudish protestations to the contrary to support such a supposition. But the attribution of the poem is startling nonetheless. It is also interesting to note that in this most extensive of his few portraits of women, Walton feels it necessary to de-sexualize his subject and to

\textsuperscript{125} Saintsbury 265.

\textsuperscript{126} "The Autumnal," Grierson 1: 92-4.

\textsuperscript{127} Saintsbury 265.
dwell in a positive way only on her spiritual qualities.

A similar treatment is given to Magdalen’s biblical namesake a few pages earlier, where Walton cautions us that

I call her Saint, because I did not then, nor do now consider her, as when she was possest with seven Devils; not as when her wanton Eyes, and dishevel’d Hair, were designed and manag’d, to charm and insnare amorous Beholders: But I did then, and do now consider her, as after she had exprest a visible and sacred sorrow for her sensualities; as after those Eyes had wept such a flood of penitential tears as did wash, and that hair had wip’t, and she most passionately kist the feet of hers, and our blessed Jesus.\(^{128}\)

Walton differs in his presentation from other writers of the period. On the one hand, Richard Crashaw’s Roman Catholic sensibilities had not failed to bring out, in overtly pictorial terms, the full passion of Mary Magdalen’s suffering. The epigram which accompanied the portrait of her with a flaming and weeping winged heart, in his \textit{Carmen Deo Nostro}, suggests the eroticism of his interpretation:

\begin{quote}
Loe where a WOUNDED HEART with Bleeding \textit{Eyes} conspire,

Is she a FLAMING Fountain or a WEEPING Fire!\(^{129}\)
\end{quote}

On the other hand, Jeremy Taylor provides a distinctly prosaic

\(^{128}\) Saintsbury 258-9.

\(^{129}\) Qtd. in Rosemary Freeman, \textit{English Emblem Books} (London: Chatto and Windus, 1967) 139.
(not to mention Protestant) depiction in *Holy Dying* (which Walton had intended to and seemingly did consult for his 1658 *Life of John Donne*),¹³⁰ where her ministrations demonstrate the importance of the rites of death, even despite Christ’s usual pecuniary restraint in such matters:

> And our blessed Saviour who was temperate in his expence . . . yet was pleased to admit the cost of Maries ointment upon his head and feet . . . by which he remarked it to be a great act of piety, and honourable to inter our friends and relatives according to the proportions of their condition, and so to give a testimony of our hope of their resurrection.¹³¹

Although Walton is clearly far from providing a similar picture to that painted by Crashaw, contrast with the sheer practicality of Taylor’s focus serves to highlight just how sensual Walton’s depiction of Mary’s "wanton" features is, despite his insistence that he does not see her in such terms. Like Philip Stubbes in his *Anatomy of Abuses*, Walton seems to have spent considerable time contemplating something in which he professes not to be showing an interest.

So what are we to make of the Magdalens? David Novarr thinks that the references to Mary Magdalen are included so as to provide a parallel with the progression of Herbert’s life,

¹³⁰ Novarr 500.

¹³¹ Taylor 230.
which also moved from the worldly to the spiritual.\(^{132}\) This parallel might itself be paralleled by the friendship of Donne and Magdalen Danvers which also stresses spirituality. Both cases would explain the need to attempt to de-sexualize the two Magdalens and to emphasize a "marriage of souls" in any discussion of human relations. But there is perhaps another explanation, which Walton himself hints at in his meditation. The strength of Mary's reformed character is suggested in all seriousness by Walton in his description of her concern to do the best she can by her dying friend, to ease his pain, and to preserve his body. Her reward is supplied by Christ who gives her a "testimony" that

her Alabaster box of precious ointment poured on his head and feet, and that Spikenard, and those Spices that were by her dedicated to embalm and preserve his sacred body from putrefaction, should so far preserve her own memory, that these demonstrations of her sanctified love, and her officious, and generous gratitude, should be recorded and mentioned wheresoever his Gospel should be read: intending thereby, that as his, so her name should also live to succeeding generations, even till time it self shall be no more.\(^{133}\)

\(^{132}\) Novarr 314.

\(^{133}\) Saintsbury 259. See also the 1636 edition in the Bodleian Library of the work of Walton's nephew-in-law, Henry Valentine, *Private Devotions*, which is bound with a picture of Mary Magdalen
If this would imply that she has found her fulfilment in life and will find her reward in death in giving service to a man by passing on his testimony to the world, this should not cause undue concern, even to the most feminist of commentators. Walton would be the last person to denigrate such a profession—which can, it would seem, be undertaken with equal aptitude by both men and women. It was, after all, how he made his own reputation.

Chapter 3--1660-1683

Works, the Restoration, and the Restoration of Reputation

Biography is not the only writing to allow the memory of the dead to be kept alive. In another of the 1658 additions to the Life of Donne, Walton praised Herbert’s Temple in a parenthetical aside as

A book, by the frequent reading whereof, and the assistance of that Spirit that seemed to inspire the Author, the Reader may attain habits of peace and piety, and all the gifts of the Holy Ghost and Heaven; and by still reading, still keep those sacred fires burning upon the Altar of so pure a heart, as shall be freed from the anxieties of this world, and fixt upon things that are above.\(^{134}\)

As the repetition in "and by still reading, still keep" suggests, the act of perusal of an author’s works preserves his thoughts and beliefs in a similar way to that in which a biographer acts to record for posterity. But of course, the availability of such works to be bought and read depends, as does the existence of biography, upon a literary executor who steps forward, as Michael Millgate has observed, to exercise a "substituted intentionality"\(^ {135}\) and to decide what is to be done with an author’s papers. If all writers burned their papers

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\(^{134}\) Life of John Donne (1658) 82.

\(^{135}\) Millgate 4.
before they died—as Sir Henry Wotton did to some of his—then this "testamentary act" would never take place. Thankfully, when Herbert entrusted his papers before his death to Nicholas Ferrar with instructions to burn them or publish them, whichever he saw fit, Ferrar thought it appropriate to publish. But an author's intentions are not always so clear: as Walton remarked, in response to a suggestion from friend about a marginal note that Sir John Skeffington was going to include in his *Heroe of Lorenzo* (1652), "he and those thoughts are now buried in the silent Grave."¹³⁶

It has already been noted in relation to Walton's biography of Donne that the works of an author and the perceived intentions behind them can cause problems for a biographer who, for whatever complex reasons, feels the need to give a certain slant or focus to his presentation of the life and thus finds it necessary to make the author's works fit into this scheme. For Donne's son, editing the *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour*, the most urgent demand was to make it appear that his father had only respectable friends; this, at least, seems to be the reason why he changed the addressees of his father's letters where it suited him.¹³⁷ For Walton, the most pressing problem was to

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¹³⁶ Shepherd, ed., "Preface to Sir John Skeffington's Heroe of Lorenzo," *PMLA* 56 (1941): 120-140. Ian Shapiro, "The Text of Donne's Letters to Severall Persons," *RES* 7 (1931): 289-300. Donne the Younger was, however, as aware as anyone of the risks of entrusting work to an executor: his own Will warns "I desire my executor to interpret my meaning in this request by my word, and
balance the spiritual with the secular and to produce a biography worthy of the Dean of St Paul's. But with the later Lives, the situation appears to have been slightly different. Whereas with the *Life of John Donne* it now seems that the meaning of the early secular poems was abundantly clear, (and this, indeed, was the problem), with the biographies of Hooker and Sanderson it is far less certain what the significance of their work was to Walton. In order to disentangle some of the multiple and varied motives behind his analysis of their work, it is necessary to ask not only why he was attempting to present them in a certain light, but also to perceive how his response might have differed from those of his contemporaries, and how all of these responses may have been influenced or conditioned by historical and political concerns.

The question of what Hooker did, or indeed did not say in his *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* has puzzled editors since John Spencer in 1604 claimed that the last three books of Hooker's literary offspring were stolen and corrupted by

some evill disposed mindes, whether of malice, or covetousnesse, or wicked blind Zeale, it is uncerteine . . . [who] as soone as they were borne, and their father dead, smothered them, and by conveying away the perfect Copies, left unto us nothing but certaine olde

not by his own discretion; who, peradventure, for fashion sake, and apprehending we shall never meet, may think to order things better for my credit." Qtd in Hamilton 15.
unperfect and mangled draughts, dismembered into pieces, and scattered like Medeas Absyrtus.\textsuperscript{138}

John Gauden appeared to think that he had found the texts of the last three of the eight books when he brought out his edition in 1662. But it is clear that those in authority in the Restoration Church of England were not impressed with his work--either because of the contents of Hooker's text itself or because the biography which accompanied it did not portray Hooker in a way that pleased them. Gilbert Sheldon, right hand man to the dying Archbishop of Canterbury, William Juxon, and dedicatee of Gauden's volume, appears to have requested that Walton should write another biography, and Walton acquiesced, concluding that "if I did not, I could not forbear accusing myself of disobedience: And, indeed of Ingratitude for his many favours."\textsuperscript{139} Sheldon's twentieth-century biographer, Vernon Staley, asserts that the incident "discloses both the justice and the kindness of Archbishop Sheldon, and it is a pleasure to relate it,"\textsuperscript{140} but the matter is hardly so simple. For why would Sheldon commission a biography so soon after the completion of one which appeared, on the surface at least, to flatter both him and the Church of England, and why should Walton rush to bring out the third of his Lives (and the only

\textsuperscript{138} Qt. in Sisson 82.

\textsuperscript{139} Epistle to the Reader, Lives (1675). Saintsbury 6.

\textsuperscript{140} Vernon Staley, The Life and Times of Gilbert Sheldon (London: Wells Gardner, Darton, 1913) 117.
one to be published alone in its initial edition) in such haste, unless the Church establishment had urgent reasons for replacing Gauden's work with something more appropriate?

It is in the combination of Gauden's biography and Hooker's works that the difficulty seems to lie. As several Hooker commentators have noted, Gauden's 1662 volume was the first to include Book 7 of the Laws, which dealt, controversially, with matters of church government, episcopal succession, and divine right.141 Quite what Hooker's views on these subjects was, is unclear, for there are passages which appear to contradict each other, but this, it seems was the problem—not for Gauden, whose relatively Low Church stance could easily encompass Hooker's very moderate views on the offices of the ministry—but for the Laudian wing of the Restoration Church which was, as Raymond Houk has pointed out, "in no mood for moderate preachments"142 after having spent so long regaining the power which it had lost in the 40s. And at a time when theories of social contract were again becoming popular, the Laudians, who had pledged their adherence to Charles in return for reassurances about Church property, would not be willing to compromise on issues of government—ecclesiastical or monarchical.143 If Sheldon and


142 Houk 122.

143 Bosher, Chapter 5. Novarr 204.
his followers were looking for absolute pronouncements on the
validity of High Church practice and belief in episcopacy and
divinely sanctioned monarchy, then they would find them neither
in Gauden's biography nor in Hooker's writing. Although Gauden
appears to be flattering Sheldon by emphasizing that the basis
of the country's security lay in the joint prosperity of Church
and State, his explanation of the breakdown of this unity and
the fall of both in the 1640s--which he feels to be due to
excessive regard for ceremony--would appear actually to
criticize current Anglican practice.144 This in itself would
be enough to irritate Sheldon, who may, as David Novarr has
suggested, have been further annoyed when he realized that
Hooker's work, which he probably presumed supported the High
Church position when he first sanctioned Gauden's edition, was
actually extremely problematic in places.145 We might also
note, at this point, that Gauden's biography is long winded,
badly written, and basically inaccurate in stating that Hooker
lived and died a bachelor.

But Gauden's error allowed Walton a way around the
potential difficulties of Hooker's last three Books. As C.J.
Sisson has shown, in an argument which does not need to be
repeated here, Walton succeeded in blaming Mrs Hooker for the
confusion over the authenticity of these works by stating that

144 John Gauden, ed., The Works of Mr Richard Hooker (London:
J Best for Andrew Crook, 1662) 4.

145 Novarr 222.
she allowed Puritan supporters to remove and alter the manuscripts from her dead husband's study. There is, of course, no evidence that she did such a thing, and indeed, Sisson has shown, the allegations probably came about because of bitterness between Mrs Hooker and her daughters and the Cranmer and Spencer families (to whom Walton was related,\footnote{The mother of Rachel Floud, Walton's first wife, was Susanna Cranmer, who was descended from Archbishop Cranmer, and whose sister had married John Spencer, Hooker's literary executor and first editor.} and with whom the Kings were long-time acquaintances) over the conditions of Hooker's Will relating to the publication of his works. This was useful for Walton's purpose (encouraged, we presume, by Sheldon) because inconsistencies in Hooker's arguments, or any passages which were embarrassing to High Church sensibilities, could then be explained away in terms of textual corruption and the actions of unscrupulous literary executors. Walton did not himself undertake such an explanation, for, as he notes in his appendix on the bibliographical history of the works,

In this relation concerning these three doubtful Books of Mr Hookers, my purpose was to enquire, then set down what I observ'd and know, which I have done, not as an engaged person, but indifferently; and now, leave my Reader to give sentence, for their legitimation, as to himself.\footnote{Saintsbury 236.}

Despite his disingenuously diffident tones, however, it is clear
to what conclusions he expects his reader will come. Hooker's arguments can be used to support current church policy, and where they cannot, they are not actually his arguments.

Evidence of Walton's keenness to reclaim Hooker for the Church of England is elsewhere suggested by his inclusion of a letter from George Cranmer (nephew of the archbishop) to Hooker, which had first appeared in a 1642 work entitled *Concerning the New Church Discipline*,\(^{148}\) probably, as David Novarr surmises, in an attempt to bolster the royalist episcopalian cause then.\(^{149}\) The parallel which Cranmer drew between Hooker and his intellectual forerunner, Archbishop John Whitgift, would have been particularly welcome to Walton as it moved the debate out of the volatile world of Stuart politics back into the Elizabethan era which must, in comparison, have seemed like a golden age of stability and reason. We are invited, by association, to imagine that Hooker would have wanted to have produced a similar reasoned exposé of the Puritans' perceived attempts to overthrow the monarchy and the episcopacy by arguing for the disestablishment of the two.

Such a juxtaposition of associated ideas with associated people serves to demonstrate again the importance of acquaintances. The *Life of Mr. Rich. Hooker* appears to have been influenced by Walton's family connections, by a consideration of Hooker/Churchman relations, and by Hooker's own

\(^{148}\) Saintsbury 236-249.

\(^{149}\) Novarr 248.
friendships. These concerns also spill over, it could be argued, into Walton's choice of his subjects for his biographies, and his decision to draw four only loosely related men together in his 1670 collection of Livgo. Is one to judge a man by the company he keeps in the volume of biographies in which his life is metonymically contained? Is this the shelf on which one places Gauden's "pinte-pot"? That Walton thinks so is suggested by his comment in the Introduction to his Life of Mr. George Herbert where he apologizes for having presumed to write the Life of someone he did not know and for having placed it, in its first edition, along with the Lives of Donne, Wotton and Hooker. But, he explains, as he

was worthy to be their friend, and very many of his have been mine; I judge it may not be unacceptable to those that knew any of them in their lives, or do now know mine, or their own Writings, to see this Conjunction of them after their deaths.150

His explanation here may also, incidentally, draw attention to another reason why Gauden's 1662 Life had to be answered by one of his own. Gauden had complained, as justification for his own enterprise, that no one had written a biography of Hooker, and had implied that one of the reasons why "writers of the lives of some English Divines" had passed him over was that

they took him to be no friend to their parties—or they did him this right, to esteem him (gravissimum &

150 Saintsbury 259.
intractabilem adversarium) as a very learned, so a very heavy Adversary; not to be commended by them, because never to be answered.151

Admittedly, the main thrust of his argument seems to be against those who were "non-conform" to the Church of England, but we might ask how many Puritan writers had written biographies of English divines which had gained notoriety similar to those of Walton. Few, it would seem. Perhaps Walton, responding to the challenge which Gauden had implicitly set down, felt that he could not afford to have the public think that he could not write a biography of Hooker because he lacked the intellectual skills to deal with Hooker’s weighty reasoning, or, more importantly, because Hooker would not have been considered to have been of the same party, and thus not in good company with Donne and Wotton and, later, Herbert and Sanderson.

The implications of such a possibility are two-fold: firstly, one might conclude that the people with whom one is associated in death provide as important an indication of character as those friends one has during life,152 and secondly, and consequentially, that creating an accurate picture of the life of the dead is often only of secondary importance when compared with the biographer’s interest in responding to contemporary situations and much more recent issues. Michael

151 Gauden 2.

152 George Eliot and Karl Marx may not agree.
Millgate has noted, in relation to nineteenth-century recollections on life and death, that

Obituaries, eulogies, funerals, memorials, biographies, new editions, and executorial actions of every kind, though referred to the dead and to the past, signify only within the present and the future, and keeping "alive" the memory of departed genius may serve equally, or even primarily, to give meaning to the lives of the living.\(^{153}\)

Writing in 1662 of the seventeenth century's response to Hooker's *Laws*, Thomas Fuller was rather more blunt and suspicious:

True it is, his book in our late times was beheld as an old almanac grown out of date; but blessed be God, there is now a revolution, which may bring his works again into reputation.\(^{154}\)

Works are seen here to be held in esteem not because of any sense of the intrinsic worth of the author or his writings, but simply because his ideas are currently fashionable. The events surrounding the publication of Gauden and Walton's volumes certainly suggest that interest in Hooker's work increased around this time because the political climate of debate about monarchy and episcopacy favoured such an interest. Revolutions,

\(^{153}\) Millgate 199.

like restorations, take place in politics as well as in literary
taste.

The thinkers of Great Tew--who included Sheldon, Sanderson,
Morley, Henry Hammond, and Edward Hyde--had been strong admirers
of Hooker; as Hugh Trevor-Roper notes, The Religion of
Protestants (1638), work of William Chillingworth, nephew of
Archbishop Laud, rests on the theological conclusions drawn by
Hooker's Laws. At that stage the Tevians were, however,
critical of monarchical absolutism and the rigidities of Laud's
church government, and appear to have favoured Hooker more for
his moderation than for his perceived championing of the
Anglican Royalist cause. Quite what their views on such
subjects were during the Interregnum is less certain and
commentators have tended to waver between focusing on their
willingness to take risks for the Church and King and
questioning whether they ever really abandoned their belief in
the importance of consent and convenience in the government of
the Church and State. Walton does not seem to have been any
more definite on the subject, and this uncertainty, combined
with the difficulty of assessing their position in relation to
Calvinism and Arminianism, caused certain problems for Walton
when he chose to include, against the dead Sanderson's wishes,

155 Hugh Trevor-Roper, Renaissance Essays (London: Secker and
Warburg, 1985) 114.
a previously unpublished essay on religious toleration. David Novarr asserts that Walton is confused by Sanderson’s leanings towards Arminianism in his *Pax Ecclesiae* and that he assumes that Sanderson had always followed such a doctrine. Certainly, Walton knew that Sanderson favoured Arminianism later in life: Thomas Pierce makes this point absolutely clear in a letter appended to the *Life* which quotes Sanderson’s opinion

That we must acknowledge the work of both (Grace and Freewill) in the conversion of a sinner. And so likewise in all other events, the Consistency of the Infallibility of God’s foreknowledge at least (though not with any absolute, but conditional Predestination) with the liberty of man’s will and the contingency of inferior causes and effects.

But Novarr is wrong to suggest that Walton thought that Sanderson had always had these opinions. For Walton demonstrates that in the debate over the Quinquarticular Controversy—which arose out of Hammond’s claim in the *Practical Catechism* (1645) that Christ died "for the sins of all mankind" and which led to correspondence between Hammond, Sanderson, and Pierce—Sanderson had come to change his mind. As one who himself made revisions

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156 Sanderson declared in his Will, or last sickness (Walton is, ironically, uncertain), that "after his death nothing of his might be printed; because that might be said to be his which indeed was not." Qtd. by Walton. *Saintsbury* 346.

157 Novarr 414.

158 *Saintsbury* 418-9.
to his work, Walton was quick to notice a change in that of his subject, and he records one such alteration in the *Life*:

I think the Judgement of Dr. Sanderson was by these Debates altered from what it was at his entrance into them; for in the year 1632. when his excellent Sermons were first printed in 4o. the Reader may on the Margent find some accusation of Arminius for false Doctrine; and find, that upon a review and reprinting those Sermons in folio in the year 1657. that accusation of Arminius is omitted.²⁵⁹

Clearly, Sanderson had been persuaded that Arminius was not entirely misguided in his rejection of both supra- and sublapsarian doctrines of the election (or non-election) of individuals to salvation.

The reason for the apparent confusion over what Walton believed seems to lie in the fact that the Laudians were, on the whole, considered to be Arminian.²⁶⁰ Novarr therefore concludes that Walton did not realize that Sanderson’s work contained signs of his early leaning towards Calvinism, that he assumed Pierce’s general summary of Sanderson’s Arminianism would apply to all his work, and that he thus published the work (only to realize his error later) in the belief that it supported current post-Restoration, but still largely Laudian, views of church

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²⁵⁹ Saintsbury 387.

doctrine. This is, however, firstly to ignore Walton's reference to Sanderson's textual revisions, and, secondly, to assume that the Life of Sanderson was concerned with reviving an old debate which was at its height some forty years earlier. Of course, the question of predestination is never closed in theological surroundings, but, it might be argued, it was neither the main concern of the High Church in the late 1670s nor Walton's central concern in his last biography. In a passage immediately after his discussion of the Quinquarticular Controversy, Walton quotes Hammond in a way which would seem to suggest that, whatever strong feelings the reader may himself have on this matter, Walton does not wish us to remember that there was disagreement, but rather that this "charitable disputation" was entered into in order to further knowledge and understanding: or, as Hammond states, "God can reconcile his own contradictions, and therefore advises all men, as the Apostle does, to study mortification, and be wise to sobriety."161 Elsewhere, too, Walton's emphasis is on Sanderson as a voice of reason in controversy. At the Savoy Conference, for example, he carried out his role as Moderator "with much mildness, patience, and reason,"162 and it appears to have been because of his willingness to listen to the views of dissenters that some parts of the Book of Common Prayer were able to be altered to make them more accessible to all members of the Church and that

161 Saintsbury 387.
162 Saintsbury 402.
schism was thus avoided. It is interesting to note that Walton has no objection to disagreement, only to badly reasoned dissent. This, at least, would seem to be the sense behind his quotation of Sanderson's opinion of Richard Baxter, one of the leading Puritan debaters, and his troublesome and illogical arguments, to the effect that "he had never met with a man of more pertinaceous confidence, and less abilities in all his conversations." That the Church was anxious to avoid schism at this point is further suggested by the 1662 letter which George Morley (then Bishop of Worcester and later Bishop of Winchester and dedicatee of the 1670 Lives and the Life of Dr. Robert Sanderson) sent to Baxter to defend the High Church position in matters of worship. His Letter to a Friend For Vindication of Himself from Mr Baxter's Calumny reasserts the importance of religious unity: on the subject of how one should receive communion, he warns that

It is not therefore the not kneeling at the Sacrament, but the breaking of the Orders of the Church, and the endangering of the Peace and Safety of the whole, which our Laws punish . . .

The proponents of the High Church position were not interested in repudiating Low Church--or Calvinist, for that matter--points

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163 Saintsbury 404-5.
164 Saintsbury 404.
of doctrine for the sake of it, but only in so far as they could attempt to show that disobedience to the orthodox Anglican position would lead to dissent and the formation of sects which "were like to bring the Pope a far greater harvest, then he could ever have expected without them." For we should also remember, in repudiating Novarr's interpretation of the Life as an uneasy debate between High and Low, and Arminian and Calvinist forces, that Church authorities, mindful of Charles' tolerance towards the Roman Catholics in the early 70s and his son James's 1673 marriage to the Roman Catholic Mary of Modena, might actually have been more fearful of the Roman influence than the Puritan one. By 1678, Walton's aims in writing a biography of an English divine might have been very different from what they had been in 1665, shortly after the Restoration, when emphasis on moderation and unity would have been far less appropriate than the determined attack on Puritan calls for disestablishment of Church and State, for which he had opted in the Life of Hooker.

Walton's support for the High Church position has not changed between the two Lives—indeed, even as far back as the Life of John Donne, his position has remained constant. But the ways in which he finds it appropriate to show such support do vary because of circumstantial considerations. An awareness of these considerations serves to demonstrate not only how carefully constructed his response to Donne, Wotton, and

166 Saintsbury 388.
Sanderson's work is, but should furthermore remind us again that these biographies were not written simply to provide a good account of a person's life, but also to provide an answer to religious and political issues stemming from historical events which happened well after their deaths. Clearly, death is only the beginning of a biography.
Conclusion

If the author is dead—that is, when his works are first edited and published—then we must acknowledge that the way in which he appears as a persona within his own work, in what we would usually call a construction or presentation of "self," is not actually entirely self-determined. For if we take into account the circumstances surrounding the production of his work and, more obviously, the writing of his life, then we can see that what Stephen Greenblatt would call "self-fashioning"\(^\text{167}\) is as much the result of the efforts of an editor or biographer as of an author himself. Indeed, we might describe such a bibliographical enterprise as posthumous "other" fashioning—a label which, although lacking the nicely solipsistically sophisticated ring of Greenblatt's phrase, is perhaps a truer description of the ways in which an "author" is presented to the literary world. Following a Geertzian model of social mechanisms which control human behaviour, Greenblatt concludes that

Self-fashioning is in effect the Renaissance version of these control mechanisms, the cultural system of meanings that creates specific individuals by

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But the "abstract potential" of an author's innermost thoughts only becomes "concrete" in so far as it is recorded in his own works and in other people's opinions of his life and work, which have to undergo a complicated process of editing, compilation, and publication before they become that "historical embodiment" - that is, a book--which allows them to be read by people who may themselves construct additional meanings which go beyond those intended initially by the author, or subsequently by his editor or biographer. The transmission of abstract thought to actual bibliographical manifestation is never so simple that an author's intentions are fully and perfectly conveyed to a reader who grasps them--and them only--in their entirety.

Analysis of Walton's work should bring into focus two distinct points when considering authorial intention and editorial procedure. Firstly, as is demonstrated by his revisions to his own work, there can never be any certainty about which version of an author's work should be given priority or precedence over another. The many Lives of his subjects all contribute to our knowledge of both them in their time and him in his time, and none can be disregarded --from the equally subjective and decidedly inferior vantage point of the twentieth century--as less accurate or less complete. Therefore, it would be safer to speak of intentionalities rather than

168 Greenblatt 3.
intentionality. And secondly, bearing in mind how his work influences our perceptions of those authors of whom he writes, it is unwise to assume that only the author’s intentions bear directly upon the work in hand or finished product. As the work of D.F. McKenzie has reminded us,\(^{169}\) the author is only one part of a complex and sociologically conditioned process of textual transmission. This fact becomes particularly pertinent if we also bear in mind that the author may be dead by the time his work reaches the publisher. And few would now deny that a book’s meaning is constituted not only by the actual text to be edited, but is also influenced by what might be called paratextual elements--titles, frontispieces, illustrations, arrangement of poems, dedications, introductions and notes--which may be included without consultation with the author, particularly if the occasion for the publication of a "pintepot" volume of his works is actually his death. The author is dead, long live the editor and biographer.

That an author’s work may then signify in worlds and ways beyond his comprehension or design should not disconcert us too much. The possibility did not seem to trouble Walton; indeed, the fact that biography could keep alive the memory of the dead seems to provide a form of consolation--long recognized as an attribute of the elegy--which gives Walton motivation to write a Life. For in reading an author’s work and in writing of it

and his life, and in turn being read by successive generations of literary historians and editors, a kind of continuity is achieved. The devotional picture of Mary Magdalen with which he opens the *Life of Mr. George Herbert* might serve as a model for such an action where her sacramental ministrations, given and received in faith, show communion and communication between two friends which forms the basis of the memorial of both their lives—one remembering the other, and in turn being remembered for this service herself. The role of the biographer or bibliographer is not dissimilar. Moreover, as has been demonstrated, it is in these key areas of death, the actions of friends, and the reproduction of an author’s work, that Walton’s interest lies. As a life ends, the duty of a friend is to make an author’s words and deeds have meaning beyond—temporally and philosophically—that which was first conceived.

When the biographer himself dies—as Walton did at Winchester in 1683—he can only hope that his own life has lived up to the pattern which he set out in his biographies, and that a reader—any reader—will grant to his life the same simultaneous closure and continuity as he gave to the lives of the authors about whom he spent his life writing. Like Prospero at the conclusion of *The Tempest* asking that "As you from crimes would pardoned be/ Let your indulgence set me free," so too Walton, in his last biography, requests that his end be not silence, and that although
'Tis now too late to wish that my life may be like [Sanderson's]; for I am in the eighty fifth year of my Age; but I humbly beseech Almighty God, that my death may; and do as earnestly beg of every Reader, to say Amen.\footnote{Saintsbury 415.}
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