

“By my Lords comand, I am to acquainte you”:  
An Edition of the Seventeenth-Century Correspondence of the  
Wentworth Family in the Folger Shakespeare Library

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This thesis is an edition of the correspondence of the Yorkshirean Wentworth family. The aim of the edition is to provide these handwritten manuscripts to a wider audience by transcribing them. The material has been acquired from the Folger Shakespeare Library, and the transcriptions presented in this thesis are a part of their database called *Early Modern Manuscripts Online*.

My material consists of fifteen documents from the early modern period which have been sent to or sent by members of the Wentworth family. Fourteen of these documents are letters, and one is a warrant written in the form of a letter. In the Folger Shakespeare Library the documents form the section 2.1. *Correspondence of the Wentworth family* in a larger collection called *Papers of the Cavendish-Talbot family*. The documents have been transcribed diplomatically in order to retain the character of the original manuscripts.

In addition to the transcriptions, background chapters on letter writing, the historical and linguistic context, and palaeography are provided. Furthermore, each text includes a commentary containing a brief summary of the text and a description of the manuscript. Notes concerning specific words or concepts are also provided to make the texts easier to understand. Additionally, the transcriptions are encoded in XML for the purposes of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

These earlier unedited manuscripts reassert the status of the Wentworth family in the early modern English society and provide information about letter writing conventions, language, and palaeographical conventions in early modern England. This edition can be used in further studies, for example as part of a larger corpus.

Keywords: Early Modern English, editing, correspondence, letters, manuscripts, palaeography, transcription

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## **List of abbreviations**

OE	Old English
ME	Middle English
EModE	Early Modern English
LModE	Late Modern English
PDE	Present-Day English

# 1. Introduction

This thesis is a documentary edition of the seventeenth-century correspondence of the Wentworth family. It is a collaboration project between the Folger Shakespeare Library (henceforth referred to as the Folger), situated in Washington, D.C., and the Department of English at the University of Turku. This means that the Folger has provided me with the digitized copies of the manuscripts, and I have provided them with my transcriptions of these manuscripts. This collaboration is part of their extensive project to create a database called *Early Modern Manuscripts Online* (EMMO). It will consist of semi-diplomatically encoded Folger manuscripts written between 1500 and 1700 (Wolfe 2013). My transcriptions are also part of the EMMO database.

In my thesis, however, I have chosen to transcribe these manuscripts diplomatically, and not semi-diplomatically as they are presented in the EMMO database. The difference between these two methods of editing is that diplomatic transcriptions strive to reproduce the features in the original manuscript as closely as possible (Beal 2008, 122). Editorial activity is indicated with different symbols and brackets (Stevens & Burg 1997, 76). By contrast, semi-diplomatic transcriptions make small emendations to the manuscript, for example, abbreviations are often expanded (University of Cambridge 2016).

In this thesis I shall provide transcriptions of fifteen documents sent to or sent by members of the Wentworth family. These documents form the section 2.1 *Correspondence of the Wentworth family* in the Folger's larger collection *Papers of the Cavendish-Talbot family* (the Folger 2012). In addition, I shall provide general information relating to these manuscripts and a commentary to accompany each of the texts. These are provided for a better understanding of the documents. The texts have not been edited before, which makes this thesis an important source for future research. Documentary editing is also "an effective way of making history vivid" (Stevens & Burg 1997, 17). It is useful not only to the current, but also to future generations (Stevens & Burg 1997, 24).

Documentary editing can be compared to translation in that it is a process in which original documents are converted into readable text (Stevens & Burg 1997, 12).

Transcribing manuscripts is important, since old manuscripts are often written in difficult handwriting which takes time to decipher. In addition, writers of old manuscripts used more abbreviations, and the spelling of even familiar words might be strange. Thus, many researchers, for example, only use printed sources in their research. According to Wolfe (2013), this results in “obscuring the complexities of early modern England’s dual-text environment and hindering a full understanding of the period”. My thesis, therefore, gives access to texts which would otherwise be inaccessible to most people.

Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton (1968, 3) stated in the 1960s that there are still millions of unedited handwritten documents in archives and manuscript repositories, and that many of these have not been even explored. They argued that historians have not exploited these documents as well as they could: “what riches remain no one knows” (*ibid.*). Of course, nearly fifty years have passed since their statement. However, I still think that there are vast amounts of unedited documents in these archives and repositories. The Folger’s project *Early Modern Manuscripts Online* (EMMO), which my thesis is also a part of, is excellent in a bigger goal towards exploiting these manuscripts as fully as they could and should be exploited.

My material is written between the years 1648 and 1705, excluding text 4 which is presumably written in 1542. All of these documents are clearly EModE texts. According to McIntyre (2009, 25), “[m]ost historians of English suggest the boundaries of EModE to be 1500 to 1800”. Texts from this period are interesting material. EModE is fairly intelligible to PDE speakers, at least when compared to ME. However, this familiarity can be misleading. EModE and PDE have actually an extensive number of dissimilarities between them (Hunter 2009, 7). I chose letters for my material since they provide authentic material which also offers information about the wider historical context, in addition to shedding light on the lives of their senders and recipients. I also wanted that my material in this thesis forms a unified whole. I therefore chose the correspondence of the Wentworth family, as it forms its own section under a larger collection, is suitable for the scope of this thesis, and because Wentworths were a significant family in early modern England. As part of the gentry class, they were also part of important historical events in England.

The Wentworth family is a Yorkshirean family, which in early modern times belonged to the upper ranks of the English society. The family was very wealthy and influential during this time. Earlier editions of papers of the Wentworth family include J. P. Coopers's *Wentworth Papers 1597-1628*, published in 1973, and James Cartwright's *The Wentworth Papers 1705-1739*, published in 1883. The latter edition consists of selected letters of Thomas Wentworth, first Earl of Strafford of the second creation, but my material does not contain any of his letters. In addition, there are many books concerning the life of Thomas Wentworth, first of Earl of Strafford (the first creation). These include George Radcliffe's edition *The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches*, published in two volumes in 1739. However, no edition has been made on the family's documents concerning the years 1648 – 1705, i.e. the period from which my material dates, excluding text 4 which, as stated in the previous paragraph, is presumably written in 1542. Thus, my transcriptions provide an interesting addition to these earlier editions and fill a gap in them.

The structure of the thesis is as follows. In chapters 2 through 5 I discuss letter writing, historical and linguistic context, and palaeography. These chapters will help the reader to understand the texts better. Seventeenth-century issues are emphasized in these chapters, as my material mainly dates from that period. The information in these chapters is accompanied by examples from my material. The examples are, in the majority of cases, provided in parentheses, and the numbers refer to the text and line number respectively. To be more precise, in chapter 2 letter writing is examined with a focus on the following questions: What kind of a genre letters are? What kind of conventions relate to letter writing? What were early modern letters like as physical objects? Chapter 3 provides a historical introduction for my material. It includes a general introduction to society and culture in early modern England, and an introduction to the Wentworth family, focusing on those family members who relate to my material.

Chapter 4 is a linguistic introduction. I cover matters relating to the spelling, morphology, syntax, and lexis and semantics in EModE, with a focus on those language features which are found in my material. In chapter 5 I deal with various matters relating to palaeography. These include different scripts used in handwriting, abbreviations, punctuation, numerals and dates, and self-corrections. In chapter 6 is

presented the methodology of the thesis. This consists of introducing the material, methodological problems, and XML-coding. The editorial principles are also provided for an accurate reading of my transcriptions. Chapter 7 contains my transcriptions and provides a commentary for each text. Finally, in chapter 8 I provide a conclusion to my thesis.

## **2. Letters and Letter Writing**

As all except one of the documents in my material are letters, I shall discuss letters and letter writing in this chapter. Text 14 deviates from the other texts in that it is not a letter, but a warrant. Unfortunately, in the scope of this thesis I am not able to discuss the warrant. However, its structure can be explored in an MA Thesis by Antti Kaunismäki (2015), in which Kaunismäki examined seventeenth- and eighteenth-century court warrants as a genre. Still, as Kaunismäki (2015, 62) maintains, often the warrant is written in the form of a letter, as in the case of text 14. This is why some of the issues discussed in this chapter are also relevant to the warrant.

I shall begin this chapter by introducing letter writing as a genre and discussing who actually wrote letters during the early modern period in England. In section 2.2, I shall discuss letter writing manuals, and certain forms and conventions of letter writing. In section 2.3, letters are discussed as physical objects. This includes the use of paper, folding, and the use of seals. In addition, I shall discuss the sending of letters and their preservation.

### **2.1. Letter writing as a genre**

Letters are an established genre and have an important role in the English culture (Whyman 2009, 11,18). Stewart and Wolfe (2004, 10) argue that the letter was the most significant genre in early modern England. They state that it was “not merely one literary form among many [...] but the very glue that held society together” (*ibid.*). However, letters as a genre are difficult to define. Scholars seem to have varying opinions on what can be classified as letter writing, and how to characterize letters as objects. In Barton and Hall’s (2000, 1) opinion, this is due to the fact that nearly anything can be discussed in the form of a letter. Palander-Collin, Nevala and Nurmi (2009, 13) define letters as “independent, original, written, non-fictional, non-

technical prose with no accompanying elements (such as images or music)". A simpler definition is provided by Nevala (2004, 51), who states that letter is "a written message from one person to another". Suffice it to say that the boundaries of the letter genre are wavering, as noted by Earle (1999b, 8) for example. In addition, the letter genre can be further divided into sub-genres (Bergs 2007, 27).

According to Tanskanen (2003, 168), the role of letters as a method of communication is hard to overestimate. However, it must be taken into account that not everyone could write in early modern times (Nevala 2004, 26). There are varying figures for percentages of literacy. Whyman (2009, 105) believes that approximately 30 per cent of men could write in the mid-seventeenth century, and the corresponding figure for women was approximately 10 per cent. Those unable to write, or those who were in a high position and had an extensive correspondence, would hire a scribe or a secretary to write their letters for them (Stewart & Wolfe 2004, 55).

According to Stewart and Wolfe (2004, 55), the various scribes were an important part of letter writing in early modern England. They state that personal secretaries, who had a permanent position and were residents in their master's households, often heard intimate secrets from their master. It is often unclear who wrote a particular document, because the bond between the secretary and the master was so tight (*ibid.*). It seems that in my material only one document (text 3) has been written by a different person than by whom the document has been signed. However, this statement is only based on my own analysis based on the handwriting. All the others seem to be autograph letters, meaning that they have been written and signed by the person himself, not by a scribe.

The culture of letter writing changed in a number of ways during the period between the early sixteenth and the early eighteenth centuries. These changes include, for example, a better postal system (discussed in section 2.3.), and the rise of printing which led to a more widespread use of letter writing manuals (Stewart & Wolfe 2004, 10). These manuals, and certain forms and conventions used in letter writing are the topic of the following section.

## 2.2. Manuals, forms and conventions in letter writing

Letter writing skills were considered very important in early modern times. Whyman (1999, 19) points out that good letter writing skills could serve “as a badge of membership in elite society”. The medieval art of letter writing was called *ars dictaminis*. Its main idea was that there were different types of letters, which all had a set order for their various parts (Whyman 2009, 11). Whyman (*ibid.*) claims that the rules of *ars dictaminis* were even more important during the early modern period because of the revival of classical sources and rhetoric. However, Nevalainen (2007, 2) states just the opposite. According to her, the direct influence of the teachers of *ars dictaminis* diminished in the early modern period. Partly this was due to the different models which were introduced, and partly because the social base of writers widened (*ibid.*).

As commented by Tanskanen (2003, 169), various letter writing manuals were popular in early modern England. The pioneer in the field of these manuals was Erasmus of Rotterdam (Stewart & Wolfe 2004, 10). His book called *De conscribendis epistolis* (“On the Writing of Letters”) laid down the fundamental principles of letter writing when it was published in 1522 (Stewart & Wolfe 2004, 22). The first manual written in English was *The Enimie of Idleness* (1568) by William Fulwood, which was followed by many other English manuals (Nevala 2004, 34). These manuals gave instructions for writing the different parts of the letter (Stewart & Wolfe 2004, 10).

The manuals also dealt with the various conventions related to letter writing in early modern England. Early modern England was an extremely hierarchical society and the rank of the addressee had to be taken into consideration in letter writing as well (Tanskanen 2003, 179). Thus, the tone and layout of the letter depended chiefly on whether the addressee’s status was inferior, equal, or superior in relation to the writer (Stewart & Wolfe 2004, 35). In Daybell’s (2006, 47) opinion, particularly important parts in the letter, in which the addressee’s social status could be acknowledged, were the superscription, salutation, subscription, signature, and address forms in general.

The status could be acknowledged through the placing of these parts of the letter, use of space, and use of language (Nevala 2004, 99,100). For example, if there is a great distance between the salutation and the body of the letter, or between the body of the letter and the subscription, the writer wanted to honour the recipient (Nevala 2004, 233). In addition, wide margins, high quality paper, and the number of sheets were also a sign of respect (Whyman 2009, 21). Daybell (2006, 48) provides a good summary for the various conventions: “the more socially esteemed the addressee, the more blank paper with which they should be honoured”. He also states that blank paper signified not only the recipient’s worth, but it was a means for the letter writer to register his own social worth as well because paper was expensive in early modern England (*ibid.*).

Nevala (2004, 186) believes that the conventions related to letter writing in early modern times were considered important by the contemporaries, in spite of the fact that some writers did not conform to those, but became inventive. Nevertheless, most people relied on common conventions in the letter writing process (*ibid.*), a fact probably confirmed by the popularity of the letter writing manuals. Bergs (2007, 28) argues that the roles of the writer and reader, as well as the function of the letter, actually shaped its form. In other words, although basic letter writing conventions were important for writers in the late ME and EModE period, these were not the only factors affecting to letter writing.

According to Bergs (2007, 27), letter writers had different stylistic means in order to achieve various communicative goals in letters. This is related to the fact that letters have different subtypes, as mentioned in the previous section. As Daybell (2006, 47) points out: “Manuscript letters [...] should not merely be viewed as texts or documents, but as complex forms that registered meaning both textually and materially”. However, due to the scope of this thesis, it is not possible to further examine these previously mentioned methods with which meaning was registered in early modern letters. In the last two paragraphs of this section, I shall take up a few specific phrases and words which are found in my material and might confuse the modern reader.

The phrase *your servant* found at the end of many early modern letters is not, in fact, an expression of the writer’s lower status in relation to the addressee, nor an actual

promise to function as a servant. Instead, it is a formulaic phrase which informs that the letter is at an end (Fitzmaurice 2002, 10). In my material this phrase is found in most of the letters. In signatures, a title was often used instead of an actual surname if the writer was in possession of a peerage (Fitzmaurice 2008, 91). Thus, in my material Henry Clifford, first Earl of Cumberland, has signed himself *C~m~berland* in text 4, and William Wentworth, second Earl of Strafford, has signed himself *Strafforde* in texts 10 and 11.

As reported by Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2008, 58), *your letter* is sometimes simply referred to as *yours*. In my material the writers of texts 1, 12, and 13 have, indeed, used *yours* to refer to *your letter* (1/10: accordinge to *yours* received by this Bearer). In addition, the expression *my last*, which also lacks the word *letter*, is used by two writers in my material (12/38-39: as by the date of *my last*, will apeare). Furthermore, the term *present*, which means, amongst other things, the present words, letter or document, is often found on the address area of early modern letters as a phrase *these present* (Beal 2008, 312). In my material it is found in texts 2 and 13. Many of the letters in my material have only the word *this* or *these* on the address area, which probably means the same, but the word *present* is omitted.

### **2.3. Letters as physical objects**

In this section letters are discussed as physical objects. This encompasses various issues: the size of documents, use of paper, folding, use of seals, the sending of letters, and their preservation. Letters in my material are all written on paper, which was the usual writing material from the fifteenth century onwards (Ioppolo 2010, 186). As mentioned in the previous section, paper was still fairly expensive in the seventeenth century, so its use was controlled. For the purpose of letter writing, a sheet of paper was often folded, which then formed a bifolium. Thus, a bifolium consists of four pages in two conjugate leaves (*ibid.*). In my material texts 5, 6, 11, and 14 consist of a single sheet (the sides are called recto and verso), and the rest are bifolia. According to Beal (2008, 34), the bifolium could be of any size. Ioppolo (2010, 186) states that the average size of a sheet of paper, before folding it into a bifolium, was approximately 61 x 40,5 centimetres. Unfortunately, the paper sizes for my material are not available.

The bifolium format was practical for letters because the first, and possibly also the second and third pages, could be used for the text, and the address was often written on the fourth page (Beal 2008, 8,225). Whyman (1999, 18) points out that only one page was often used for writing, which is why the signature and the subscription are sometimes written sideways into the margin, as in text 1 in my material. As envelopes were not introduced until the early eighteenth century, the letter was simply folded into a small packet and sealed with wax, so that the folding would hold its place (Beal 2008, 8,139,372). According to Beal (2008, 8), the address area which was left exposed is called the address panel. If the paper had been torn, it has usually been repaired with silk paper in the conservation process (Beal 2008, 384).

The seals often contained the family crest, the coat of arms, or the initials of the sender (Stewart & Wolfe 2004, 19). For example, in my material the Wentworth coat of arms is visible in the seal of text 11. According to Stewart and Wolfe (2004, 35), a black seal instead of red signified death or mourning. In my material a black seal has been used in text 15, which mainly concerns the Second Anglo-Dutch War. An undamaged seal proved that the document had not been opened before the intended recipient (Nevala 2004, 45). Opening of the seal often left a seal tear, which means that a part of the page is left attached to the seal or part of it (Beal 2008, 372). Usually seals have not been preserved intact, fragments or traces of seals are more common (Daybell 2006, 53). Beal (2008, 226) remarks that seals or traces of them can prove that the letter was actually sent. In relation to my material, it is mentioned in the *manuscript* section of the commentary if a seal or traces of it are visible.

Postal practices were quite different comparing to modern times. Stewart and Wolfe (2004, 121) point out that it was not a simple task to mail a letter in early modern England. However, as mentioned in section 2.1., there were several changes which improved the postal system during the seventeenth century. The most important of these was that from 1635 onwards also private letters were carried by the royal post (Stewart & Wolfe 2004, 123). Until then, letters were carried by carriers, bearers, messengers, or servants (Stewart & Wolfe 2004, 121). However, even after 1635 these were used by most people, as letters were often lost, stolen, or misdelivered by the post (Stewart & Wolfe 2004, 121,123). In addition, sending letters by post was more expensive (Whyman 2009, 64). Nevala (2004, 47) states that “[t]he practice of

sending private post by carriers went on long after the royal postal service was established”.

Another change was the Act of 1660 in which the Post Office was erected and established (How 2003, 53). According to How (*ibid.*), it “gave a legal settlement once and for all to the carriage of private letters by a government body”. Afterwards, the Act of 1660 “came to be recognized as the Post Office’s founding Charter” (How 2003, 53). Nonetheless, How (2003, 8) argues that the service offered by the English Post Office was inconvenient and unreliable until the Glorious Revolution in 1688. Whyman (2009, 4) claims that the Post Office was considered inefficient and as a backward institution up until 1840.

If the letter was sent by the official postal system, postal markings are found on the address panel (Beal 2008, 9). These include, for example, a notation to the postmaster and text *post paid* found in text 7, lines 3 to 9. The third innovation was the introduction of postmarks. According to Beal (2008, 40), the first hand-stamped postmark was introduced in 1661. It was round in shape and included the month and day on which the letter was sent or received in London (*ibid.*). In my material five letters (texts 2, 7, 9, 12, and 15) seem to have been sent by the official postal system. These letters are sent between 1660 and 1675/6. In addition, three of these texts (2, 12, and 15) also bear a hand-stamped postmark.

As Beal (2008, 8) mentions, the method of delivery also affected the address. If the letter was delivered by a personal servant, the address panel might only have the recipient’s name on it. If the letter was carried by someone else, possibly the name of the town or village was written in addition to the name, and sometimes even more details of the location (*ibid.*). Beal (2008, 8,10) notes that occasionally the letter was left to a collection agent, whose name was sometimes written on the address (12/4-5: at *Me Thomas Kirkham house surgeon*). Often they were innkeepers or scriveners, in which case the name of the inn or shop would be written on the address (*ibid.*). According to Whyman (2009, 62), it was not until 1767 that streets in London were numbered, thus, nearby landmarks were often used as identification for houses (2/8-9: at the cat & fidell in the strand beyond *st clemons church*).

What happened after a letter had been received? According to Stewart and Wolfe (2004, 181), it was not uncommon that the letter would be read by other people in addition to the person to whom it was addressed. They were lent to family members and friends, and they might have circulated more broadly as well. Some carriers might have had a verbal message to accompany the letter. Daybell (2006, 36) states that it was common that the writers asked recipients to burn the letter if it contained confidential or incriminating information. This might be the case in text 4, because the writer has possibly written the Latin word *exustus* in an abbreviated form. In English the word means “to burn up, to destroy” (4/9: *Ex<sup>9</sup>*) (Morwood 2012). However, sometimes the order was not obeyed, as can be realized from the fact that these letters survived.

Stewart and Wolfe (2004, 182) note that the share of saved letters of all letters is difficult to know, as is the share of surviving letters of those, which have been saved. The various household manuals, which gave instructions on how to preserve letters, suggest that the saving of letters was not taken lightly (*ibid.*). Letters were saved for various reasons, for example for emotional reasons or for record-keeping purposes. Cusack (1998, 195) notes that gentry families often saved all kinds of papers. After the letter was read, it was usually docketed according to date, writer’s name, and topic (Whyman 1999, 18). The letter was often filed in a bundle, which usually contained copies or drafts of important outgoing letters as well (Stewart & Wolfe 2004, 182). In my material lines 4 to 8 in text 4 is possibly a docket, as these lines state the topic of the letter and seem to be written in a different hand.

Stewart and Wolfe (2004, 183) point out that “[a]ll too often surviving early modern letters tell only half their story”. They mean that there is often a mention in letters that they have been used as covers for other objects or documents. Some of these documents were fairly ordinary, such as receipts and bills, but sometimes there were other letters enclosed in letters. The texts of my material reveal that at least four letters (texts 5, 6, 7, and 10) have contained attachments. Stewart and Wolfe (2004, 183) emphasize the extensive culture of letter writing in early modern England. They state that the practical implications of letter writing were “the basis for a whole set of social transactions that extended far beyond the written page” (*ibid.*).

### **3. Historical Introduction**

In this chapter I shall first provide a historical introduction to the early modern English society. This will give the reader a better understanding for the texts, because the strictly hierarchical early modern English society somewhat differed from the modern-day England. In the second section I shall present an overview of the Wentworth family, with special focus on those Wentworth family members who appear in my material. This section makes the texts easier to follow and gives an idea of the significance of the Wentworths in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England.

#### **3.1. Society and culture in early modern England**

The EModE period saw enormous political, economic, technological, and social changes in Britain (Fennell 2001, 136). Gramley (2012, 124) lists a number of massive events which had an impact on the language as well: The Anglican-Protestant Reformation, the first colonial ventures, the Civil War and the Commonwealth, and the Restoration. EModE is the period of the Renaissance, the revival of literature and learning. It was a time of freedom of ideas, and science and scientific thinking flourished (van Gelderen 2006, 155). Relating to social changes, it was the era of urbanisation, the general mobility of the population, and weakening family ties (Rissanen 1999, 188).

Britain experienced intense political turmoil during the EModE period. There were disagreements with the papacy in Rome which resulted in the King replacing the Pope as the head of the Church (Gramley 2012, 124). After the dissolution of the monasteries in the first half of the sixteenth century, England became a Protestant country during the rule of the Tudor dynasty. The struggle of the monarchy continued when the Civil War broke out in 1642 (Fennell 2001, 136-137). According to Gramley (2012, 125), the Civil War was ostensibly a result of a religious conflict, but essentially it was due to tension resulted from a change in economic and social situation which was underway. The Royalists and the Parliamentarians were the two main parties who fought with each other (*ibid.*).

The Royalists were supporters of King Charles I, and mainly they belonged to the nobility and gentry. By contrast, the majority of the Parliamentarians belonged to the middle class. They favoured the Parliament and wanted to have more democratic control through it (Stoyle 2011). Gramley (2012, 125) sees the conflict as a clash of “the older feudal order and the emerging bourgeois forms of organization and the new middle-class values of life, liberty, and property”.

Two of the letters in my material are written during the Civil War. These are texts 10 and 11, written by William Wentworth in 1648. In text 11, dated 15 October 1648, he probably mentions the Treaty of Newport (11/13-14: *The treaty not prouueing probable to produce a settlemen<sup>t</sup>.*). The Treaty of Newport was the final attempt to achieve a settlement between the King and the Parliament. The negotiations, held at Newport on the Isle of Wight, began on 18 September 1648 and lasted until 27 November 1648. A settlement was not reached because Army radicals abandoned the negotiations and purged the Parliament (Plant 2008). Apparently this was not surprising to William Wentworth, since he thought already in mid-October that reaching a settlement is unlikely.

The abandonment of the negotiations resulted in the preparations for the trial of Charles I (Plant 2008). He was executed a few months later, on 30 January 1649 (Kishlansky & Morrill 2008). Subsequently, Oliver Cromwell began an invasion on Ireland, and in 1650 Scotland was taken by his troops (Fennell 2001, 137). Fennell (*ibid.*) calls this “a kind of internal colonialism”. It is possible that William Wentworth refers to this turmoil in Scotland in text 11 (11/14: *new stirrs growing againe in the North*). In 1653 Oliver Cromwell was named Lord Protector of England (Fennell 2001, 137). He died in 1658, after which his son became the Lord Protector. However, he was deposed in 1659, and 1660 marks the restoration of the Stuart monarchy under Charles II, who reigned until his death in 1685 (Gramley 2012, 126).

McIntosh (2008, 229) states that the end of the Civil War did not mean stability or security in England. Although Charles II was a welcomed king by almost everyone, those were still turbulent times. In 1665 the bubonic plague broke out, and the Great Fire of London took place in September 1666. England was also at war with Holland in the latter half of the 1660s (*ibid.*). The comet of 1664/1665 was thought be linked

with these events, because comets were considered bad portents (Burns 2002, 98). This comet is described in text 15, written in 1665 (15/93-95: an[o]ther bla<z>eingestarr (or comett) ariseinge about 4: in the m~orin~ge). These turbulent times also included a revolution in 1688, which meant an end to the reign of James II. The 1688 Revolution, also known as the *Glorious Revolution of 1688*, resulted in the joint reign of William III and his wife Mary II (Trueman 2015).

The war with Holland, mentioned in the previous paragraph, was the Second Anglo-Dutch War – one of the altogether four naval conflicts over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries between the two countries. The Second Anglo-Dutch War was declared by England in March 1665, and commercial rivalry was the reason behind it. One of the largest battles during the war was the battle of Lowestoft in June 1665. It was won by the English, but the Dutch won most of the later battles fought in 1666. The war ended by the treaty of Breda in July 1667 (*Britannica Academic Online*, s.v. “Anglo-Dutch Wars”). Text 15, written on 7 April 1665, mainly concerns the Second Anglo-Dutch War. It contains, for example, an order of battle, which is apparently an abstract of another letter written three days earlier.

Early modern England was a hierarchical society. As Sommerville (2012) states, social status had an important role during early modern times. The social rank was determined on the basis of birth, wealth, education, and employment (*ibid.*). People were readily placing others in the social hierarchy when addressing each other, for example. *Lord* or *Lady* were forms of address for nobility, *Sir* or *Dame*, with the alternative forms *Mr.* and *Mrs.*, for gentility (Gramley 2012, 142). It was only a small minority of population who belonged to these two ranks.

The Wentworths in my material mainly belonged to the gentry, apart from William Wentworth, second Earl of Strafford, who was a member of nobility. However, according to Sommerville (2012), the division between these two social classes was not as strict in England as it was elsewhere in Western Europe at the time. There are also other people mentioned in my material who belong to the upper ranks, i.e. nobility and gentry, or to the middle ranks. I shall now give a brief overview of the English titles and order of precedence in EModE society.

The nobility was divided, in descending order, to dukes, marquesses, earls, counts, viscounts, and barons (Nevala 2004, 21). Sommerville (2012) points out that the title of nobility was hereditary, and only the eldest son inherited it. The younger sons became gentlemen. In case there were no male heirs, the noble title became extinct. However, in some cases an heiress's husband was granted the title. Also the land was inherited by the firstborn son. However, often families also supported their younger sons by making certain arrangements for them. Daughters usually received a dowry when they married (*ibid.*).

The gentry was divided, in descending order, to baronets, knights, esquires, and gentlemen (Nevala 2004, 21). The order of baronets was established in 1611 by James I. By the end of the seventeenth century the number of baronets was approximately 800. The eldest son of a baronet automatically received a knighthood when he turned 21. When his father died, he also inherited the baronetcy (Sommerville 2012). Knight was not a hereditary rank (*ibid.*); from the sixteenth century on, the rank of knight was "conferred by the sovereign in recognition of personal merit, or as a reward for services rendered to the crown or country" (*OED Online*, s.v. "knight," n. 4b). All the higher gentry was given the rank of esquire. Originally, however, it was only "given to the heir of knight, the heir of the younger son of a nobleman, and office holders" (Sommerville 2012).

Below the nobility and gentry came the middle ranks. The upper middle ranks included merchants and professionals, for example, military and government officials, physicians, and lawyers. The lower middle ranks consisted of lesser farmers and merchants (Nevala 2004, 21-22). Below them came the lower ranks, which included labourers and cottagers who worked for others (Sommerville 2012). Any members of the lower ranks are not mentioned in my material, but people from the middle ranks are represented.

Palander-Collin, Nevala and Nurmi (2009, 5) point out that there was no consensus among contemporaries regarding the number and division of relevant categories of ranks. In addition, Nevala (2004, 21-22) states that the upper middle ranks included professionals, but Sommerville (2012) argues that "Masters of Arts, physicians, and lawyers were all assumed to be gentlemen". It was also possible to move from one social rank to another. Women could move upward on the social ladder through

marriage, and for men the social mobility “was possible at least through education and the accumulation of wealth” (Palander-Collin, Nevala & Nurmi 2009, 5). Towards the end of the seventeenth century the distinctions between the nobility, gentry, and wealthy merchants weakened (Gramley 2012, 126).

Some of the writers of the present material have mentioned certain monetary amounts in their letters. Some of these sums might seem small, but the value of money was not the same in the seventeenth century than it is nowadays. According to The National Archives (2016a), the average spending worth of 1 pound in seventeenth-century England was 87 pounds in 2005. For example, the 30 pounds mentioned in text 2 would have been worth 2610 pounds in 2005, when compared to the relative value of money (2/20-21: it will be clearly *Thirty pound* ayeare loste to vs if not prevented). Another issue related to the monetary system is that the pound was divided differently into smaller units. It was divided into 20 shillings, and into 240 pence. Latin words *libra*, *solidus*, and *denarius* were used when referring to pounds, shillings, and pence respectively. The abbreviations £, s., and d. stem from these Latin words. In my material £ and d. are used (9/7: 3<sup>d</sup>.) (*Britannica Academic Online*, s.v. “pound sterling”).

### **3.2. The Wentworth family**

Wentworth is an ancient family; the English lineage begins already before the Norman Conquest of 1066. In addition, the lineage can be traced with a high level of certainty: “[a]mong all the ancient families of the British Empire, there is none whose claim to great antiquity is founded on a surer basis than that of the Wentworths” (Geni 2016). Renaud (or Reginald) de Wentworth is the first person commonly associated with the Wentworth lineage. His name is found in the Domesday Book (*ibid.*), which is a detailed record of landholdings and resources, compiled between 1085 and 1086 (BBC 2014).

The origin of Renaud Wentworth is not entirely clear, but different sources agree that he was of Saxon origin and he was alive in 1066, at the time of the Norman Conquest (Geni 2016; Ancestry 1997-2016; Arink 2013). There is disagreement over the year in which he was born and whether he was born in England or in France. It is known, however, that he was in possession of the lordship of Wentworth in Strafford, in the

West Riding of Yorkshire (Geni 2016). The historical West Riding was one of the three ridings of Yorkshire in which the county was formerly divided. The other two were North and East Riding (Simpson 2009a).

As hereditary surnames began gradually to be used only after 1066 (Blake 2011), the first known Wentworth was simply Renaud of Wentworth. The name Wentworth is an English locational name and it is used for people originating from Yorkshire and Cambridge. The place name itself is of Old English origin, deriving from the place name *Winterworde*, which in turn derives from the Old English words *wintra* (“wood”) and *worth* (“farm”). Thus, the surname literally means “[f]rom a farm near the woods” (Geni 2016).

The Wentworth coat of arms is three golden leopards’ heads and a chevron on a red background (Berry 1828, 47). Leopard is an ancient symbol in heraldry, representing bravery and strength. It is commonly argued whether the animals depicted in the coat of arms were lions or leopards. Usually this was decided according to the position of the animal (Vinycomb 1906, 195-198). The Wentworth shield is supported by a griffin and a lion, and beneath it is a motto in French which reads as follows: *En Dieu est tout* (European Heraldry 2016). In English the motto means “In God is everything” (House of Names 2016). Woodcock and Robinson (1989, 93) note that the use of supporters is limited for the use of the highest rank of those who have a legal right to a coat of arms. The coat of arms was an important means of identification (Woodcock & Robinson 1989, 1-2). As mentioned in section 2.3., they were used in seals, for example.



**Figure 1** Wentworth coat of arms (European Heraldry 2016)

I shall now move on to discuss the Wentworth family during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There were many branches of Wentworths in Yorkshire at this time (the Folger 2012), and they were “one of the most prominent land-owning families in Yorkshire” (University of Leeds 2016). The documents in my material are to and from the Wentworths of the Wentworth Woodhouse, near Rotherham, the Wentworths of West Bretton, and the Wentworths of Woolley. In the next three subsections I shall introduce in more detail those family members of these branches who relate to my material. I shall also introduce their most important places of residence in these areas. There are many people who have exactly the same name, and this might make it hard to follow the text. Thus, for the sake of clarity, relevant parts of the Wentworth pedigree are provided in Appendices 1, 2, and 3 with those people bolded and coloured in red who relate to my material.

### **3.2.1. Wentworths of the Wentworth Woodhouse**

The Wentworth Woodhouse is the best-known among the places of residence of the Wentworth family. The Wentworths got the site, which is situated near Rotherham, South Yorkshire, in their possession through a marriage with the Woodhouse family around the year 1300 (Wentworth Village 2009a). There was a manor on the site in the seventeenth century, the time from which my material dates. However, the Wentworth Woodhouse, as it is now known, was rebuilt for the most part in the eighteenth century (Wentworth Village 2009b).

Regarding family members, I shall first introduce Thomas Wentworth, first Earl of Strafford. Although he did not send or receive any of the letters in my material, he is the most famous of the Wentworths. Due to him the family acquired more fame and money during the early modern period. Thomas Wentworth was born in 1593, and after entering Parliament in the 1610s, he rose rapidly through the ranks (Wentworth Village 2009a). He was knighted in 1611 and created Viscount and Baron Wentworth of Wentworth Woodhouse in 1628. In 1640 he was created Baron Raby and Earl of Strafford. Furthermore, in 1628 he was appointed Lord President of the Council of the North, and in 1629 he became a member of the Privy Council. He was also appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1632, a position which he took up the following year. In 1640 he was elevated Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Wentworth was

convicted of treason and executed in 1641. Thomas Wentworth was married three times and had five children (Asch 2009).

In my material there are two letters, texts 10 and 11, sent by William Wentworth, second Earl of Strafford. William is the son and heir of the aforementioned Thomas Wentworth from his second marriage with Arabella Holles. He was born in 1626 and was the only surviving son of Thomas's five children (Cokayne 1900, 31). William inherited the Woodhouse from his father, but since William himself died childless in 1695, the estate passed to Thomas Watson (Wentworth Castle Gardens 2016). Thomas Watson (1665-1723) was the son of William's sister Anne Wentworth and Edward Watson, second Baron of Rockingham. After he succeeded his uncle William as the owner of the Woodhouse, he started using the name Watson-Wentworth according to his uncle's order (Foster 1874, 261). Text 14 is probably written by Thomas Watson-Wentworth, since he was residing at the Wentworth Woodhouse at the time the letter was written and it is signed by "Th Wentworth" at "W: Woodhouse".

### **3.2.2. Wentworths of West Bretton**

Compared to the grand Wentworths who lived at the Wentworth Woodhouse, the Wentworths of West Bretton were a junior branch of the family (Foster 1874, 266-267). West Bretton is a civil parish in the district of Wakefield in West Yorkshire. The Bretton Hall was one of the Wentworths' places of residence in West Bretton. As in the case of the Woodhouse, the estate passed to the Wentworth family by marriage in 1407, and the Wentworths lived there for the next four centuries (Bretton Hall 2016a).

The oldest letter in my material, text 4, is written to Sir Thomas Wentworth, and according to the Folger (2012), he probably belongs to the Wentworths of West Bretton. It is also mentioned in the address that he was a knight. Thus, most likely the letter is sent to the eldest son of Matthew Wentworth and Elizabeth Woodrove, since there was no other Thomas Wentworth in West Bretton who had the honorary title of knighthood at the time (Kimber & Johnson 1771, 299-302). Thomas became a Knight Marshal during the rule of Henry VIII in the first half of the sixteenth century (Foster 1874, 266). Knight Marshal can refer to "a military officer, acting as a

quartermaster; often used to render class” or to “an officer in the royal household, with judicial functions” (*OED Online*, s.v. “knight marshal,” n.). According to the *OED Online* (2016), the office was abolished in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1508 Thomas married Isabel, who was the daughter of Thomas Wentworth of North Elmsall, Esquire (Kimber & Johnson 1771, 300). The exact date of his death is not known, but Foster (1874, 267) argues that he died before 29 May 1543. As Thomas and Isabel did not have any children, his younger brother, who was also named Thomas, succeeded him (*ibid.*).

There was also another Thomas Wentworth of West Bretton who relates to my material. This Thomas lived in the seventeenth century, having been born approximately a hundred years later than his kinsman introduced in the previous paragraph. This latter Thomas plays a big part in my material, since eight of the letters are written to him (texts 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, and 15). Thomas was the second son of George Wentworth, Esquire, and Mary Ashburnham. The exact date of his birth is not known, but he was presumably 60 years old at the time of his death in 1675 (Cokayne 1903, 298). The letters written to him are written between the years 1648 and 1675, of which the last two, texts 5 and 6, are written by his doctor in the same year he died. Text 2 was originally written to Thomas, but there is a forwarding address in another hand, which directs the letter to Mary Wentworth. She was presumably Thomas’s mother who became a widow in 1638 when George Wentworth died (*ibid.*).

During the Civil War, Thomas was an infantry colonel and a lieutenant-colonel of cavalry in the service of Charles I (Cokayne 1903, 298). In 1645 he was imprisoned as a royalist after the Battle of Naseby. In addition, his estates were confiscated following his imprisonment (Bretton Hall 2016b). After the monarchy was restored in 1660, Charles II knighted Thomas for his services to the Crown, and his estates were returned (Bretton Hall 2016b). He was also appointed as captain of cavalry of trained bands in West Riding (Cokayne 1903, 298). Text 7, written by Marmaduke Langdale to George Wentworth in 1660, concerns Thomas’s appointment to that position. In 1664 Charles II created Thomas a baronet, which made him the first Baronet of Wentworth of Bretton. Thomas died without an heir, thus, his brother Matthew inherited the baronetcy (Bretton Hall 2016b). Thomas married Grace (d.

1698), who was the daughter and heiress of Francis Popeley. Text 3, written in 1692, is written to her. It is addressed to “The Right Honourable the Countesse of Eglintoun”, because after Thomas’s death she married Alexander Montgomery, eighth Earl of Eglinton, in 1679 (Cokayne 1903, 298).

Thomas’s parents, George and Mary Wentworth, had altogether ten children (Kimber & Johnson 1771, 300), of which also Matthew, in addition to Thomas, is associated with my material. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, Matthew (bap. 1612) inherited the baronetcy from his brother Thomas in 1675, becoming the second Baronet of Bretton (Foster 1874, 267). Two of the texts in my material (12 and 13) were written to Matthew Wentworth. Text 12 is sent from London by William Wentworth, who could be Matthew’s uncle or cousin based on the contents of the letter and the Wentworth pedigree compiled by Foster (1874, 268). Matthew had one son from his second marriage with Judith Flockton. The name of his son was also Matthew and, according to Cokayne (1903, 299), he was born after 1663, most likely in 1665. In text 13 John Whitehead suggests a marriage between Sir Matthew’s son, who was circa 11 years old at the time, and one of Whitehead’s nieces. Sir Matthew died either in 1677 or 1678, and his son Matthew succeeded him to the baronetcy (Cokayne 1903, 299; Foster 1874, 268).

### **3.2.3. Wentworths of Woolley**

Woolley is a civil parish in the district of Wakefield in West Yorkshire. The Wentworths had several estates in Woolley. Their manor house was the Woolley Hall, built in 1635 (University of Leeds 2016). The Wentworths of Woolley is the youngest of the three branches which relate to my material (Foster 1874, 259). The Woolley branch was established when Michael Wentworth bought the Woolley estate from Francis Woodrove in 1599 (University of Leeds 2016). In my material the Woolley branch plays a smaller part, because only one person of this branch relates to it. This is George Wentworth, to whom four of the letters are written (texts 7, 8, 10, and 11). The letters were written between 1648 and 1660.

George Wentworth was the second son of the aforementioned Michael Wentworth. Michael died in 1642 and was succeeded by his eldest son, who was also named Michael. Since the younger Michael died without issue later on the same year, the

estate passed to his brother George (Burke 1836, 92). George was knighted in 1630 (Shaw 1906, 197), and he was a royalist as all the other Wentworths (Burke 1836, 92). He was a Member of Parliament in the House of Commons between the years 1640 and 1642 (Cobbett 1807, 626). When the Civil War broke out in the late summer of 1642, George joined the royalist cause and served as an infantry colonel (Burke 1836, 92). In September 1642 he was disabled from the Parliament for neglecting his service (Cobbett 1807, 626). George had two children with his first wife Anne Fairfax. His second wife was Everild Maltby, with whom he had five children. Sir George died in 1660, being 61 years old at the time of his death (Foster 1874, 258). He was succeeded by his brother John, as all his sons had died (Wentworth 1893, xii).

#### **4. Linguistic Introduction**

In this section I shall introduce some characteristics of the language used in my material. I shall present features which differ from PDE and, consequently, may present problems in understanding the texts. This section is further divided into five subsections: standardization, spelling, morphology, syntax, and lexis and semantics. Generally EModE is not very difficult to understand for speakers of PDE. As can be seen from the material, only single words need glossing. Van Gelderen (2006, 190) notes that EModE is surprisingly modern with respect to syntax. According to van Gelderen (*ibid.*), the reasons are most likely stylistic or semantic if the modern reader has difficulties in understanding an EModE text. However, there are still several differences in morphology and grammar (van Gelderen 2006, 190). In addition, vocabulary use is much more innovative during EModE than in any other period (*ibid.*).

It seems that in my material the biggest differences are found with regard to spelling. Morphologically and syntactically there are only slight differences, and these are mainly individual cases. I shall also briefly discuss lexis and semantics, although the main focus of this section is on spelling, morphology, and syntax. First, however, I shall discuss the standardization of English, so that the reader can get a general idea what was happening in the English language during the EModE period.

#### **4.1. Standardization**

During the early modern period, English underwent a substantial amount of standardization. Görlach (1999, 459) maintains that it was bound to happen due to the increasing use of English in public domains after the status of Latin had weakened. The use of English as the Chancery language from 1430 onwards speeded up the transition from Latin. The standardizing process was reinforced by the introduction of printing from 1476 on. The printing press enabled cheaper production of books and other reading materials, which spread the developing norms quicker and more evenly. In addition to the introduction of printing, there were several other noteworthy changes in society which contributed to the standardization of English. For example, Baugh and Cable (1996, 195-197) list three of these factors: increased communication, access to education, and social stratification. Furthermore, Görlach (1991, 8-9) states that the growth of London affected the standardization process as well, because London prestige forms started to spread to the regional dialects.

However, Wright (2000, 6) remarks that the standardization process was not straightforward; it proceeded gradually and not as a bundle of features. Moreover, Milroy (2000, 22) points out that changes did not occur suddenly; there was a transition period in which older and newer forms existed side by side and alternated. Gramley (2012, 142) notes that there was a lot of variation in EModE with regard to formality, field, text type, and between written and spoken language. Thus, during EModE a high degree of variation remained “both within and between the idiolects of individuals” (Hope 2008, 221). According to Watts (2000, 29), a written standard emerged in the early eighteenth century. After the mid-eighteenth century attitudes towards language use became highly normative, but during most of the early modern period, language use was not too strictly regulated (*ibid.*).

#### **4.2. Spelling**

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century spelling might seem strange and irregular at first, but there are, in fact, certain orthographic norms which became established during the EModE period (McIntyre 2009, 61). Many scholars agree that by around 1700 the spelling system had reached a high degree of uniformity (van Gelderen 2006, 155; Görlach 1991, 46; Lass 1999b, 10; Salmon 1999, 32). Since my material is from

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there are still many differences in spelling when compared to PDE.

It is also important to bear in mind that the material in this thesis consists of private letters. According to Görlach (1991, 46), spelling in certain texts like private letters and diaries remained highly varied until the end of the EModE period. Lass (1999b, 10) comments on the same matter by stating that “‘public’ writing was much more bound by these developing conventions than private writing”, however, gradually the conventions became part of the private sphere as well (*ibid.*). Salmon (1999, 45) observes that books on spelling became common after the Restoration in 1660, which undoubtedly had an impact on spelling in private writing as well. Görlach (1999, 487) believes that contemporaries probably thought that correct spelling was the secretary’s job, and it was not until the eighteenth century that this attitude changed.

In the rest of this subsection I shall present some features of spelling encountered in my material. Firstly, the alphabet in use is the same as in PDE, although *y* is often used in the definite article and in the relative pronoun *that* to replace the earlier letter thorn (*þ*), which denoted the letters *th* (9/5: *y<sup>e</sup>*; 2/18: *y<sup>t</sup>*). However, by the late seventeenth century the *y* was mainly considered as an abbreviation than a letter (Harvey 2001, 46). In addition, some letters do not have the same kind of distinctive usage as in PDE. A good example of this is the use of *u* and *v*: *u* is often used medially and *v* initially, regardless of whether a vowel or a consonant is meant (1/33: *giuen*; 2/13: *vnder*).

Van Gelderen (2006, 161) notes that this kind of use of *u* and *v* was common in EModE and that can be seen from the material as well. It seems that many scholars (Görlach 1991, 48; Salmon 1999, 28; Barber 1997, 3) think that these graphemes were used in the modern way after 1630. However, I do not know if they took private writings into consideration in this statement. In my later seventeenth-century material there are still plenty of instances of *u* and *v* not having been treated as distinct graphemes, but only positional variants of each other. However, the gradual change towards the modern convention is visible, as a majority of the writers have used these letters according to the modern convention in some instances (14/29: *under*).

According to Gramley (2012, 132), *j* is still rarely used in the beginning of the EModE period. Instead, *i* is used in places where PDE would have *j* (2/28: *preiudice*). This rare use of *j* is seen in my material as well; there are only three instances of minuscule *j*, and these are all written by the same writer (13/28: *judge*). Moreover, in EModE there is occasionally *y* in places where PDE would have *i* (Salmon 1999, 28). This is frequently seen in my material as well (4/13: *hym*). By contrast, sometimes *ie* is used in places where PDE would have *y* (4/13: *gentlie*). Furthermore, PDE *ie* is occasionally written as *ei* or only with an *e*. This applies especially to the word *friend* (2/35: *freind*; 1/19: *Frende*), but some other words have been spelled similarly as well (13/19: a *peice*).

The use of word-final *e* is extensive, a feature not found in PDE anymore (1/9: *acquainte*). In addition, the use of double consonant graphs is also a common feature in the material (1/34: *speciall*). According to Marshall (2010, 9), *c* is often used in places where PDE would have *t*. This can be noticed from the material as well (4/20: *Oblig~acon~*). There is also one instance in the material where *t* is used instead of *c* (7/15: *antient*). A minor feature in spelling is the use of *ck* in places where PDE would have only *c* or *k*. Spelling with *ck* was used in text 6 (6/23: *drinck*).

Another minor feature in the material, but still useful to note here, is that the spelling of certain words is based on phonetic principles. For example, the word *sour* is spelled phonetically in text 6 (6/23: *sower*). Moreover, there is diversity in the spelling of the tense marker in regular weak verbs. As maintained by Gramley (2012, 133), the past tense and past participle forms ending in *-ed* had a range of different spellings in EModE. For example, it was possible to leave the *e* out of the *-ed* ending or to use an apostrophe in place of *e* (8/6: *conferrd*; 3/14: *decay'd*). A noteworthy issue is also the spelling of *than*, which is sometimes spelled as *then* in my material (7/37-38: a far greater place then His regim<sup>nt</sup>). There is also one instance where *then* is spelled *than* (8/22: and *than* hee may have liue to toyle him selfe). Van Gelderen (2006, 170) states that these seem to be in free variation in EModE.

A prominent feature in the material is the high frequency of capital letters. According to Görlach (1991, 49), capitalization was extended in the early seventeenth century so that it was possible to capitalize any noun, adjective, or verb. Often capitals were used for emphasis, but, as Görlach (*ibid.*) maintains, the reasons for capitalization are

difficult to explain and “emphasis cannot always be held responsible”. Görlach (1991, 49) notes that the use of capitals was most extensive between 1660 and 1750 and, as stated earlier, their widespread use can be seen also in my material (1/18-19: the latter beeing his perticuler *Frende*).

As a final point of spelling, I shall take up words which are unexpectedly written together. This is a frequent occurrence with auxiliaries in EModE texts (Marshall 2010, 9), as is seen in my material as well (10/24: *shalbe*). Marshall (*ibid.*) points out that in EModE it was also possible to elide the definite article and merge it with a following word if it began with a vowel or, as Petti (1977, 25) adds, with an aspirate. This was a common way of spelling (Marshall 2010, 9; Petti 1977, 25). However, in my material there is only one instance of it (7/30: *thother*). As will be discussed in section 5.2., this kind of eliding of letters was not only possible with definite articles, but also with other words. Furthermore, sometimes the indefinite article was attached to the noun in EModE (see 4.4., p. 28). After presenting spelling in the EModE period, I shall now move on to examine EModE morphology.

### 4.3. Morphology

The turn of the seventeenth century saw several changes in the English morphology. However, as stated previously, I shall present only those changes which are found in my material. I shall begin with the indicative third-person singular suffix, which underwent a change from *-th* to *-s* in the course of the EModE period (van Gelderen 2006, 168). Raumolin-Brunberg (2009, 179) argues that the southern *-th* was favoured by the upper ranks, professionals, and wealthy merchants until the 1580s, whereas the *-s* ending was favoured by lower social ranks. Raumolin-Brunberg (*ibid.*) states that many scholars agree that the northern *-s* became the majority variant around 1600. In the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence* over 70 per cent of the cases had an *-s* ending by 1640 (Raumolin-Brunberg 2009, 178).

In my material there are 17 instances of the *-th* ending (6/30: *useth*) and 23 instances of the *-s* ending (2/14: *sets*). Chronologically these instances are distributed evenly. Between 13 different writers the usage is divided so that three writers have only used the *-th* ending and four writers the *-s* ending. Then there are three who have used both, and three writers have not used the indicative third-person singular suffix at all.

Fennell (2001, 144) notes that, ultimately, the *-th* ending became to be reserved for religious texts, and now the *-th* ending is archaic. However, the verbs *have* and *do* proceeded slower in this development; contemporaries used *-th* endings much longer in these verbs (Lass 1999c, 163). This is clearly seen in my material as well. Among the 17 instances of the *-th* ending, there are twelve instances of *hath* and three of *doth*, but no instances of *does*, and *has* is used only in text 13.

Another difference between PDE and EModE morphology is the use of cliticisation. Lass (1999c, 179) states that in PDE the cliticized forms, for example *I'll* and *shouldn't*, are more common than the non-cliticized forms *I will* and *should not*. These two examples show the distinct processes of cliticization: auxiliary verb onto subject (*I'll*) and negator *not* onto auxiliary (*shouldn't*). However, in EModE the use of these cliticized forms was still rare, and this can be clearly seen in my material as well. There are only two instances of this type of clitic spelling (15/69: *its' thought there wilbee*). In comparison, there are several dozen instances where a clitic spelling has not been used.

Lass (1999c, 179) points out that there is also a third, now archaic, cliticisation process. In this process “either a negator or pronominal subject loses its vowel, but the (following) auxiliary remains unchanged” (*ibid.*). It was once common, but during EModE both of these types die out, the negative before the pronominal subject (*ibid.*). To back up Lass’s statement, there are, in fact, no instances of the negative, but there are five instances of a pronominal subject losing its vowel before an auxiliary. These are all in text 15 (15/36-37: *'tis said y<sup>e</sup>: fre~n[ch~] haue 20: saile*).

A minor, but noteworthy difference is the fact that the possessive apostrophe was used inconsistently until 1700 (Fennell 2001, 141). Indeed, there are several instances in the material of the apostrophe not being used in words where it would be used in PDE (1/34: *by my Lords speciall comand*s). Another small matter, but still worth mentioning, is the occurrence of reflexive pronouns. As commented by van Gelderen (2006, 167), forms like *myself* and *himself* do not exist in OE, but they slowly come into existence. Simple pronouns were still in use in the early seventeenth century, but pronouns with the word *self* were increasingly used, however, still written separately (*ibid.*). In my material there are no instances of this

simple pronoun anymore, but all pronouns with *self* are written as separate words (10/24: *my selfe*).

#### 4.4. Syntax

This section deals with those syntactic differences between EModE and PDE which are found in my material. According to Görlach (1991, 101), the English language became more regular and logical in the later seventeenth century. Van Gelderen (2006, 171) states that during the EModE period, English continued to transform into an analytic language. According to van Gelderen (*ibid.*), “this transformation leads to an increasingly fixed word order and the introduction of grammatical words”. The grammatical words which were introduced during the EModE period are primarily auxiliaries, and there is an increasing tendency for more embedded sentences (van Gelderen 2006, 171).

I shall begin the discussion with articles. According to Rissanen (1999, 191), the use of articles in EModE is roughly equivalent to PDE usage. However, the article system developed slowly and over a long period of time, so there is still substantial variation in the beginning of the EModE period. In my material articles are otherwise used as in PDE, but the writer of text 2 has written almost all indefinite articles as attached to the noun, which can be confusing for the reader (2/20: *ayeaere*).

During the ME and EModE periods the demonstrative pronoun *this*, along with several other pronouns, could be used more freely in pronominal positions than in PDE (Rissanen 1999, 195). There are some instances of this kind of usage of the demonstrative *this* in my material as well (1/10-11: received by *this* Bearer M<sup>r</sup>: Hardcastle). Moreover, Rissanen (*ibid.*) observes that the singular *this* can also be used in expressions of time in EModE. There are instances of this as well in the material (4/23: *this* x<sup>th</sup> of marche). Rissanen (1999, 195) continues that the expression *this even* can mean “last evening” in sixteenth-century texts. Although written in 1665, this may apply to text 15 (15/46-47: *haueinge this eve~in~ge* [torn] a Lett<sup>e</sup>: Come from a good [line-filler] hand from the fleete).

Overall, as Rissanen (1999, 195) observes, the use of *this* in EModE implies that the pronoun is not as clearly demonstrative as in PDE, and the same can be detected in

my material. Another issue relating to demonstrative pronouns is the use of *the same*. *The same* “is fairly often used with a demonstrative force in sixteenth century texts, mainly with non-human reference” (Rissanen 1999, 196). This is, however, only a minor detail when it comes to my material. There is only one instance of this kind of usage of the expression *the same* (14/25: that you do hereby secure *the same*).

As stated by Rissanen (1999, 196), it was possible for the simplex forms of the indefinite pronouns *some*, *any*, *every*, *no*, *many* and *such* to appear as heads or determiners in OE and ME. However, the loss of the inflectional endings brought about a change in some distinctions. Thus, the distinction between the singular and the plural in these pronominal forms was not so easily detected. This leads to the common usage of *man*, *thing*, *body* and the pronominal *one* with these indefinites to be able to indicate the singular and the plural. In EModE these simplex forms of indefinite pronouns were rarely used as heads anymore (*ibid.*). In my material there are, however, a few examples of this usage (6/7: wish you had *some* to reade it to you).

I shall now briefly discuss the structure of the noun phrase. According to Rissanen (1999, 204), the basic structure of the noun phrase has not changed since the EModE period. There were, however, more possibilities for combining quantifiers and determiners, and for placing the elements. For example, as Rissanen (1999, 208) states, the adjective could be placed after the nominal head. This is probably owing to the influence of French or Latin, because most of the combinations with an adjective after the noun contain a borrowed adjective. In addition, the whole expression can often be traced back to French or Latin (*ibid.*). This is exactly the case in the following sentence from my material, which is of French origin (12/26-27: declare them your *heyres male*) (Jespersen 1954, 43-44).

Raumolin-Brunberg (1991, 275) notes that the main changes in the noun phrase from EModE to PDE were the increase of nouns, nominal adjectives, and compounds. Furthermore, there was a decrease in relative clauses, which gave way to prepositional phrases, however, excluding of-phrases, noun phrases, and participle clauses (Raumolin-Brunberg 1991, 278). Raumolin-Brunberg (*ibid.*) summarizes the change in noun phrases by stating that the change was “leading to a more compact type of expression”. Rissanen (1999, 204) argues that the structure of the noun

phrase was established more firmly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which can be seen from the material as well; the structure of the noun phrase is mainly the same as in PDE. After having discussed the noun phrase, I shall now move on to the verb phrase, which deviates more from PDE than the noun phrase.

Rissanen (1999, 209-210) notes that the structure of the verb phrase is simpler at the end of the ME period than in PDE. Groups of two or more auxiliaries were used to a lesser extent, and for that reason there are other structures in places where PDE would have auxiliaries. As a result, “in Early Modern English, many verb forms have a potential for a wider range of meaning than they have today” (Rissanen 1999, 210). The developments during the EModE period, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, led to the establishment of the PDE verbal system (*ibid.*).

There are, however, still some differences in the verb phrase which can be seen in the material. For example, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the use of *will* and *shall* started to be regularized and there developed a person-based dichotomy concerning the use of these auxiliaries (Rissanen 2000, 122). According to the rule, *shall* should be used with first person pronouns and *will* with second and third person pronouns. Rissanen (*ibid.*) argues that grammarians started to codify the rule from the seventeenth century onwards. However, as my material shows, the rule is not followed too strictly (8/23: y<sup>e</sup>: Court *shall* settle it), although, admittedly, most of the instances with *will* or *shall* do follow this rule.

Another difference relating to the verb phrase is the use of the auxiliary *be* in perfect and pluperfect forms. According to Görlach (1991, 105), *have* started to gain ground after the ME period, and it was the predominant auxiliary in perfect and pluperfect forms by 1700. This predominance of *have* is seen in my material, but there are still some instances where *be* is used to form the perfect (3/18-19: my Eyesight *is* very much decay'd). A further difference in the verb phrase in the EModE period is the use of modal auxiliaries. As stated by Rissanen (1999, 232), the fact that the modal auxiliaries were initially full verbs can be seen even in EModE due to their certain ‘non-auxiliary’ features. Nonetheless, this issue has only a minor part in the material: there are two instances where the verb *be* has been left out after the modal *will* (1/31-32: her Ladsp<sup>p</sup> wille ready to doe all on her parte towards it). According to Rissanen (1999, 234), the ellipsis of the verb following the modal was more flexible in EModE

than it is in PDE. Otherwise the modal auxiliaries in my material are used in the same way as in PDE, so I will not discuss the use of auxiliaries in any further detail.

The final issue concerning the verb phrase that I shall take up for discussion is the *do*-periphrasis. The emergence and development of the auxiliary *do* in Late ME and EModE periods is one of the most prominent features in their syntax. The *do*-periphrasis means the use of the auxiliary *do* in negative statements, yes-no questions and as an emphatic particle, in addition to being a verb in its own right (Fennell 2001, 144). This usage of the auxiliary *do* is a basic element of English grammar today. However, since the *do*-periphrasis was still developing in EModE, its use was not consistent. Since my material does not have any yes-no questions and the use of *do* in affirmative statements as an emphatic particle does not deviate from PDE use, I will only focus on *do*-periphrasis in negative statements.

Nurmi (1999, 149) observes that there was a growing use of the negative *do*-periphrasis in the first half of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, its proportion stayed below 40 per cent for the next hundred years (*ibid.*). Gramley (2012, 137) states that there is a dramatic increase in use in the sixteenth century, and by around 1700 the use of the auxiliary *do* in negative statements was considered standard. So, in the seventeenth century it was still possible to form a negative statement without the auxiliary *do*, and this is seen in the material as well (10/16: I intend not). There is also a group of nine verbs (*know, boot, trow, care, doubt, mistake, fear, skill* and *list*), the so-called *know* group, that were slower in their adoption of *do*-periphrasis (Nurmi 1999, 145, 150). Indeed, in my material about 50 per cent of the verbs in the negative statements without the auxiliary *do* belong to the *know* group (13/32: I *know* not). However, the total number of instances is only seven.

The final aspect of syntax that I shall discuss are certain features of relative clauses. Firstly, there is a clear preference in EModE to use the relative *that* instead of the *wh*-pronouns (van Gelderen 2006, 173), and this is seen in the material as well (1/19-20: both of them Persons *that* directe all my Lady Derbys Buisniesse). However, as stated by Rissanen (1999, 293), the use of *wh*-pronouns in restrictive relative clauses increased in the course of the seventeenth century, and in non-restrictive clauses *wh*-pronouns were well established already by the early sixteenth century. There are,

indeed, several instances of *wh*-pronouns as well (1/28-29: some proposic~ons~*which* are to bee sent).

Furthermore, alongside *which*, the combination *the which* was common in the sixteenth century. This northern variant first occurred in Late ME and slowly began to spread towards the south of England (Rissanen 1999, 296). Rissanen (1999, 297) argues that *the which* is rarer compared to the simple *which* and that it was no longer in use in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The use of *the which* in my material is in line with this argument. There is only one instance of *the which* and that is in the oldest letter from the sixteenth century (4/16-17: for *the which* I most hartelie thanke yo<sup>u</sup>).

The final issue concerning relative clauses is the use of *there* and *where* to introduce adnominal and nominal relative clauses. It is possible for both *there* and *where* to be followed by *that* or *as* until the seventeenth century (Rissanen 1999, 301). This is, however, only a minor issue in the material. There is only one instance of this kind of structure (2/27-28: setts his milne wheare it formerly stood & places his *weare as* formerly:). After having introduced some relevant points in the EModE syntax, I shall now move on to briefly discuss lexis and semantics in the EModE period.

#### **4.5. Lexis and semantics**

The English lexicon expanded enormously in the EModE period. In Görlach's (1991, 136) opinion, the fastest growth of the vocabulary occurred between 1530 and 1660. The reason for the massive expansion in the lexicon is the fact that several terms, which were needed from the sixteenth century onwards, were lacking from OE and ME. This led to extensive borrowing from other languages, particularly from Latin, Greek, and French (van Gelderen 2006, 176, 178). According to van Gelderen (2006, 175), these loanwords caused the so-called *inkhorn debate* (the term *inkhorn* refers to "a learned or bookish word"), meaning that there was "tension between native and non-native vocabulary" (*ibid.*). Van Gelderen (2006, 178) continues that in addition to these *inkhorn* terms, the use of hybrids was also causing concern. Hybrids are English words with Latin prefixes or vice versa. An example of a hybrid word in my material is found in text 6 (6/22: *renewing*). This word has a Latin prefix and an English word (*ibid.*).

Thus, the English lexicon was in the process of changing during the EModE period and during the time the documents in this thesis were written. There are, of course, a substantial number of loanwords in my material. I shall not, however, introduce these in detail since the loanwords do not, for the most part, affect understanding of these texts, and therefore they fall beyond the scope of this chapter. Nonetheless, it is useful to acknowledge these processes in the language during the EModE period. After all, “vocabulary is an important marker of social class” (van Gelderen 2006, 179). In addition to the growth in the lexicon, the changes in the meaning of words were common in the EModE period (*ibid.*). According to Gramley (2012, 136), these changes occurred in a variety of ways.

Firstly, as stated by Gramley (2012, 136), it is possible that the number of members in a semantic field changes, which causes all the members of the field to change their meaning. For example, Barber (1997, 243) states that the military rank system comprised of eight ranks in the sixteenth century and in the nineteenth century it was changed for a sixteen-rank system. Moreover, the terminology in the sixteenth century was not very clear and there was a wavering line between different ranks and functions (Barber 1997, 244). For example, text 7 concerns the appointment of Thomas Wentworth as captain. However, in early modern times *captain* could also mean “commander, general” (*ibid.*).

Secondly, Gramley (2012, 136) argues that in addition to changes in semantic field relations, the meaning of a word may become wider or narrower by gaining or losing meanings. For instance, *cousin* means “relative” in EModE (van Gelderen 2006, 179). Marshall (2010, 11) observes that it is frequently the case that *cousin* refers to a niece or nephew, but it may also mean a more distant relationship. For example, in text 10 and 11 William Wentworth refers to Thomas and George Wentworth as his cousins. However, they all belong to different branches of the Wentworth family, and actually have quite a distant relationship (see 3.2.1 – 3.2.3., pp. 18-22).

Finally, change may also entail “amelioration, the taking on of a more positive meaning, or pejoration, a more negative one” (Gramley 2012, 136). According to Nevalainen (1999, 448), pejoration is more common than amelioration, and there is, in fact, a good example of pejoration in my material. In text 2 the abbreviation *m<sup>es</sup>* has been used twice: (2/3-4: at *m<sup>es</sup>* Wentworths awiddow in [line-filler] Swan alley in

Colemanstreete; 2/7: ffor *m<sup>e</sup>s* Mary Wentworth). This abbreviation refers to the word *mistress* which might seem odd, since in PDE it refers to a woman who is having a sexual relationship with a man who is married to someone else (*OED Online*, s.v. “mistress,” n. 7). However, in EModE the word could denote “[t]he female head of a family, household, or other establishment” (*OED Online*, s.v. “mistress,” n. 2a) and it could be “[u]sed as a title of politeness [...]. [p]receding the surname (originally also the first name) of a married woman” (*OED Online*, s.v. “mistress,” n. 11a).

## 5. Palaeography

In this chapter I shall cover those aspects of palaeography which are relevant in relation to my material. These aspects include handwriting and different scripts, mainly secretary and italic, abbreviations, punctuation, writing of numerals and dates, and lastly, self-corrections. First, however, I shall briefly explain the term palaeography, as it is the main heading for this chapter. A very brief definition is that palaeography is a study of handwriting (Howell & Prevenier 2001, 44). According to Hector (1966, 11), the study of palaeography originates from diplomatic, which is the science of documentary criticism. Initially the main function of palaeography was to guide in reading old handwriting by helping to identify letter forms and to expand abbreviations (*ibid.*).

However, from the 1960s onwards the scope and functions of palaeography have been defined much more widely (Hector 1966, 11). Questions in which palaeographers have since been interested in include, for example, different styles of handwriting and their territorial distribution, questions relating to schools of handwriting and illumination, and the transmission of texts (Hector 1966, 12). Hector (1966, 13) emphasizes that the conclusions palaeographers draw are based on internal evidence, and these should rarely be challenged. Petti (1977, 8) states that palaeography is often used as an umbrella term which encompasses writing in all its forms and writing materials until 1700.

### 5.1. Handwriting in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England

Before going on any further, two important terms must be explained: *script* and *hand*. According to Beal (2008, 365), the general definition of the term script is “any

kind of writing by hand,” but in palaeography the term has a more specific definition. In palaeography script means a type or system of writing which can be identified due to its characteristics and distinctive forms, “usually belonging to a particular historical period or location” (*ibid.*). Thus, script is the basic style or model according to which the writer conveys text. Possible scripts are, for example, *court*, *secretary*, and *italic*. In contrast, “hand [...] is the specific example of that writing on a document” (Beal 2008, 365). While hand generally appears like the script the writer has in mind, it might also bear idiosyncrasies of the writer. However, the distinction between these two terms is often obscure because they are commonly used synonymously (*ibid.*). Nevertheless, to avoid any confusion, I shall use the terms script and hand according to Beal’s definitions.

The handwriting used in England today, a script originating from Italy, has belonged to the same class since 1700 (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1968, 8). Therefore, it might come as a surprise that until that time there were actually numerous scripts used in England. Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton (*ibid.*) assert that the changes in the handwriting of England between 1600 and 1700, that is to say the period from which my material dates, were drastic. Parkes (2008, 101) states that “[f]eatures of style and the character of the penmanship [...] have always been subject to changes of fashion”. In addition to style, an important requirement for handwriting is its quick decoding (Parkes 2008, 59).

According to Petti (1977, 16), creating a script which would suit all occasions, being also aesthetically appealing, clear, and easy to write, was the basic concern in the handwriting of sixteenth-century England. There were two rival scripts in England in the sixteenth century which dominated the hands of the contemporaries, namely a gothic script called *secretary* and a roman script known as *italic*. In the next two subsections I shall introduce these two scripts, secretary and italic respectively, as these two scripts are the ones used in my material. In the final subsection I shall take into consideration their gradual mixing and the emergence of the English national round hand.

### 5.1.1. Secretary script

In this section I shall introduce the secretary script and present its characteristic features with examples from my material. As Denholm-Young (1964, 71) states, knowledge of the secretary script is necessary to everyone who is studying sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English manuscripts. There are many different subtypes of secretary and, as Hector (1966, 60) remarks, this was inevitable considering the mixed origins of the script. These subtypes include *early Tudor secretary*, *mid-Tudor secretary*, and *Elizabethan secretary* (Petti 1977, 16). However, for the purposes of my thesis I shall introduce the secretary script and present its characteristic features on a more general level.

Secretary is considered to be a vernacular script (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1968, 11), although its earliest forms probably originate from Italy (Petti 1977, 14). It was imported into England from France during the third quarter of the fourteenth century (*ibid.*). Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton (1968, 10) point out that the origin of secretary is not entirely known to researchers. According to Parkes (2008, 114), the script had gained popularity by 1410. Beal (2008, 374) argues that secretary was the dominant script in England by circa 1440.

Secretary was used for everyday purposes, including correspondence, business, and literature. When written at speed, the script became easily illegible, especially the minims which tended to merge (Petti 1977, 18), *minim* being “the shortest vertical stroke actually forming a part of a letter” (Petti 1977, 9). The minim problem is most common with *i*, *m*, *n* and *u* (*ibid.*). Particularly if these letters are written in succession (9/21: *begining*), and if the *i* is not dotted (9/11: *being*). From the early sixteenth century onwards the point came to be used as a diacritic in the letter *i* to distinguish it from other minims (Petti 1977, 26). However, sometimes the *i* was left undotted even in the seventeenth century, as is the case in previous example from my material.

In addition, the linear letters are liable to be open at the top and thus look fairly similar (5/10: *directions*; 5/13: *may*) (Petti 1977, 18). By linear letters Petti (1977, 8-9) means minuscule letters which project only a little above the line of writing, for example the letters *a* and *o*. Beal (2008, 374) notes that the use of secretary

continued despite the fact that the Court of Common Pleas condemned it illegal in 1588 to use the secretary script in writing a writ because it would become illegible when worn. In Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton's (1968, 8-9) opinion, secretary was becoming extinct by 1650, and by the turn of the eighteenth century it was not written as a distinct script anymore. Since secretary lettering is rather peculiar compared with modern writing, I shall now present some characteristic features of the script with examples provided from my material. It is good to keep in mind, however, that every document contains idiosyncrasies of its writer.

- A** Minuscul *a* is usually single-lobed (4/12: *that*) (Preston & Yeandle 1992, vii) and sometimes open at the top (5/13: *gratefull*) (Petti 1977, 17). There is often a clear backward slope in majuscule *A* (10/30: *Apr.*) (Hector 1966, 61).
- C** Minuscul *c* normally consists of a straight stem with a horizontal projecting from it (4/14: *contented*) (Hector 1966, 61). Majuscule *C* has several different forms, a circular with a cross-stroke running through horizontally being the most characteristic form (9/13: *Case*) (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1968, 13; Petti 1977, 17).
- D** Minuscul *d* is often open-bodied and looped (15/10: *due*) (Petti 1977, 16). It is likely to be confused with *e* (Denholm-Young 1964, 71), as can be seen, for example, from text 15 (15/13: *Lodgeinge*; 15/10: *respects*).
- E** Minuscul *e* exists in several types. These include, for example, a Greek *e* (10/10: *Reve~nu~es*), and an open reversed *e* (10/2: *concerning*) (Petti 1977, 17). Petti (1977, 16) points out that the connecting stroke is sometimes so fine that it looks like the eye of the *e* is split from the body (9/20: *appare*). Sometimes the minuscul *e* resembles *c* in appearance (Hector 1966, 61), which is seen in my material as well (12/16: *charge*). Majuscule *E* often resembles two modern *C*s on top of each other (10/14: *Edmunds*) (Petti 1977, 17).
- F** Majuscule *F* is often written with a double minuscul *f* in my material (2/7: *ffor*) which, according to Petti (1977, 13), was still the general convention during EModE. However, the writing of majuscule *F* according to the modern convention was being increasingly used during the seventeenth century (1/1:

For). In my material approximately half of the writers have used a double minuscule *f* and the other half have used a majuscule *F*. The gradual trend of the increasing use of majuscule *F* is not seen, however, the instances are distributed evenly.

- G** Minuscule *g* resembles the modern *y*, being open-tailed and flat on top. In addition, there is a head-stroke which “often appears to give the letter horns” (Preston & Yeandle 1992, vii) (4/13: *gentlie*). Petti (1977, 14) states that the upward stroke to the right is often higher than the corresponding stroke to the left. There are some instances of this in my material as well (7/16: *ridinge*). In later secretary hands the tail crosses over the head (Petti 1977, 16), but this form is not seen in my material.
- H** Minuscule *h* is a key letter in secretary because it sinks lower with time. Thus, the letter can be used as evidence in dating the manuscript (Denholm-Young 1964, 71). Petti (1977, 17) points out that minuscule *h* has a countless number of variants between a very simple form (10/8: *the*) and an elaborately looped body (4/19: *that*).
- I/J** As was established in section 4.2., *j* was rarely used in the beginning of the EModE period (Gramley 2012, 132). It was until at least the seventeenth century that minuscules *i* and *j* were considered as distinct letters. Until that time they were considered as being the same letter, but having two forms. As mentioned in section 4.2., usually *i* was used instead of *j* (2/26: *Iniure*) (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1968, 14). Regarding majuscules, Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton (*ibid.*) argue that there existed only one written form of *I* and *J*. Petti (1977, 13) thinks that the letter forms might not be exactly the same, but they are almost impossible to distinguish. They are, indeed, indistinguishable in my material (8/6: *John*; 8/9: *I*). Thus, I have transcribed these letters as they would appear in PDE (see 6.4., p. 61).
- N** Usually there is no distinction between minuscule *n* and *u* (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1968, 14). This similarity is seen in my material as well (2/20: *pound*).

- P** Minuscule *p* is written without lifting the pen from the paper. Thus, it resembles minuscule *x* (Hector 1966, 61). This resemblance is seen in my material as well (10/2: *particulars*; 4/23: *x<sup>th</sup>*). According to Denholm-Young (1964, 33), majuscule *P* or *D* has sometimes an otiose dot which may be compared to the vertical stroke. The otiose dot in majuscules mainly dates from the fifteenth century. In my material this otiose dot in majuscule *P* has been used in texts 9 and 15, both date from the 1660s (9/33: *Post*). There are no instances of this kind of usage of dot in majuscule *D* in my material. However, one writer has dotted three majuscule *V*s (11/20: *Vncle*), and in text 15 the writer used the otiose dot systematically in majuscule *B* (15/3: *Barronett*) and *K* (15/32: *Kingelt*) in addition to *P* (15/33: *Paris*).
- R** Hector (1966, 61) states that the traditional secretary *r* is the two-stemmed form, which is, indeed, extensively found in my material (2/11: *inform~acon~*). In addition to the two-stemmed form, the secretary script has several other minuscule *r*-forms, and these are all found in my material: the 2-shaped form (6/16: *morning*), the left-shouldered form (14/6: *Attercliffe*), the v-form (7/26: *present*), and Roman *r* including a foot-serif (1/8: *Lords*) (Petti 1977, 17).
- S** Secretary has ultimately three different forms of minuscule *s*: the long *s*, which has many varieties depending on its linking with the succeeding letter (4/12: *adressed*), the sigma *s*, which often has a curved ascender (4/11: *comenda~con~s*), and a form which looks like *c* and *3* combined or a small majuscule *B* (Petti 1977, 14, 16-17). Petti (1977, 17) remarks that this last form is much more uncommon than the sigma *s*, and in fact, there is not a single instance of this *c* + *3* form in my material. Usually writers of the secretary hand used the long *s* initially and medially, and the other two forms terminally (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1968, 15). However, this was not always the case, as is seen from text 13 (13/29: *fortunes*).
- U/V** As already mentioned in section 4.2., *u* and *v*, similarly to *i* and *j*, were considered as being the same letter, but having two forms (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1968, 15) (see 4.2., p. 24). As in the case of majuscule *I* and *J*, majuscule *U* and *V* were still interchangeable in the EModE period (Stryker-Rodda 1986, 23).

### 5.1.2. Italic script

The italic script was developed in Italy by humanists (Goldberg 1990, 50). According to Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton (1968, 12), its first appearance in Italy was about 1423. The script started to gain popularity because in 1431 it became to be used in the Papal Chancery (Goldberg 1990, 50; Petti 1977, 18). Into England the script arrived about 1500 (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1968, 11). Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton (*ibid.*) postulate that its easy legibility and beautiful form were immediately recognized. It did not, however, gain popularity in England until the latter half of the sixteenth century (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1968, 9).

From about 1550 the nobility often employed italic in their signatures even though the rest of the text was written in secretary (Hector 1966, 62; Petti 1977, 19). In my material the body of the text is often written in an italic hand with certain secretary features (see 5.1.3.). However, the practice of employing mere italic in the signature is seen in several letters in my material (4/25: *C~m~berland*). In the course of the sixteenth century italic became an indicator of literacy and high culture (Goldberg 1990, 1-2). Thus, employment of an italic signature marked class or class aspiration (Goldberg 1990, 239). As Goldberg (1990, 134) notes, different scripts maintained social difference. However, if a person had good handwriting and possibly was able to write more than one script, the different scripts also enabled social mobility (Goldberg 1990, 134; Denholm-Young 1964, 74).

From the sixteenth century on, italic was also used to set apart certain elements in an otherwise secretary text (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1968, 9). These elements include, for example, quotations, headings, foreign words, and proper names (2/8: *cat & fidell*) (Beal 2008, 214; Hector 1966, 62-63). Italic could also be used to signify emphasis (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1968, 9). According to Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton (1968, 12), a considerable portion of noblemen could write in italic by the end of the sixteenth century, and by the mid-seventeenth century it had overtaken secretary in popularity. Denholm-Young (1964, 74), however, disagrees with this statement, maintaining that by the end of the sixteenth century only few people were able to write italic and that it progressed slowly. Denholm-Young's statement about the advancement and popularity of italic seems a little cautious, as both Beal (2008, 214) and Petti (1977, 19) agree that most educated men in the latter

half of the early modern period mastered both secretary and italic scripts equally well. Women, on the other hand, usually mastered only the italic script because they were not taught to write secretary (Beal 2008, 214; Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1968, 10).

The impact which the italic script had on the development of English script during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was considerable (Beal 2008, 214). As many scholars note, italic is the basis of our modern handwriting (Denholm-Young 1964, 9; Goldberg 1990, 2; Petti 1977, 18). I shall not present the letter forms of italic in detail, because they are much closer to our modern letter forms than in the case of the secretary script. Preston and Yeandle (1992, viii) point out, however, that even though a text written in italic is usually not very hard to read, there are numerous variations in the letter forms. In the next section I shall discuss the mixing of secretary and italic which eventually led to the emergence of the English national round hand.

### **5.1.3. Mixing of the secretary and italic scripts and the emergence of the English national round hand**

It is not uncommon that different scripts mix with each other. In fact, it is the usual way in the formation of a new script (Petti 1977, 20). Petti (1977, 10) states that every script is a mixture of different sources, although, the predomination of one influence is possible. Also Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton (1968, 12) point out that “a style of handwriting is not born; it emerges”. This is exactly what happened from the sixteenth century on, when different scripts started to mix with each other, and classifying hands was not possible anymore (Preston & Yeandle 1992, viii). The writing masters tried to prevent the mixing of the scripts, but, as books became available due to the printing press and more people became literate, they could do little else, but perhaps to slow down the process of mixing (Denholm-Young 1964, 75). As Parkes (2008, 85) concludes: “[w]hen there are two ways of doing the same thing, a mixture is inevitable”.

Secretary and italic were the two scripts which were most commonly mixed with each other (Parkes 2008, 85). Hector (1966, 63) addresses the problem of deciding the degree of admixture. He states that “it is difficult to decide whether they should

be called secretary powerfully affected by italic, or italic with many secretary features” (*ibid.*). I have had this same problem with my material. As stated earlier, the material dates mainly from the latter half of the seventeenth century, and as noted in section 5.1.1., by the mid-seventeenth century a pure secretary hand was rare (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1968, 12). Petti (1977, 20) confirms that the general tendency was the increase of italic letter forms and the gradual extinction of secretary. Petti (*ibid.*) states that by 1650 the truly mixed hands were almost vanished, meaning that the letter forms were mainly italic with certain secretary forms. Thus, in most cases, I have classified the hand to be italic with certain secretary features.

Petti (1977, 20) notes that there does not seem to be a specific system in the occurrence of graphs in hands which featured both secretary and italic scripts. There might occur several different letter forms anywhere in the word from both scripts. As mentioned in section 5.1.1., by the turn of the eighteenth century secretary was practically extinct (Beal 2008, 214; Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1968, 9). The secretary letter forms which survived the longest were *d* and *e*; they persisted into the eighteenth century (Denholm-Young 1964, 75). The writing masters canonized the fusion of italic and secretary in the end of the seventeenth century. The new script came to be called the English national round hand (Hector 1966, 63). In the eighteenth century that script spread over most of Europe (Hector 1966, 63; Petti 1977, 21). The English national round hand has been in use ever since in England and its form has changed very little (Hector 1966, 63).

## **5.2. Abbreviation**

Studying abbreviations helps in deciphering old handwriting and understanding the contents of old documents, which is why I shall deal with the different methods of abbreviation of words in this chapter. Abbreviations is an important subject to study for all transcribers, editors, and textual critics not only because of this, but also because they can reveal something about the age and provenance of a certain manuscript (Denholm-Young 1964, 64). However, studying abbreviations with this latter aim is not only beyond the scope of my study, but not very relevant either since my material includes letters which almost always provide the date and the writer. But

with the first aim in mind, namely understanding and deciphering old handwriting, abbreviations are extremely important for this study.

Abbreviations emerged from the need to save time and space (Petti 1977, 22). According to Petti (*ibid.*), the saving of space was even more important due to expensive writing materials. The use of abbreviations was preserved from medieval times to EModE, although the materials became cheaper and there was no acute need for abbreviations anymore (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1968, 19). Abbreviations were also useful when a certain message needed to remain secret or simply when the writer wanted to keep the lines equally long (Petti 1977, 22).

Compared to modern conventions, the use of abbreviations was much freer in the seventeenth century (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1968, 21). However, as Petti (1977, 22) notes, their usage during the late ME and EModE periods was still fairly uniform and within reasonable limits. Thus, they can be understood by modern readers if they are aware of certain general principles. The general tendency was the gradual reduction of abbreviations; by the eighteenth century the amount of abbreviations was decreased considerably (Petti 1977, 25).

According to Denholm-Young (1964, 64), the division of abbreviations into four categories has been found convenient from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards. These categories are *suspensions*, *contractions*, *superscript letters*, and *special signs* which are also called *brevigraphs*. Denholm-Young (*ibid.*) emphasizes that these divisions are a matter of practical utility and do not portray historical development. Petti (1977, 22) points out that *elision* makes a useful addition as a minor category, although, elision is not so much a palaeographical matter, but has more to do with literary style and linguistics. All of these five methods of abbreviation, including elision, have been used in my material, so, I shall now present them individually in the following paragraphs.

An abbreviation is called a *suspension* when one or more letters are cut off of the end of the word (7/8: *Mar:* Langdale). Suspension was frequently used in names and modes of address (Petti 1977, 22). The most extreme suspensions only consist of the initial letter of a word (Denholm-Young 1964, 64). In my material these kinds of suspensions are encountered with names (6/36: *N:* Johnston) and with the

abbreviation for *denarii* (9/7: 3<sup>d</sup>). Petti (1977, 22) notes that it was common practice to put a period or colon at the end of a suspended word, particularly in the period between the late fifteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In my material this is also common, even though the material mainly dates from the latter half of the seventeenth century (1/6: Octo:).

*Contraction* refers to the omission of one or more medial letters in a word and it was the most common method of abbreviation (Petti 1977, 22). The contraction was usually indicated somehow: common methods were a period placed at the end of a word or a line called a macron (or tilde) above a letter or letters (*ibid.*). Often the missing letter denoted by a macron was *m*, *n* or *i*. For example, it was not uncommon that the macron indicated the need to double the *m* or *n* (13/40: su~mo~ns) (Preston & Yeandle 1992, ix). According to Preston and Yeandle (*ibid.*), a missing *i* is indicated when there is a macron above a word ending in *-con* or *-ton* (2/11: inform~acon~).

Petti (1977, 22) points out that the use of macrons was more restricted in English than in Latin. He states that although the macron could be used for general contraction, it was mainly reserved for names, legal terms, and the specific single letters *m*, *n* and *i*, which I already discussed (*ibid.*). Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton (1968, 20) state that the length and place of the macron was not always consistent. Thus, they sometimes extend over the whole word (15/49: ~w<sup>ch</sup>:~). Furthermore, on occasion a writer may have added a macron over a word even though there are no letters omitted (4/3: kni~ght~), and sometimes the macron could begin from the upward curve of a letter, commonly this was the final letter of a word (14/6: ~s~d) (*ibid.*).

Many of these methods of abbreviation were adopted from Latin, as is the case with *superscript letters* (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1968, 20). However, their use further evolved in sixteenth-century English into “its own home-grown variety of contraction” (*ibid.*). According to Petti (1977, 24), the use of superscript letters was popular in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. After a decrease in usage they came back into vogue in the sixteenth century as popular abbreviations for relative and possessive pronouns, adjectives, modes of address, numerals, and some prepositions (1/7: S<sup>r</sup>) (*ibid.*). However, it was possible to abbreviate almost any fairly common

word with superscript letters, for example the word *said* (13/26: that is  $s^d$  to be) (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1968, 21).

The usual pattern was to raise one or more letters to a superior position, which indicates that a letter or letters preceding these superscript letters have been omitted (Petti 1977, 24). Most commonly they occurred at the end of a word, but it was not impossible that superscript letters appeared also medially, as in the following example from my material which means *within* (15/69:  $w^t$ :in). Furthermore, on occasion a letter might have been omitted after the superscript letter as well, like in the following abbreviation for *with* (4/7:  $w^t$ ) (*ibid.*). Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton (1968, 21) observe that the use of superscript letters was so common that sometimes the final letter was raised even though nothing was omitted (4/17:  $yo^u$ ). Although superscript letters denoted contraction in itself, sometimes a mark indicating abbreviation was added too; most often this was a period at the end of the word (3/8:  $yo^t$ .) (Petti 1977, 24).

*Special signs*, also known as *brevigraphs*, were often adopted from medieval Latin (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1968, 20). They were used to represent two or more letters or one syllable. Sometimes they were completely arbitrary in shape, but they could also bear resemblance to one of the omitted letters (Petti 1977, 23). The most common of these brevigraphs is the ampersand, which was made in several different ways (7/17: &) (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1968, 19). A common brevigraph in my material is a symbol which denotes a vowel plus *r* (8/5:  $ord^e$ :). Zurcher (2016) calls it the *r-loop* and states that it was a frequently used abbreviation. Sometimes the *r-loop* is hard to distinguish from *r* or *e* written as superscript. This can be noticed when these three examples from my material are compared (6/13:  $y^r$ ; 8/5:  $y^e$ :; 8/5:  $ord^e$ :).

*P-abbreviations* are also frequently used brevigraphs in my material. P-abbreviations vary in shape, and depending on the shape and context these abbreviations can refer to letters *par*, *per*, *pro*, *pre*, and *pri*. The last mentioned is uncommon in English (Petti 1977, 24). The four others, respectively, are used in my material (15/49:  $\rho$ ticulers; 14/11:  $\rho$ sons; 4/20:  $\rho$ mysing; 12/3:  $\rho$ sent). One writer has used the *es-brevigraph*, which stands for *es* or *is*, and signifies a noun in a plural or a possessive

form (4/13: friend<sup>e</sup>) (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1968, 19). The modern day equivalent is either *s* or '*s* (*ibid.*). Petti (1977, 23) states that in manuscripts written after the fifteenth century it almost always stands for *es*, as is also the case in my material.

Other instances of brevigraphs in my material are 3, 4, and 9. These are all individual instances apart from the symbol 3, of which there are two instances. According to Petti (1977, 23), the symbol resembling the Arabic numeral 3 and written as subscript represents letters *ir*, *ier* or *ire*. In my material the symbol represents *ire* in both cases (1/4: Esq<sub>3</sub>), and the abbreviated word is *esquire*. Marshall (2010, 20) states that the Latin genitive plural ending *-arum* or *-orum* is meant when “words ending in *-ar* or *-or* finish with a 2-shaped *r* which has a downward curving mark through its horizontal baseline stroke”. This mark resembles the symbol 4 which I have used to mark this brevigraph. However, as the word (groteta<sub>4</sub>) is not a part of the original document, but has been added later, I have not included it in the transcription. It is only found in the commentary of text 2 on page 69. Petti (1977, 24) adds that this brevigraph is only used in Latin words, as is the case with the word found in my material as well. A symbol which resembles the Arabic numeral 9 and is written as superscript at the end of a word indicates the ending *-us* (4/9: Ex<sup>9</sup>) (Marshall 2010, 20).

*Elision* differed from traditional abbreviations in that elision did not actually save time or space, but the omitting of letters was “for metrical necessity, euphony or colloquial convenience” (Petti 1977, 25). Elision could take place anywhere in the word, and it was usually signified with an apostrophe. When the elision occurred in initial position, it was generally intended to link the elided word with the preceding or succeeding word (15/76: 'tis) (see 4.3. for a discussion of cliticization). As mentioned in section 4.2., elision at the end of a word was very frequent; especially with definite articles (Petti 1977, 25). However, in my material there is only one instance of elision at the end of a word (7/30: *tho<sup>t</sup>ther*).

### 5.3. Punctuation

In this section I shall discuss punctuation in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English texts and, more specifically, those punctuation marks I have encountered in

my material. Although all the marks used nowadays were employed by the late sixteenth century, their function might have been different. Furthermore, there were some marks in use which have already disappeared (Petti 1977, 25). For this reason it is important to discuss the punctuation practices in the early modern period and in my material. Punctuation evolved over a long period of time, and it was only in the eighteenth century that it had fully taken on the same grammatical functions than in PDE. The spread of printing helped in standardizing punctuation to some extent. Nevertheless, punctuation in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscripts was still inconsistent and generally less used than in printed books (*ibid.*). This can be seen in my material as well. For example, the writer of texts 5 and 6 has used very few punctuation marks.

According to Parkes (1992, 2), “the value and function of each symbol must be assessed in relation to the other symbols in the same immediate context, rather than in relation to a supposed absolute value and function for that symbol when considered in isolation”. In other words, as punctuation was not fully standardized by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, different punctuation marks could have various values and functions in different contexts. Petti (1977, 25) states that punctuation practices between writers were often very different, so any generalizations concerning punctuation in manuscripts must be treated with caution. In addition, sometimes it is unclear whether a mark on the manuscript page was intended for a sign of punctuation or whether it is only a fleck of ink (*ibid.*).

The first mark to be discussed is the *period* (*periodus* in Latin) which, along with the colon, was the most common punctuation mark for ending a sentence (Preston & Yeandle 1992, x). The period was the first mark of punctuation in English, and it was also known as the *point* (*punctum* in Latin), *full point*, *prick*, or, in recent times, the *full stop*. It functioned as a major pause by the fifteenth century, and it was also used as a minor pause until the early seventeenth century (Petti 1977, 25). In this example from my material the period is still used as a minor pause, even though the text is written in the 1660s (9/24-25: as much against <sup>^</sup> {a} reasonable favour or Countenance of y<sup>e</sup> Court. as could bee;). Furthermore, it served as an enclosing or terminating mark in abbreviations and numerals. In addition to these functions, the

period was also used to dot certain letters (see 5.1.1., pp. 36, 39, and the *manuscript* section of text 15, p. 111) (Petti 1977, 26).

The *virgule* (*virgula* in Latin) was a diagonal line (/) and usually it functioned as a medial pause (Parkes 1992, 46). The earliest use of the virgule occurred in the thirteenth century, and it became almost as common as the period in punctuation (Parkes 1992, 44,46). Parkes (1992, 46) points out that these two marks were also interchangeable with each other. For example, similarly to the period, also the virgule could be used as a minor pause (4/12-14: at the moti~on~ of my frende<sup>e</sup> and hym / y<sup>t</sup> were gentlie contented to entre into bond for me) (Parkes 1992, 49). Furthermore, it could be used at the end of paragraphs or other larger units of sense (4/1-3: To my loving frend S<sup>r</sup> Thomas wentwo<sup>t</sup>th kni~ght~ yeve this./) (Petti 1977, 26). Occasionally, there might have been two or even three virgules together to denote emphasis (*ibid.*). However, in my material there are no instances of a double or triple virgule.

The virgule was often preceded or followed by a period, sometimes even bracketed by periods (Petti 1977, 26). In my material there are no instances of this bracketing of a virgule by periods. However, a virgule which is preceded or followed by a period is common in my material (9/7: post ~pd.~ 3<sup>d</sup>. Yorkeshire/). Petti (*ibid.*) remarks that the virgule was used for various purposes until the end of the sixteenth century, but by the middle of the seventeenth century it had ceased to be used almost completely. Also Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton (1968, 18) observe that the use of virgule had diminished considerably by the seventeenth century. Interestingly, virgules are fairly frequently found in my material, even though most of the letters are from the latter half of the seventeenth century.

In the early sixteenth century printers introduced the *comma* into English writing (Preston & Yeandle 1992, x). It was not until long that the comma came into general use for various purposes. Early modern rhetoricians and grammarians considered that it indicated the shortest pause in the sentence. Eventually, the comma superseded the virgule from which it evolved (Petti 1977, 26). Petti (*ibid.*) states that by the early seventeenth century the comma had adopted the role it has in PDE. In my material, however, the comma is not used similarly to PDE. For example, in text 1, which

dates from the 1650s, it is used in the function of a PDE period in several sentences (1/31-34: her Ladsppe wille ready to doe all on her parte towards it, This you wille pleased to receave as giuen by my Lords speciall comands). According to Preston and Yeandle (1992, x), this feature is occasionally seen in EModE texts.

The *colon* came into fairly common use in England during the fourteenth century (Petti 1977, 26). It is used much more frequently in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts than in PDE texts (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1968, 18). Parkes (1992, 302) states that the colon functioned as “a major medial pause, or disjunction of sense”. This kind of usage is seen in some of the texts in my material, for example in text 2 (2/20-23: Thirty pound ayeare loste to vs if not prevented: now S<sup>r</sup> my earnest request to you is to speake to S<sup>r</sup> George Savill: he beinge cheife Lord of halfe the Streame:). During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the colon was also widely used in abbreviations (15/1: Hon<sup>ed</sup>.) or after numerals (15/37: 20: saile). Usage in abbreviations is predominant in my material. Furthermore, similarly to the virgule, the colon was also used at the end of paragraphs (10/31: 1648:). By the end of the seventeenth century its role resembled the role it has in PDE (Petti 1977, 26).

Parkes (1992, 52-53) explains that the *semicolon* was introduced into England in the sixteenth century, and by the mid-seventeenth century it was widely used. In addition, Parkes (1992, 53) notes its regular use in autograph letters. In my material the semicolon is not particularly frequently used; four writers out of thirteen have applied it in their letters. To some extent, the usage in my material is in line with Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton (1968, 18) who argue that semicolons were rarely used in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English writings. The role of the semicolon was to indicate a unit of sense which fell between the roles of the comma and the colon (10/27-28: as yo<sup>u</sup> [line-filler] desired hee would; and I thinke it, no preiudice to haue it done) (Parkes 1992, 86). This is also reflected in the appearance of the semicolon (Parkes 1992, 49).

The *hyphen* was used at the end of a line to indicate a break in the word. The break could occur anywhere in the word (Preston & Yeandle 1992, x). Denholm-Young (1964, 78) and Petti (1977, 27) state that a double hyphen (=) was widely used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (15/18-19: no=tice). Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton (1968, 18) elaborate that hyphens are usually double when they occur at the

end of a line; however, this practice is not seen in my material. In my material the use of single or double hyphens seems to be idiosyncratic for the writers who have applied them. By the seventeenth century the hyphen was also used in compound words, although, this practice did not follow the same rules that PDE has (Petti 1977, 27). For example, my material contains words which would be separated in PDE, but were hyphenated in the material (13/27: *twenty=thousand*).

Petti (1977, 27) states that *brackets* were not very widely used in the early modern period, but they were used for various purposes: to give emphasis to specific phrases, for parenthesis, for indicating the speaker, or in drafts to indicate an alternative version. In my material the use of brackets is fairly frequent: brackets have been used in eight texts out of fifteen. All of these instances are round brackets, which are also called parentheses. Parkes (1992, 87) points out that parentheses were applied in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England “much more freely than at any other time”. Preston and Yeandle (1992, x) note that in order to set off a phrase, parentheses could be used in place of commas (13/18-19: who (its s<sup>d</sup>) will bee worth seaven thousand pounds a peice).

*Rules* and *underlining* had the same function as italics in PDE. They were used for quotations, to mark off certain elements, for example speeches or other specific sections, and to denote proper names or personification (13/53: *John Whithed*) (Petti 1977, 27). In my material the year of the document’s date is commonly underlined (1/6: Knowsley 23<sup>th</sup>: Octo: 1656).

*Line-fillers* were usually placed at the end of a line to fill the remaining space (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1968, 18). Usage of line-fillers prevented forgeries and illegal additions, and also ensured that the lines were perfectly aligned (Petti 1977, 28). They could take many forms; often the mark was curled, curved or looped (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1968, 18). The line-fillers in my material are mainly straight lines, but text 2 has a few curved line-fillers, for example in line 18.

Petti (1977, 28) points out that line-fillers are not purely punctuation marks, but because they frequently contain periods, commas, colons, question marks, and inverted semicolons, they often look like marks of punctuation. Petti (*ibid.*) states that sometimes it is impossible to tell whether the mark is intended for a line-filler or

a punctuation mark. For the most part in my material it is clear which marks are line-fillers. However, text 15 contains numerous straight lines of which some are in the middle of the line, for example in line 12. It is possible that some of these marks which I have interpreted as line-fillers are, in fact, dashes (–). Since all of these marks look similar, and it is hard to tell on the basis of the context which one is intended, I have transcribed all of them to be line-fillers.

#### **5.4. Numerals and dates**

In this section I shall briefly discuss the writing of numerals and dates during the early modern period in England. According to Petti (1977, 28), Roman numerals were predominant over Arabic numerals in England until the sixteenth century. Even though Arabic numerals were commonly used in England by the end of the thirteenth century, it was not until the sixteenth century that their use superseded Roman numerals. In my material this dominance of the Arabic numerals is clearly seen. There is only one instance of a Roman numeral and that is in the oldest letter from the sixteenth century (4/23: this  $x^{th}$  of marche). However, as Petti (*ibid.*) continues, sometimes the Roman and Arabic numerals were mixed by the contemporaries and the mixing is especially seen in dates. There are four instances of this mixing of two conventions in my material and, indeed, three of them are dates. In the following example, the writer has written *IO* with a Roman mark for *I* and an Arabic *0* (9/42: *i0* Feb<sup>r</sup>. (62).

With regard to the English calendar, until 1752 the year in England began officially on 25 March (Lady Day). Thus, before the year 1752 dates shown in documents between 1 January and 24 March fell historically in the following year (Marshall 2010, 11). Marshall (*ibid.*) states that “[f]or some years preceding the change some records helpfully gave both years in the form of, for instance, 1741/2”. However, documents of this edition do not display this kind of double marking because the Calendar Act 1752 was still a distant matter. Thus, it is useful to note that according to the modern calendar texts 2, 9, 12, and 13 are actually written a year later than what is written on the letter.

## 5.5. Self-corrections

During the writing process the writer sometimes needs to modify his text and in this section I shall deal with these self-corrections. According to Petti (1977, 29), these corrections in manuscripts can be divided into three categories: *deletion*, *alteration* and *insertion*. Petti (*ibid.*) continues that deletions can be further divided into seven different methods which were normally dependent on the formality of the manuscript, the surface, the ink, and the available space. However, I shall here be concerned only with those found in my material, namely *cancellation* and *obliteration*.

*Cancellation* was the most common type of deletion in manuscripts during the early modern period (Petti 1977, 29). It can be a straight line, a spiral, or a criss-cross pattern through a word or a passage (*ibid.*). Due to limitations of modern typography, in my transcriptions I have indicated all of these deletions with a straight line running through the middle of the word (see 6.4., p. 62). This is an example of a deletion in the form of spiral in the manuscript (14/23-24: ~~and if upon your said search you or any of you do find any of the s-d Engines y~~). The usual form of cancellation, however, is one or two horizontal lines which go through the centre of the words or letters (Petti 1977, 29). These represent the majority also in my material (15/79: ~~fygatt~~). *Obliteration* means that a word is covered with ink “either by blotting, smudging or completely obscuring the word with cancellation” (*ibid.*). Petti (1977, 29) adds that this is not considered as an elegant method of deletion. Thus, it is mostly found in rough drafts and rarely used in formal manuscripts. In my material there are only a few instances. These are also marked with strikethrough (13/25: ~~æ~~).

The second category of corrections is *alteration*. Alterations could be used to change letters or word order. Letters could be altered by modifying the incorrect letter by writing another letter on top of it, especially if these two letters had common features (Petti 1977, 29). In my material there are no instances of changing the word order, but there are several instances of superimposing the correct letter on the wrong one (13/9: *beg*). The third category of corrections is *insertion*. According to Petti (*ibid.*), insertions are normally interlinear, but small omissions could also be added on the line. Interlinear means that the inserted text is placed between lines of writing (Beal 2008, 211). Beal (*ibid.*) defines that “[i]nterlineation is the act or process of such

insertion or else the inserted text itself”. Interlineations, which I have brought to the line and placed inside curly brackets, are usually found “directly over or to the right of where they were intended to go” (Petti 1977, 29) (2/15: Tenna{n}ts; 12/31-32: I thinke yt ^ {it} will be best for you to hasten ouer). Petti (*ibid.*) states that in most cases the *caret* was used to indicate interlineation (3/16: a nuttmegg ^ {rould in sugar}).

The caret started as two oblique strokes in the twelfth century, but by the thirteenth century it had formed into a pointed arch, and roughly in this form it has survived into the modern times (Petti 1977, 27). The caret should be placed at the intended point of interlineation and usually it occurs slightly below the line (9/24: against ^ {a} reasonable favour) (*ibid.*). However, Petti (1977, 27) points out that occasionally it was inserted in the wrong place, as is possibly the case in the following example from my material (2/12: is about building of ^ {town} a milne). The marking cannot, however, be deciphered to be a caret with certainty. Moreover, sometimes the caret was completely forgotten (*ibid.*). In my material the caret is used in eleven insertions out of a total of nineteen. In the following example the caret has been left out (13/42: that {they} may see this Famous Citty).

After going through the methods of self-correction found in my material, I shall discuss the nature of these corrections. As Auer (2008, 214) states, writers make self-corrections to remove any imperfections and to improve the grammar and style of the text. Both Auer (2008), who has studied self-corrections in LModE letters, and Fairman (2008), who has studied textual alterations in letters from the period between 1795 and 1835, have classified self-corrections into different categories. I have examined the self-corrections encountered in my material on the basis of their categories. Fairman (2008, 199) recognizes eight categories into which cancellations can be divided. These categories are *repeat*, *jump*, *echo*, *fit*, *grammar*, *lexis*, *spelling*, and *epistolary*. In addition to these, there is a ‘Don’t know’ category.

According to Fairman (2008, 199), the first four of these categories can be classified as mechanical errors, which means that they “occurred as part of the psychological and physical processes of writing”. The *repeat* category consists of those instances where the writer has written “the same word or phrase twice in succession” (Fairman 2008, 200). Fairman (*ibid.*) points out that repetition is particularly common at line

breaks, where the writer repeats the last word of the line in the beginning of the next line. The *jump* category comprises instances where the deleted word should occur later in the text. The writer, in a way, jumps ahead (Fairman 2008, 199).

*Echo* is the opposite of *jump*, meaning that a word which the writer has already written is stuck in his mind and he writes it again, but not in succession (Fairman 2008, 200). *Fit* means that a word does not fit at the end of a line in its entirety. Thus, the writer deletes it and writes it in the next line (Fairman 2008, 201). These mechanical errors are all found in my material. In the following examples, cancellations are applied as a consequence of repeating, jumping, echoing, and fitting, respectively (1/29-30: & ~~what~~ what sver way can bee founde; 12/39: good Cossen ~~y~~ in short *your*; 7/18: *Strafford* & TickHill & ~~Strafford~~; 12/13-14: from my lady, *w* ~~which~~ I brought [from Bre]tton). In the last example concerning the *fit* category, the writer has not deleted the letter *w*. However, I have still interpreted it to be a self-correction, as the writer seems to have noticed that the word *which* does not fit to line 13, but has decided to write it in line 14.

The four other Fairman's cancellation categories are related to content. However, I shall examine the rest of the self-corrections in my material on the basis of Auer's categorization, as it is clearer and more suitable to my material. Auer (2008, 215) divides self-corrections into four categories: *orthographic corrections*, *grammatical corrections*, *style changes* and *other changes*. The last category includes, for example, mechanical errors discussed in the previous paragraph. *Orthographic corrections* include, for example, corrections in spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and word breaks. In my material there are two instances of orthographic corrections; both derive from the same writer (2/15: Tenna{n}ts; 2/41: him whois *is*). *Grammatical corrections* are numerous in my material. Most cases are insertions where the writer has forgotten a word between two words and inserted it later because the sentence would be ungrammatical without it (2/37-38: S<sup>r</sup> I {*am*} much ashamd to trouble you).

There are also many *style changes* in my material (14/23-25: ~~and if upon your said search you or any of you do find any of the ~s~d Engines y~~ *as you or any of you shall so find upon y<sup>e</sup>. said search*). In addition to Auer and Fairman, also Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (2008) has examined self-corrections made to texts on the basis of

grammarians Robert Lowth's letters from the eighteenth century. Tieken Boon van Ostade (2008, 73) argues that there were four stages in the writing process and during each stage different types of corrections were made to the text. I think that two of these stages, *providing greater explicitness* and *final polish*, mainly relate to making style changes. The *final polish* stage is further divided into two sub-categories: *increasing the distance* and *tone down anger* (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008, 73-75). These kinds of changes are seen in my material as well. In the following examples is seen how the writer provides greater explicitness and increases the distance respectively (2/16: to spoyle, ~~ours~~ {*our milne*}; 8/22-23: in till I shall y<sup>e</sup>: *Court* shall settle it).

## 6. Material and Methods

The purpose of this chapter is to provide information on the documents I have transcribed, to examine some editorial problems, to introduce the XML-codings, and to state the principles I have used when transcribing these documents. I shall first present my material. This includes, for example, its arrangement and provenance. In the second section I shall address some of the problems that this kind of work presents. The third section concerns the XML-codings which were done for the purposes of the Folger. In the last section of this chapter, I shall present the editorial principles in order to make the transcriptions understandable.

### 6.1. Material

As mentioned in the introduction, my material is obtained from the Folger, and it consists of fifteen documents which form the section 2.1 *Correspondence of the Wentworth family* in the Folger's larger collection *Papers of the Cavendish-Talbot family* (the Folger 2012). The Folger came into possession of this manuscript collection in May 1961 (*ibid.*). All of the documents in section 2.1. are sent to or sent by a member of the Wentworth family. Fourteen of these documents are letters and one is a warrant (text 14). The Folger has probably included the warrant in the correspondence due to the fact that it is written in the form of a letter. There are approximately 5,300 words in the material altogether. The length of the documents varies between 120 and 685 words.

There are at least two connections between the Wentworth family and the Cavendish-Talbot family. One is that Mary Wentworth was married to William Cavendish. Mary Wentworth lived in the sixteenth century and belonged to the Nettlestead (Suffolk) branch of the Wentworth family (Foster 1874, 267). The Nettlestead branch was more closely related to the Wentworths of Bretton than to the branches of the Wentworth Woodhouse or Woolley (Foster 1874, 266-267). The second connection is that Anne Wentworth (1591-1633), who was the sister of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, (see 3.2.1., pp. 18-19) was married to George Savile of Soothill (Foster 1874, 150). Their grandson, also named George Savile (*ibid.*), is mentioned in text 2. The Savile family had, in turn, connections with the Talbot family (Foster 1874, 148). There might well be also other connections.

The following information regarding the provenance of *Papers of the Cavendish-Talbot family* has been acquired from the Folger's website written in 2012. According to that information the manuscript collection was acquired from the booksellers Philip and Lionel Robinson. Before the Robinsons, the collection was owned by Sir Thomas Phillipps who, in turn, obtained the manuscripts from James Newman of High Holborn, London. Newman had bought them from a London bookseller called Mr. Thorpe, and Thorpe himself had acquired the manuscripts in 1843 from John Wilson's collection. John Wilson of Broomhead Hall, Yorkshire, lived in the eighteenth century, but his collection of manuscripts remained intact for several decades until it was dispersed in 1843. Wilson had obtained the papers, now belonging to the same collection called *Papers of the Cavendish-Talbot family*, from three people: Mr. Stainforth of Darnall, South Yorkshire, Mr. Bosville of Gunthwaite, South Yorkshire, and Sir Thomas Wentworth of Bretton, West Yorkshire (the Folger 2012).

The manuscripts included in this thesis probably originate from Thomas Wentworth. As mentioned in section 3.2., there were many people in England named Thomas Wentworth during early modern times. This Thomas was possibly the great-grandson of Matthew Wentworth, the recipient of texts 12 and 13 (see 3.2.2., p. 21). This is, however, my own reasoning based on the fact that he was approximately the same age as John Wilson, and as a relative these manuscripts could very well have been in his possession (Foster 1874, 268).

According to the Folger (2012), *Papers of the Cavendish-Talbot family* originally consisted of three bound volumes which were enclosed in a large box. The papers were in sequence, and they had been numbered in pencil. However, the papers were arranged again in the Folger because there was no apparent order, many had become detached, and needed to be repaired. The rearrangement of the papers resulted in six series organized by family, with unrelated items placed in the last series called *Miscellaneous documents (ibid.)*.

*Wentworth family papers* are divided into two sections in the Folger: *Correspondence* and *Other documents* (the Folger 2012). My thesis includes only the correspondence, since the scope of the thesis would have otherwise become too large. The documents are written between the years 1648 and 1705. In addition, there is one letter to which a definite year cannot be assigned; the Folger has suggested the year to be 1542. In the Folger the documents are arranged according to the last name of the sender with an unidentified writer appearing last. If necessary, the second criterion for categorization is the year. I have retained this order for an easier reference between my edition and the Folger website. In Table 1 below the texts are presented according to the sender, recipient, and year.

**Table 1** Texts according to the sender, recipient, and year

	<b>Sender</b>	<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Year</b>
<b>Text 1</b>	Humphrey Baggerley	Thomas Wentworth	1656
<b>Text 2</b>	George Barnby	Thomas Wentworth	1663/4
<b>Text 3</b>	Peter Berwick	Grace Montgomery	1692
<b>Text 4</b>	Henry de Clifford	Thomas Wentworth	1542?
<b>Text 5</b>	Nathaniel Johnston	Thomas Wentworth	1675
<b>Text 6</b>	Nathaniel Johnston	Thomas Wentworth	1675
<b>Text 7</b>	Marmaduke Langdale	George Wentworth	1660
<b>Text 8</b>	Francis Rockley	George Wentworth	1658
<b>Text 9</b>	James Shiers	Thomas Wentworth	1662/3
<b>Text 10</b>	William Wentworth	George & Thomas Wentworth	1648
<b>Text 11</b>	William Wentworth	George & Thomas Wentworth	1648
<b>Text 12</b>	William Wentworth	Matthew Wentworth	1675/6
<b>Text 13</b>	John Whitehead	Matthew Wentworth	1675/6
<b>Text 14</b>	Thomas Wentworth	Constable of Attercliffe and all other constables in the West Riding	1705
<b>Text 15</b>	unknown	Thomas Wentworth	1665

As can be noticed from Table 1, a member of the Wentworth family is the recipient in all of these documents, except in the warrant, but only four of the documents have been sent by a Wentworth. As maintained by Hunter (2009, 43), including letters both to and from an individual is a norm with contemporary editions and it makes the collection more comprehensive. Hunter (2009, 47) notes, however, that this may result in overlapping between editions, but having all of the letters collected together is, nonetheless, more important. Moreover, I am not aware of any overlaps relating to my edition.

## **6.2. Methodological problems**

It requires a lot of skill to accommodate the needs of any potential reader of the text and create an edition which can be used by specialists as well as non-specialists (Harvey 2001, 32). The edition has its value in the text itself and that should be within anyone's reach (*ibid.*). According to Harvey (2001, 13), there are three rules to be obeyed in editing: “[b]e accurate; [s]ay what you are going to do and do it; [g]ive full references to the document and describe it”. Harvey (*ibid.*) argues that everything besides these three rules is a matter of style. Style matters include, for example, whether or not the editor chooses to retain the original spelling or expand abbreviations. The editor is free to make his or her own choices, as long as those are stated in the editorial principles. However, it is not as simple as it may sound, since an editor needs to consider how to present the document in a way that retains the character of the original document, but serves the needs of the modern readers (Hunter 2009, 2).

Stevens and Burg (1997, 21) state that every editor is bound to change the original document in some way. As mentioned in the introduction, EModE texts are deceptively familiar, but still distant enough to present distinctive problems (Hunter 2009, 7). Indecipherable handwriting is obviously one of them, but the language can cause problems as well (Stevens & Burg 1997, 86). Stevens and Burg (1997, 86-87) assume that spelling, different conventions in capitalization, abbreviations, and certain language usage, for example differences in grammar, are issues which are unfamiliar to most modern readers in seventeenth-century handwritten documents.

Furthermore, the use of *y* in place of the letter thorn (see 4.2., p. 24) may seem odd to modern readers, and it is a characteristic problem in early modern texts (Harvey 2001, 46). The late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the last phase of this peculiar use of *y* to mark the letters *th*. During this phase, the following character was normally superscript, and the *y* was regarded more like an abbreviation than a letter (2/14: *y<sup>l</sup>*) (*ibid.*). Thus, some editors have expanded it, and some have not. As I have not expanded abbreviations in general, I have also retained the use of *y* to mark the letters *th*.

All of these features mentioned above are, indeed, found in my material. For example, the spelling of some words is very different, like in text 2 where “a passage” is spelled *apossage* in line 31. Examining the writing practices of the writer is often helpful. For example, the writer of text 2 had the habit of writing the indefinite article together with the headword, which is easier to notice in words like *ahill* in line 30. I have retained spelling and the other features of language mentioned in the previous paragraph, as this way the character of the original document is retained. However, it is useful to acknowledge that scholars have varying opinions on editing. For example, some think that abbreviations should be expanded to facilitate reading. Harvey (2001, 54-55) favours a policy in which familiar abbreviations, such as military ranks, are not expanded. However, confusion arises when the editor needs to consider which abbreviations are familiar for the readers. Thus, it is better to be consistent in editorial practices.

In addition to these problems, even a rough transcription is difficult to make if the document is very old and in poor condition (Kline 1998, 105). In my material there are two manuscripts (texts 12 and 15) which have numerous holes. This has made their transcription quite difficult. Furthermore, there are some characteristic problems posed by documents which belong to the letter genre. For example, how far the layout of the edition should follow the original document? Harvey (2001, 62) argues that the position of the sender’s address, date, salutation, and subscription should be ignored, and the format should be normalized. I have, indeed, found this useful in my transcriptions.

However, Harvey (2001, 62-63) also states that if the format is normalized, possible variation between manuscripts is not visible. In this edition the variation between

manuscripts is easily seen in the images provided on the verso side of the page with each transcription. An image of the original manuscript is useful since an editor cannot give the same impression of the manuscript by describing it (Harvey 2001, 75). The reader can, for example, examine the layout and handwriting in the images. In addition, according to Harvey (*ibid.*), an image would not be unnecessary even if the original document was written in typescript.

As has come out in this chapter, there are several issues which must be considered in editing. Kline (1998, 194) points out the special responsibility that editors have in producing documentary evidence. She states that documentary editors “must be knowing and sensitive flea hounds [...]. Their imaginations should be directed toward reconstructing inscribed truth, not distracting their readers with uninformed guesses” (*ibid.*). In this edition I have done my best to follow Harvey’s three rules of editing, which are mentioned in the first paragraph of this section. I have also made it clear to the reader which features belong to the original manuscripts, and which parts are my own supplements or uncertain interpretations.

### **6.3. XML-codings**

As part of the collaboration with the Folger, I have encoded my transcriptions in XML. XML is an abbreviation for Extensible Markup Language. Generally speaking, it is information which is put inside various tags. These tags are not predefined; they can be created for the needs of a specific document (W3Schools 1999-2016). In my XML-codings I have used a special tag set created by the Folger for their project *Early Modern Manuscripts Online* (EMMO). The encoding with this tag set was done with Dromio, which is a collation-transcription software tool developed at the Folger (Dingman 2015). Dromio includes 26 different tags which relate, for example, to the contents and layout of the manuscript. For instance, all proper names are encoded under a tag which highlights the name blue with white text. According to the Folger (2015), the encoding gives the digital transcriptions a practical and consistent look, and enables quick computer searches and analysis.

I have done the encoding according to the Folger’s guidelines, so these slightly differ from my transcriptions presented in this thesis. For example, in the encoded texts I have expanded abbreviations and included text which is added later. The texts are

placed in the EMMO website under a transcription project called *UTurku* with the title *X.d. 428: Cavendish-Talbot manuscripts, 1333-1705 (bulk 1548-1705)* (Available: [transcribe.folger.edu./index.php?dir=Projects-Other/UTurku](http://transcribe.folger.edu./index.php?dir=Projects-Other/UTurku)). The texts can be examined in XML or HTML view. The XML view shows the text with angle-bracket encoding, and the HTML view shows the result of the encoding. To get a better idea of the codings, I have provided text 2 as a model of the HTML view in Appendix 4.

#### 6.4. Editorial principles

Generally, I have tried to be faithful to the original documents and reproduce them as well as possible. I have retained spelling, capitalization, and punctuation as found in the manuscripts. However, as mentioned in section 5.1.1., majuscule *I* and *J* were indistinguishable in the EModE period, and it is hard to know which of the letters was intended. Thus, I have followed the spelling conventions of PDE with these letters. Regarding other majuscules, it is sometimes very hard to know whether the writer intended to write a minuscule or a majuscule letter. An example of this is the letter *y* in text 3. In these kinds of problematic cases, the letter has been weighed individually by comparing it with the writer's other letters and considering his spelling conventions.

The abbreviations and superscript letters are retained. In words where the abbreviation is indicated with a macron, I have used a wavy line,  $\sim$ , to indicate it. The length of the macron is indicated by putting a wavy line in front the letter from which it starts and after the letter to which it ends. Brevigraphs are indicated with certain symbols which have been bolded so that they stand out better from the text. These symbols are  $\text{₃}$  for *ire*,  $\text{ᵑ}$  for *-us*,  $\text{ᵒ}$  for *-rum*,  $\text{ᵒ}$  for *-ing*,  $\text{ᵑ}$  for *-es*, and  $\text{ᵑ}$  for p-abbreviations *par*, *per*, *pre*, and *pro*. As mentioned in section 5.2., the material contains various shapes of p-abbreviations. However, for the sake of clarity, the same symbol is used to indicate all of them. Also the ampersand had various shapes in early modern times, but the symbol  $\text{\&}$  is used for all of these. The r-loop, discussed in section 5.2., is reproduced with the symbol  $\text{\epsilon}$ . In most cases the symbol is written as superscript.

I have preserved some features of the layout, but mainly the layout is normalized. The features preserved are lineation and paragraph division. Line numbers are provided for ease of reference. The notes, for example, are arranged according to the line number. The features of layout I have not preserved include the location of the address, date, subscription, and signature. Moreover, the position of text written vertically or upside-down is normalized. However, it is always indicated in square brackets in the transcription where the text is found in the original manuscript. Furthermore, the relative location of the text is not preserved. For example, some writers may have left a lot of blank space between the salutation and the body of the text, but this has been normalized so that the body of the text begins immediately below the salutation. However, this is not indicated in the text. As mentioned in section 6.2., these normalizations of layout are easy to notice from the images of the manuscripts which are provided on the verso page of the commentary.

Editorial annotation of the text is modelled on Cusack (1998). Square brackets, [ ], are used when I have made my own comment to the manuscript. For example, I have placed the page numbers and the description of where the text has been written in the original manuscript inside square brackets. I have also indicated line-fillers and tears in the paper with these brackets. In cases where it was possible for me to supply the missing word or letters, I have placed them inside square brackets. In instances where “torn” is written inside square brackets, I have not been able to supply the missing word or letters. In these cases “torn” is written as annotation. Interlinear insertions have been brought to the line and placed inside curly brackets, { }. As mentioned in section 5.5., writers often marked interlineations with a caret. Carets are reproduced with the symbol ^.

Uncertain interpretations of words or letters have been marked with angle brackets, < >. These uncertain interpretations might result, for example, from difficult handwriting, a blot of ink, or a crease in the paper. The asterisk symbol, \*, is used for letters which are completely illegible. The number of these symbols indicates the number of illegible letters. If the whole word or several words are illegible, the asterisk is not used. Instead, the number of illegible words is written inside square brackets, for example [1 word illegible]. Overstruck letters or words mean that the writer of the text canceled them. In most cases, I have been able to decipher the letter

or words under the cancellation, but there are a few instances where a letter or letters in the cancelled passage are illegible. These instances are shown with an asterisk and a line, \*\*.

Underlined text does not indicate editorial annotation, but has been reproduced from the original manuscripts. In some cases the virgule has been drawn very long in the original manuscript so that it resembles underlining. However, in most cases I have still interpreted it as a virgule. Brackets which keep several lines together are also features reproduced from the documents and not editorial annotations. Text which is clearly added later and does not belong to the original manuscript has been left out. Such text includes, for example, shelfmarks and other markings which have probably been made when the manuscripts have been bound. Other items added later include, for example, a description of the seal and a calculation. Although left out of the transcription, I have mentioned these later additions in the *manuscript* section of that text.

## **7. Documents and commentary**

In this chapter I shall present the transcribed documents along with commentaries. The page numbers provided in square brackets in the transcription follow the page numbering of the Folger. As mentioned in section 2.3., the address was often written on page 4. It is more reasonable to begin the text with the address; therefore, the transcription begins with page 4. The commentary includes a short summary of the text; a description of the manuscript; notes on place names, people; and certain lexical and historical matters which need explaining. To be more specific, in the description of the manuscript I shall comment, for example, on the condition and physical structure of the manuscript and the handwriting. In addition to place names and people, the notes contain words which the modern reader may have difficulties to understand. These include, for example, words which have an obsolete sense or which differ significantly from modern spelling. I have also received permission from the Folger to use their images of the manuscripts. These are provided on the verso side of the page with each transcription.



**Figure 2** Text 1, p. 4 (Folger MS X.d.428 (148))

**7.1. Text 1: Letter from Humphrey Baggerley to Thomas Wentworth**  
Folger MS X.d.428 (148)

[p.4, middle, vertically]

1. For
2. Thomas Wentworth of
3. Bretton
4. Esq<sup>3</sup>/
5. these are

[p.1, right, top]

6. Knowsley 23<sup>th</sup>: Octo: 1656

[left, top]

7. S<sup>r</sup>.
8. By my Lords comand, I [line-filler]
9. am to acquainte you, that his Ldspp hath
10. accordinge to yours received by this Bearer
11. M<sup>r</sup>: Hardcastle, Enquired into the state
12. of his Buisnesse with my Lady Derby,
13. And doth finde, ~~that~~, that her Ladspp
14. hath very goode thoughts of kindnesse,
15. for him, & much avernesse to his [line-filler]
16. Adversary, But soe it is that his Case
17. beeing reffered, to S<sup>r</sup>: Orlando Bridman
18. & M<sup>r</sup> Rushworth, (the latter beeing his
19. perticuler Frende,) & both of them Persons
20. that directe all my Lady Derbys Buisnesse,
21. shee was concluded by them, by the power
22. of their Awarde, to doe what her Ladspp
23. then did in this case, And soe farr from
24. any thoughts of wronginge him that her
25. Ladspp hath beene much troubled since
26. shee hath seene the consequence attendinge
27. that Acco~u~: Hee hath now [line-filler]
28. delivered some propositi~ons~ which are to
29. bee sent to her Ladspps Councell, & ~~what~~
30. what sver way can bee founde to doe him
31. goode, her Ladspp wille ready to doe
32. all on her parte towards it, This
33. you wille pleased to receive as giuen
34. by my Lords speciall comand to

Knowlly 23<sup>rd</sup> Octo: 1656

S<sup>r</sup>

By my Lords command, I  
 am to acquaint you, that his Highnes hath  
 according to your request by this bearer  
 Mr. Hardcastle, Enquired into the state  
 of his Business with my Lady Derby  
 And doth finde that, that her Highnes  
 hath very good thoughts of kindness;  
 for him, & much averisall to his  
 Adversary, But so it is that his Case  
 beinge referred, to J<sup>r</sup> Orlando Bridman  
 & Mr. Rushworth (the latter beinge his  
 particular Friend) & both of them Persons  
 that Incline all my Lady Derbys Business  
 shee was concluded by them, by the power  
 of their Awards, to doe what her Highnes  
 then did in this case, And soe farre from  
 any thoughts of wronging him that her  
 Highnes hath bene much troubled since,  
 shee hath seen the consequence standinge  
 that becom. Her hath now  
 delivered some propositions which are to  
 be sent to her Highnes Council, & what  
 what ever way can be founde to doe him  
 good, her Highnes will be ready to doe  
 all on her part towards it. This  
 you will be pleased to receive as given  
 by my Lords speciall commands to

By Orlando Bridman  
Secret

Thomas Barnard

Figure 3 Text 1, p. 1 (Folger MS X.d.428 (148))

[left, bottom, vertically]

35. S<sup>r</sup>

36. Yo<sup>e</sup> moste humble

37. Serv<sup>t</sup>

38. Humph: Bagaley

[p.2]

[blank]

[p.3]

[blank]

### Summary

Humphrey Baggerley writes to Thomas Wentworth on behalf of his Lord, Earl of Derby. The letter concerns a court case between the Earl of Derby and another party. Baggerley writes that Lady Derby supports her husband and will do everything she can to help him. According to Baggerley, the case has been referred to Sir Orlando Bridgeman and Mr. Rushworth, both of whom direct Lady Derby's business. Bridgeman and Rushworth had given advice to Lady Derby, according to which she had acted. In addition, the Earl of Derby had delivered some propositions which will be sent to Lady Derby's council.

### Manuscript

The condition of this manuscript bifolium is good. There are a few places which have been repaired with silk paper. However, no part of the paper with text has been torn. The text is very neatly written. Lines are straight and written spaciouly with large handwriting. Baggerley has left a wide margin on the left of page 1. At the end of his letter he has taken advantage of this margin, as he has run out of space.

The hand is predominantly italic with a few secretary letter forms. These secretary letter forms include, for example, the Roman *r* with a foot-serif (10: *accordinge*) and majuscule *E* (11: *Enquired*). The hand also has a minim problem, which is characteristic to the secretary script (see 5.1.1., p. 36). In this hand the minim problem is especially seen in words where *i* and *n* are written in succession (9: *acquainte*). The seal of the letter is intact.

### Notes

(2-3) *Thomas Wentworth of Bretton*: see 3.2.2., p. 20

(6) *Knowsley*: A village and civil parish in Merseyside.

(8) *my Lords*: Refers to Charles Stanley, eighth Earl of Derby (1628-1672) (Rains 2004). He was the eldest son of James Stanley, seventh Earl of Derby, and Charlotte de La Trémoille (Coward 2008). Stanley married Dorothea Helena de Rupa (d. 1703) (see "*Lady Derby*" in notes). They had 14 children together (Rains 2004). Charles

Stanley succeeded to the earldom in 1651 when his father was executed as a royalist (Coward 2008). The estates of the Stanley family were confiscated, and after the Restoration Stanley tried to recover these losses, being partially successful (Rains 2004).

(10-11) *Bearer M<sup>r</sup>: Hardcastle*: Usually letter bearers were servants and not known persons (see 2.3., p. 9). However, at the time this letter was written, there was a clergyman from Yorkshire named Thomas Hardcastle (bap. 1637, d. 1678). He was born at Barwick in Elmet, West Yorkshire. In 1656, the year Humphrey Baggerley wrote this letter, Hardcastle was nineteen years old and just graduated from St John's College, Cambridge, with a bachelor's degree (Hayden 2004). It is a possibility that "M<sup>r</sup>: Hardcastle" refers to him.

(12) *Lady Derby*: Dorothea Helena de Rupa (d. 1703). She was the wife of Charles Stanley, eighth Earl of Derby. Her father was Jan van der Kerchhove, Lord of Heenvlies, Zeeland. She served as maid of honour to Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia (Rains 2004).

(17) *S<sup>r</sup>: Orlando Bridman*: Sir Orlando Bridgeman, first Baronet (1609-1674). Bridgeman originated from Exeter and he was the son of Dr John Bridgeman and Elizabeth Helyar. Bridgeman made his career in law. He held several respected posts during the 1630s and 1640s, and was knighted in 1643. As Bridgeman was a royalist, he was not allowed to "appear at the bar, but he practised instead as a conveyancer and chamber counsel" during the interregnum in the 1650s (Nenner 2014). This letter is written during that time, in 1656. In 1660 he was appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. Due to his good legal reputation and loyal royalism, he also became "a serjeant-at-law [...], lord chief baron of the court of exchequer [...], and a baronet" in rapid succession (*ibid.*). In 1668 he became Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. He had one child from his marriage with Judith Kynaston and three children from his second marriage with Dorothy Saunders (Nenner 2014).

(18) *M<sup>r</sup> Rushworth*: John Rushworth (c. 1612-1690), a lawyer, historian, and politician from Warkworth, Northumberland. His father was Lawrence Rushworth of Acklington Park and his mother was Margaret Carnaby. The name of the Rushworth family was also written as Rushforth. Although John Rushworth himself was from Northumberland, he had lots of contacts in Yorkshire, from where both of his parents originated. Rushworth was married to Hannah, who may have been the daughter of Lewis Widdrington of Cheeseburn Grange, Northumberland. They had four children together. During his career Rushworth held several legal positions. In 1638 he was nominated solicitor to Berwick-upon-Tweed, a town in Northumberland. This post he held several decades, at least until 1671. In 1647 he was called to the bar. These two positions he had in 1656, at the time this letter was written. In addition, Rushworth was a historian. His most important work was *Historical Collections*, published in four parts between 1659 and 1701. The last two parts were published

For my Mary went worth  
at the cat & fivell in the strand  
beyond st clemons church  
Latin for glouds is grotetox

Figure 4 Text 2, p. 4 (Folger MS X.d.428 (149))

posthumously. Rushworth also became a Member of Parliament in 1657 and a secretary to Orlando Bridgeman in 1667 (see “*S<sup>r</sup>: Orlando Bridman*” in notes) (Raymond 2004).

(30) *sver*: sure

(38) *Humph: Bagaley*: Probably refers to Humphrey Baggerley, army officer. According to Callow (2004), he was on close terms with James Stanley, seventh Earl of Derby. Thus, it is possible that Baggerley served his successor Charles Stanley, eighth Earl of Derby (see “*my Lords*” in notes). Baggerley may have been the one who wrote the account of James Stanley’s last days before his death (*ibid.*). However, Callow (2004) suspects that these papers have been mistakenly attributed to him. Possibly there was also another person at the time named Humphrey Baggerley. He was involved in a plot to murder Oliver Cromwell in 1654. After held prisoner in the Tower of London, he was banished from England and nothing is known of him after that. Callow (2004) speculates whether these were the same person or two different individuals who had exactly the same name.

## 7.2. Text 2: Letter from George Barnby to Thomas Wentworth

Folger MS X.d.428 (149)

[p.4, middle, vertically]

1. [ffor] his ^ {Right} Worshippfull Thomas [line-filler]
2. Wentworth knight at his Lodgings
3. at m<sup>es</sup> Wentworths awiddow in [line-filler]
4. Swan alley in Colemanstreete
5. present [line-filler]
6. [1 or 2 words illegible]

[middle]

7. ffor m<sup>e</sup>s Mary Wentworth
8. at the cat & fidell in the strand
9. beyond st clemons church

[p.1, left, top]

10. Honnored S<sup>r</sup>/
11. Haueinge re~cd~ inform~acon~ from our Tennants at Oxspring
12. that S<sup>r</sup> francis Wortley is about building of ^ {town} a milne
13. vnder Thurgoland where he formerly {ha} hath had one
14. but y<sup>t</sup> he sets it vpon anew ground and soe cuts agoit
15. through his Tenna{n}ts grounds: & places his weare Just at
16. our taile goit end: on purpose to spoyle, ou<sup>rs</sup> {our milne} w<sup>ch</sup> certainly

X. d. 428  
(149)

Yonoured Sr

149

If Sr George hath granted no more being of Sr Francis's charge not to send for the father's  
matters by Sr Francis will answer for your charge in this

you may reciev information from our Connants at Oxen  
that Sr Francis shortly is about building <sup>some</sup> familier  
under Chergolowd and also to formerly hath had one  
but of his site it open and so ground and so ruts agoil  
through his Connants grounds. & placed his weard just at  
our tails goit end: on purpose to speyle <sup>our milne</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>containingly</sup>  
it will doe for if this work be god on the draught of some  
year some we shall be in back: our mill rest in  
building & amends making about for hundred pound about  
twelve year ago: it will be abarly thirty pound a year  
loss to us if not prevented: now Sr my dutie is to write  
to you is to speake to Sr George Saule: he beinge chiefe Lord  
of halfe the Stranda: if he would be pleased not to give  
way to any thing as to let any part thereof upon his  
ground: it will be too great a loss to the fatherlyss: for w<sup>th</sup>  
out his consent they cannot Inure us at all: if Sr Francis  
sitts his milne where it formerly stood & placed his weard as  
formerly it will doe us very little or no prejudice: if Sr George  
hath granted any just thing to Sr Francis already: then be pleased  
to get agrant for us to rut through a hill on the bottom about  
eight yards from their weard: to have appoyage for the water  
it will be in twenty pound ~~year~~ charge: howeever our milne  
therewith must stand: for this is more matter set on foot  
purposefully to doe the loss on yours: I am contented not to differ  
with him: but what can be expected from him: for if it will be no body  
why should we expect civility from him: Sr Francis  
you: but it is for the fatherlyss who I am contented had little neede to  
loose any thing if makes us take this burden upon us: pray  
for let this be an addition to your former favours & you will  
very much oblige him who is

Yours  
Guthwait this 29<sup>th</sup>  
of march 1633

185

your kinsman and servant to  
Comand George Barnby

Figure 5 Text 2, p. 1 (Folger MS X.d.428 (149))

17. it will doe for if this worke goe on: the droughtiest somer
18. y<sup>t</sup> can come we shall be in backe [wat]er: our mill cost in [line-filler]
19. building & dammes makeing aboue fo<u[re]> hundred pounds about
20. twelue yeare agoe: it will be clearly Thirty pound ayeare
21. loste to vs if not prevented: now S<sup>r</sup> my earnest request
22. to you is to speake to S<sup>r</sup> George Savill: he beinge cheife Lord
23. of halfe the Streame: y<sup>t</sup> he would be pleased not to giue
24. way to any such thing as to let th<em> s<et> aware vpon his
25. ground: w<sup>ch</sup> will be soe great a loste to the fatherlesse: for w<sup>th</sup>
26. out his consent they cannot Iniure vs at all: if S<sup>r</sup> francis [line-filler]
27. settis his milne wheare it formerly stood & places his weare as
28. formerly: it will doe vs very litle or no preiudice: if S<sup>r</sup> George
29. hath granted any such thing to S<sup>r</sup> francis allready: Then be pleased
30. to get agrant for vs to cut through ahill on the co~m~on about
31. eight yards from their weare: to haue apossage for the water
32. it will ly in Twenty pound ~~pound~~ charg: howeuer our milne
33. otherwise must stand: S<sup>r</sup> this is meare mallice set on foot
34. purpossely to doe the heir an Iniury: I am certaine m<sup>e</sup> Bostende
35. was auery good freind to S<sup>r</sup> francis when things was very sadd
36. w<sup>th</sup> him: but what can be expected from him: \*\* y<sup>t</sup> is ciuill to no body
37. why should we expect ciuillyty from him: S<sup>r</sup> I {am} much ashamd to trouble
38. you: but it is for the fatherlesse who I am certaine had litle nede to
39. loose any thing y<sup>t</sup> makes me take this bouldnesse vpon me: pray
40. S<sup>r</sup> let this be an addition <to> your former fauours & you will
41. very much obleidg him whois is

[right, bottom]

42. your kinsman and servant to
43. Comand George Barnby

[left, bottom]

44. Gunthwait this 24<sup>th</sup>
45. of march 1663

[left, vertically]

46. if S<sup>r</sup> Georg hath granted no such thing y<sup>t</sup> he would be pleased not to doe it for  
the future
47. whreby the heir will receaue soe great a preiudice/

[p.2]

[blank]

[p.3]

[blank]

## Summary

George Barnby has sent this letter to Thomas Wentworth in London, where his lodgings were at the time. As mentioned in section 3.2.2., there is a forwarding address in another hand in lines 7 to 9. It addresses the letter to Mary Wentworth, who was presumably Thomas's mother. The letter is about a town mill which Sir Francis Wortley is going to build in Thurgoland. George Barnby wants to stop the building of the mill because it cuts through the grounds of Wortley's tenants, and it is a disadvantage to Barnby's and Wentworth's own mill. Barnby requests Thomas Wentworth to speak to George Savile, who is the chief land-owner in the area and could prevent the building of the mill.

## Manuscript

The manuscript bifolium is in fairly good condition. There are, however, a few small holes and some parts have been repaired with silk paper. There is also some scuffing around the edges, but that does not affect reading. The ink has faded from some words, especially around the folds. In most cases the words are still visible enough, but there are a few words which are entirely or partly illegible. Page 1 is crowded with text; the writer has made full use of the paper. Handwriting is rather small and lineation is dense. The lines are sloping slightly downward towards the end of the sheet.

There are two different hands in the letter. Barnby has written the first address in lines 1 to 6 and the body of the text. It is an italic hand with secretary features. Secretary letter forms include the open reversed *e* (4: Colemanstreete), the two-stemmed *r* (11: inform~acon~), and the long *s* in initial and medial positions (4: Swan; 5: present). The forwarding address in lines 7 to 9 is of a different hand, possibly Thomas Wentworth's. This too is an italic hand with secretary features. A secretary letter form is, for example, the minuscule *h* (8: the). The proper names *cat & fidell* and *st clemons* in lines 8 and 9, respectively, have been written in an italic hand. As mentioned in section 5.1.2., it was a common convention from the sixteenth century on.

Below the forwarding address is a sentence which has been added later. The passage reads as follows: *latin for gloues is grotetaꝛ*. Gloues might refer to a pair of gloves, to foxglove, or to an abbreviated form of Gloucester. However, I have not been able to decipher the meaning of the Latin word *grotetaꝛ*, which, as discussed in section 5.2., is an abbreviated form of the word *grotetarum*. The postal marking bears the date of 25 March and remnants of red seal are visible.

## Notes

(1-2) *Thomas Wentworth*: see 3.2.2., p. 20

(3) *m<sup>es</sup> Wentworths*: Mary Wentworth, see 3.2.2., pp. 20-21

(4) *Colemanstreete*: A street in the City of London.

(8) *the cat and fidell*: Refers most likely to an alehouse called The Cat and Fiddle, which was situated in Gray's Inn Lane, London (Field 2008b, 2). The Cat and Fiddle was probably a well-known venue in London at the time. It was, for example, the earliest meeting place for the famous Kit-Cat club from the mid 1690s until around the turn of the seventeenth century (*ibid.*). The Kit-Cat club was a social club which operated approximately for two decades, and its members included notable political and literary figures (Field 2008a, 5; Field 2008b, 8).

(8) *the strand*: The Strand was one of the most important thoroughfares of seventeenth-century London (Knight 1841, 149). The Strand is situated in the City of Westminster in central London. At present, it is still a major route and it forms a part of the A4 road.

(9) *st clemons church*: Refers to the church of St Clement Danes, which is an Anglican church at the eastern end of the Strand. There has been a church on the site for over a thousand years (St Clement Danes 2016).

(11) *re~cd~*: received

(11) *Oxspring*: A village and civil parish in Barnsley, South Yorkshire.

(12) *S<sup>r</sup> francis Wortley*: The only son and heir of Sir Francis Wortley, the first Baronet of Wortley. He succeeded to the baronetcy after his father's death in 1652 and became the second Baronet of Wortley. Wortley served as a Deputy Lieutenant and Justice of the Peace in the West Riding of Yorkshire. He died without issue on 14 March 1665 and the baronetcy became extinct (Cokayne 1900, 48-49).

(12) *milne*: mill

(13) *Thurgoland*: A village and civil parish in Barnsley, South Yorkshire.

(14) *agoit*: Possibly "a go," referring to "[a] proceeding, a state of affairs; a (usually unexpected or untoward) turn of events" (*OED Online*, s.v. "go," n.1 3b). In this sense the word is nowadays somewhat archaic.

(16) *taile*: Tail, "[t]he part of a mill-race below the wheel; the tail-race; the lower end of a pool or stream" (*OED Online*, s.v. "tail," n.1 4f).

(16) *goit*: goeth, see 4.3., p. 26

(18) *backe [wat]er*: "Water dammed back in the channel of a swollen or obstructed river (or mill-race)" (*OED Online*, s.v. "backwater," n. 2).

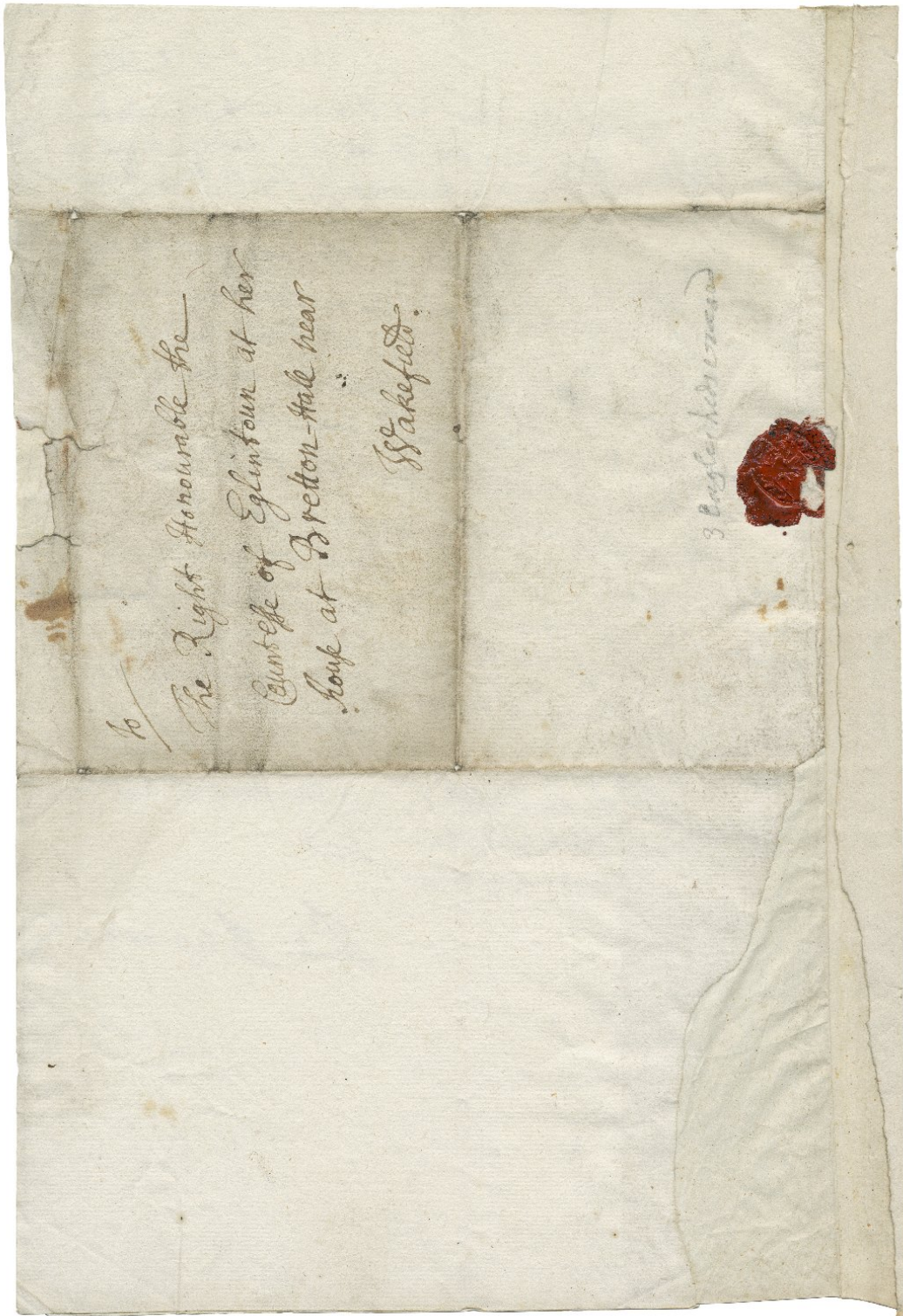


Figure 6 Text 3, p. 4 (Folger MS X.d.428 (150))

(22) *S<sup>r</sup> George Savill*: George Savile (1633-1695) was a politician and political writer. His grandmother was Anne Wentworth and his great-uncle was Thomas Wentworth, first Earl of Strafford, (1593-1641). Savile became Baron Savile of Eland and Viscount of Halifax in 1668. In 1679 he was elevated to an earldom, and in 1682 he became the first Marquess of Halifax (Brown 2009).

(22) *cheife Lord*: In the English feudal system, the lord of the manor was a vassal of the king. According to Beal (2008, 242), he “held the estate directly or indirectly from the Crown”, being called tenant-in-chief. The tenant-in-chief had inhabitants from whom he collected rent (ibid.). The term *chief lord* might be a mixture of the terms *lord of the manor* and *tenant-in-chief*, but most likely it means the same.

(31) *apossage*: a passage

(34) *m<sup>e</sup> Bostende*: No information found.

(43) *George Barnby*: The Barnby family held its seat in Barnby Hall, situated in Cawthorne, South Yorkshire. The family was ranked amongst the most important gentry of South Yorkshire from the Late Middle Ages to the seventeenth century. However, there is no information available on different family members (Hey 2015, 117).

(44) *Gunthwait*: Gunthwaite, a village and civil parish in Barnsley, South Yorkshire.

### 7.3. Text 3: Letter from Peter Berwick to Grace Montgomery

Folger MS X.d.428 (150)

[p.4, middle, vertically]

1. to/
2. The Right Honourable the
3. Countesse of Eglintoun at her
4. House at Bretton-Hall Near
5. Wakefield.

[p.1, right, top]

6. London July 21. 1692.

[left, top]

7. Madam.
8. I had yo<sup>r</sup>. La~ps~ letter, but shall not advise you to goe to the
9. Bathe, those waters are too hott for yo<sup>r</sup>. kidneyes & will encrease
10. the bleeding, I shall rather advise yo<sup>r</sup>. L~ap~ to goe to Knaesborough

London July 27. 1692.

Madam.

I had yo<sup>r</sup> Lap<sup>s</sup> letter, but shall not advise you to goe to the  
 Bathe, those waters are too hott for yo<sup>r</sup> Kidneys & will encrease  
 the bleeding, I shall rather advise yo<sup>r</sup> Lap to goe to Knaresborough  
 spaw, w<sup>ch</sup> is of the nature of Tunbridge waters w<sup>ch</sup> I take to  
 be better for yo<sup>r</sup> Lap, I mean the sweet waters & not the  
 Sulphur well, yo<sup>r</sup> Lap will need no other rule but to drink y<sup>m</sup>  
 as others doe upon the place, Mr<sup>r</sup> Pearce will here with  
 send yo<sup>r</sup> Lap a pottle of Lucatolla's balm, w<sup>ch</sup> is very  
 healing & good to take the quantity of a nutmeg <sup>round in sugar</sup> at  
 Bedtime. I humbly thank yo<sup>r</sup> Lap for yo<sup>r</sup> concern for my  
 selfe & wife & family, wee are indifferently well, but my  
 Eye sight is very much decay'd, it was quite gone till I had  
 a cataract couched in one eye. I should be glad to hear  
 good success of this present advice & no man can be  
 more desirous to serve yo<sup>r</sup> Lap effectually then

yo<sup>r</sup> Lap may take the Lucatolla  
 Balm every night as well as when  
 we drink the water at other  
 times.

Yo<sup>r</sup> Honours most humble  
 Serv<sup>t</sup>

P: Barwick

Figure 7 Text 3, p. 1 (Folger MS X.d.428 (150))

11. Spaw, w<sup>ch</sup>. are of the nature of Tunbrige waters w<sup>ch</sup>. I take to
12. be better for Yo<sup>e</sup>. La~p~, I mean the sweet waters & not the
13. sulphur well. Yo<sup>e</sup>. La~p~ will need no other rule but to drink y<sup>m</sup>.
14. as others doe upon the place. M<sup>r</sup>. Pearce will herewith
15. tend Yo<sup>r</sup>. La~p~ a pott of Lucatella's balsom w<sup>ch</sup> is very
16. healing & good to take the quantity of a nuttmegg ^ {rould in sugar} at
17. Bedtime. I humbly thank yo<sup>r</sup>. La~p~ for yo<sup>e</sup>. concern for my
18. selfe & wife & family, wee are indifferently well, but my
19. Eyesight is very much decay'd, it was quite gone 'till I had
20. a cataract couch'd in one eye. I should be glad to hear
21. good successe of this present advise & no man can be
22. more desirous to serve yo<sup>r</sup>. La~p~ effectually then

[right, bottom]

23. Yo<sup>e</sup>. Honours most humble
24. Serv<sup>t</sup>.
25. Pr: Burweek

[left, bottom]

26. Yo<sup>e</sup>. La~p~ may take the Lucatellas
27. balsam every night as well when
28. [y]ou drink the waters as at other
29. [ti]mes.

### Summary

A response from physician Peter Berwick to Grace Montgomery's previous letter. Montgomery suffered from a kidney-related illness, and apparently she had asked whether or not it would be a good idea to go to Bath, a spa town in Somerset. Berwick thinks that the water in Bath is too hot, but suggests her to go to Knaresborough spa in Yorkshire. He also prescribes her Lucatella's balsam and instructs on its dosage. Berwick refers Montgomery to another physician, Robert Peirce, and says that the balsam will be delivered by Peirce. At the end of the letter Berwick describes his own health as an answer to Grace Montgomery's question.

### Manuscript

The manuscript is otherwise in good condition, but the lower edge has been torn and repaired with silk paper. Fortunately, this only affects reading of two words, and those can be deduced from the context. Apparently the manuscript has been a bifolium because the Folger (2012) has marked the address to be on page 4. However, they have reproduced only two pages, pages 1 and 4. The handwriting is large and clear. It seems that the signature and the rest of the text are of a different hand. Thus, Peter Berwick has probably only signed the letter and somebody else has written the text, possibly his wife or his secretary.

The body of the text is an italic hand with a few secretary features. These secretary features are the long *s* (8: *shall*) and majuscule *E* (3: *Eglintoun*). In addition, there are some instances of the minuscule secretary *e* (15: *Lucatella's*) and *d* (8: *had*). The signature is also a mixture of secretary and italic scripts. A characteristic secretary letter form is the 2-shaped *r* (25: *Pr:*). There is a note “3 bagles heds carved” written in pencil above the seal. This is not included in the transcribed text, as it is clearly added later. According to the Folger (2012), it is Sir Thomas Philippe’s hand (see 6.1., p. 56). *Bagle* is an obsolete word for “[t]he staff or crosier of a bishop” (*OED Online*, s.v. “bagle,” n.). Probably the note is a description of the seal, which is well preserved.

### Notes

(2-3) *The Countesse of Eglintoun*: Grace Montgomery, see 3.2.2., pp. 20-21

(3) *Eglintoun*: Eglinton is a village in County Londonderry, Northern Ireland.

(4) *Bretton-Hall*: see 3.2.2., p. 19

(5) *Wakefield*: A city in West Yorkshire.

(8) *La~ps~*: Ladyshipps

(9) *Bathe*: Bath is a city and spa town in Somerset. During early modern times, many people who were suffering from a certain disorder went to a spa town hoping that the water would ease their symptoms. The minerals in the spring waters were thought to purge the body and ease the pain. Disorders which the spa waters were thought to cure included pain, dizziness, kidney ailment, consumption, stomach trouble, bladder stones, convulsions, and emotional distress. The temperature of water is different in different springs. It depended on the ailment whether hot or cold water was required (Weisser 2015, 124). The waters in Bath are famously hot (Visit Bath 2016). Grace Montgomery’s physician Peter Berwick considered that they were too hot for treating kidney ailment, which is why he did not recommend to go to Bath (8-9: *shall not advise you to goe to the Bathe, those waters are too hott for yo<sup>r</sup>. kidneys*).

(10-11) *Knaesborough Spaw*: Knaresborough is a spa town and civil parish in the Borough of Harrogate, North Yorkshire. The spring water in Knaresborough is particularly cold. Thus, it was considered to be suitable for treating kidney ailment (Weisser 2015, 124). This is why Peter Berwick advised Grace Montgomery to go to Knaresborough Spa (10-11: *I shall rather advise yo<sup>r</sup>. L~ap~ to goe to Knaesborough Spaw*).

(11) *Tunbrige waters*: Refers to the Chalybeate spring in the town of Royal Tunbridge Wells, Kent. The water of the spring, discovered in 1606, is very high in iron (Arkell 2014).

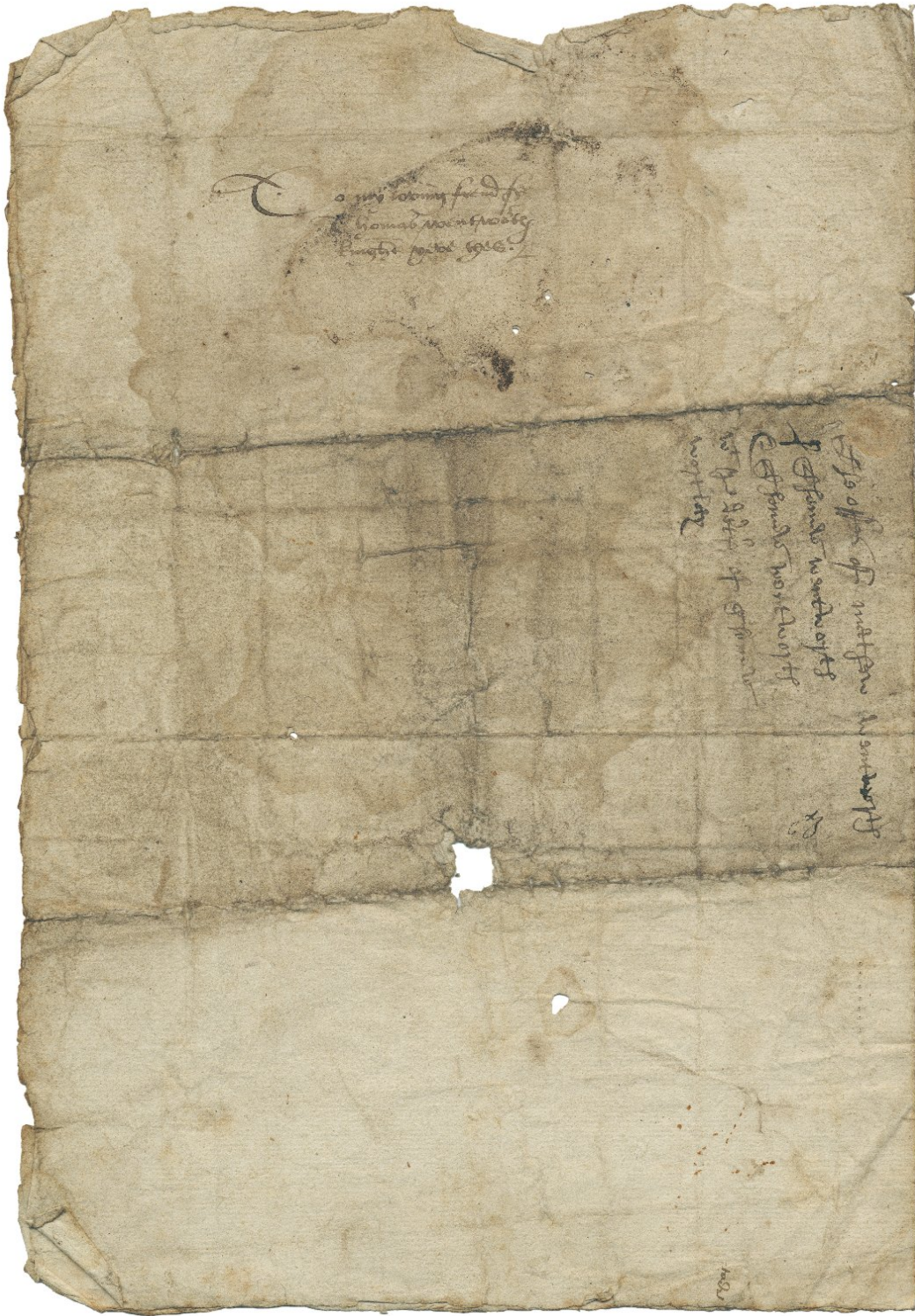


Figure 8 Text 4, p. 4 (Folger MS X.d.428 (151))

(14) *M<sup>r</sup>. Pearce*: Probably refers to Robert Peirce (bap. 1622, d. 1710). The name has also been written as Pierce. Robert Peirce was a physician from Combe Hay, Somerset, near Bath. His parents were Reverend Robert Pierce and Elizabeth Tutt. Peirce graduated from medical school and became a Doctor of Medicine in 1661. In 1651 he Married Anna Trym with whom he had four children. In 1653 the family settled in Bath. There Peirce set up a ‘riding practice’, meaning that he visited patients who lived within a 30 mile radius of Bath. He specialized in Bath mineral water treatment (see “*Bathe*” in notes). As is the case in this letter, where Peter Berwick refferred Grace Montgomery to Peirce, also several other well-known doctors refferred patients to him. Among these patients were high-ranking noblemen. In 1689 he was appointed to the Royal College of Physicians; an honour he earned from his observations. Eight years later he published these observations in a work called *Bath Memoirs* (Moore & Rolls 2004).

(15) *Lucatella’s balsom*: Lucatella refers possibly to Francis Lucatella, a Venetian perfumer who resided in London (Dugan 2011, 144).

(16) *the quantity of a nuttmegg ^ {rould in sugar}*: “An amount equal to the volume of” a nutmeg rolled in sugar (*OED Online*, s.v. “quantity,” n. 5c). This sense is now obsolete.

(20) *a cataract couch’d in one eye*: Couching is the oldest documented method to treat cataract. Until the nineteenth century it was also the only method available (Unite for Sight 2000-2015). Nowadays this technique is only used in developing countries (Isawumi et al. 2013).

(25) *Pr: Burweek*: Probably Peter Berwick (d. 1721), Doctor of Medicine. His patients included Charles II (Cherry 1966, 59). Towers (1777, 158) described him as a “distinguished scholar and physician”.

#### 7.4. Text 4: Letter from Henry Clifford to Thomas Wentworth

Folger MS X.d.428 (151)

[p.4, middle, top]

1. To my loving frend S<sup>r</sup>
2. Thomas wentwo<sup>r</sup>th
3. kni~ght~ yeve this./

[right, middle, vertically]

4. The offer of mathew wentworth
5. & Thomas wentworth
6. & Thomas wentworth

X.d.428  
(151)

102

After my right gentle remembrance. I am informed by the  
 address to me from my friend and kinsman here that at  
 the request of my friends and your grace who ye have  
 consented to write unto me for the payment of  
 such money as is to be paid unto the King  
 and for the redemption of my land for the which I must  
 thank the gentle you. And by the leave of god I shall  
 not fail to acquit you your grace for any pleasure  
 that shall be in me. And for the disturbance of  
 I am greatly sorry that you in Obsequy concerning you  
 by the same god willing you shall hereby prosper and  
 prosper. And that surely from you will please  
 my respect of honor and the rest of mine.

Your assured friend

Sniberland

Figure 9 Text 4, p. 1 (Folger MS X.d.428 (151))

7. w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> \*\*t\* of Thomas

8. wortlety

[right, middle, upside down]

9. Ex<sup>9</sup>

[right, bottom, vertically]

10. <cadre>

[p.1, left, top]

11. After my right hartie comenda~con~s. I am informed by ~lre~s

12. adressed to me frome my sonn<sup>e</sup>s and Solicito<sup>r</sup> their / that at

13. the moti~on~ of my frende<sup>e</sup> and hym / y<sup>t</sup> were gentlie

14. contented to entre into bond for me for the payment of

15. suche mony as is taxed to be payd vnto the king<sup>e</sup>

16. ma<sup>t</sup> for the bryng<sup>#</sup> of my bond<sup>e</sup>. for the which I most

17. hartelie thanke yo<sup>u</sup>. And by the leave of god I shall

18. not faile to acquyt yo<sup>r</sup> ge~ntlem~es / w<sup>t</sup> any please

19. that shall in me lye. And for yo<sup>r</sup> Dischardge therin

20. I haue herew<sup>t</sup> sort out yo<sup>u</sup> an Oblig~acon~ p<sup>r</sup>mysing yo<sup>w</sup>

21. by the same god willing / y<sup>t</sup> shall therby susteyne no

22. losse. And thus hartelye faire y<sup>t</sup> will. ffrome

23. my Castell of Brow~hm~. this x<sup>th</sup> of marche /.

[right, bottom]

24. yo<sup>r</sup>s assured frend

25. C~m~berland

[p.2]

[blank]

[p.3]

[blank]

### Summary

Henry Clifford informs Thomas Wentworth that he has received letters from his sons and their solicitor in which it is stated that Thomas Wentworth has entered into a bond on Clifford's behalf. This bond comprises that Wentworth pays Clifford's taxes to the king. Clifford thanks Wentworth for this bond and promises to pay back his debt.

### Manuscript

This manuscript bifolium is in decent condition. There are a few small holes and the paper is scuffed around the edges. In addition, the paper is stained and ink has faded

in places. However, almost all the words are readable. Clifford has left a wide margin on the left side of page 1, and lineation is straight and neat. Handwriting is very difficult. There seem to be two distinct hands in the letter. Most of the text is probably in Clifford's hand, but lines 4 to 8 seem to be in a different hand. Both hands are written in a secretary script. Characteristics secretary letter forms include the sigma *s* (15: *as*) and minuscule *g* (13: *gentlie*).

Clifford has dated the letter 10 March, but he has not written the year. The Folger (2012) has assigned it the year 1542 with a question mark. This probably stems from the fact that Clifford died on 22 April 1542 (Hoyle 2004). Thus, the letter could not have been written after 1542, but it may have been written earlier.

### Notes

(1-2) *S<sup>r</sup> Thomas wentwo<sup>r</sup>th*: see 3.2.2., pp. 19-20

(3) *yeve*: give

(4-6) *mathew wentworth & Thomas wentworth & Thomas wentworth*: Probably refers to Matthew Wentworth of Bretton and his two sons, both of whom were named Thomas. Matthew Wentworth (d. 1505) was the eldest son of Richard Wentworth of Bretton and Isabel Fitzwilliam (Foster 1874, 266; Kimber & Johnson 1771, 300). Matthew and his wife Elizabeth Woodrove had altogether six children: two sons and four daughters. The two sons were both named Thomas and the elder Thomas is the recipient of this letter (see 3.2.2., pp. 19-20) (Foster 1874, 266-267). The younger Thomas, Esquire, (d. 1557) was an heir to his brother. He married Anne Dyneley with whom he had seven children (Kimber & Johnson 1771, 300-301).

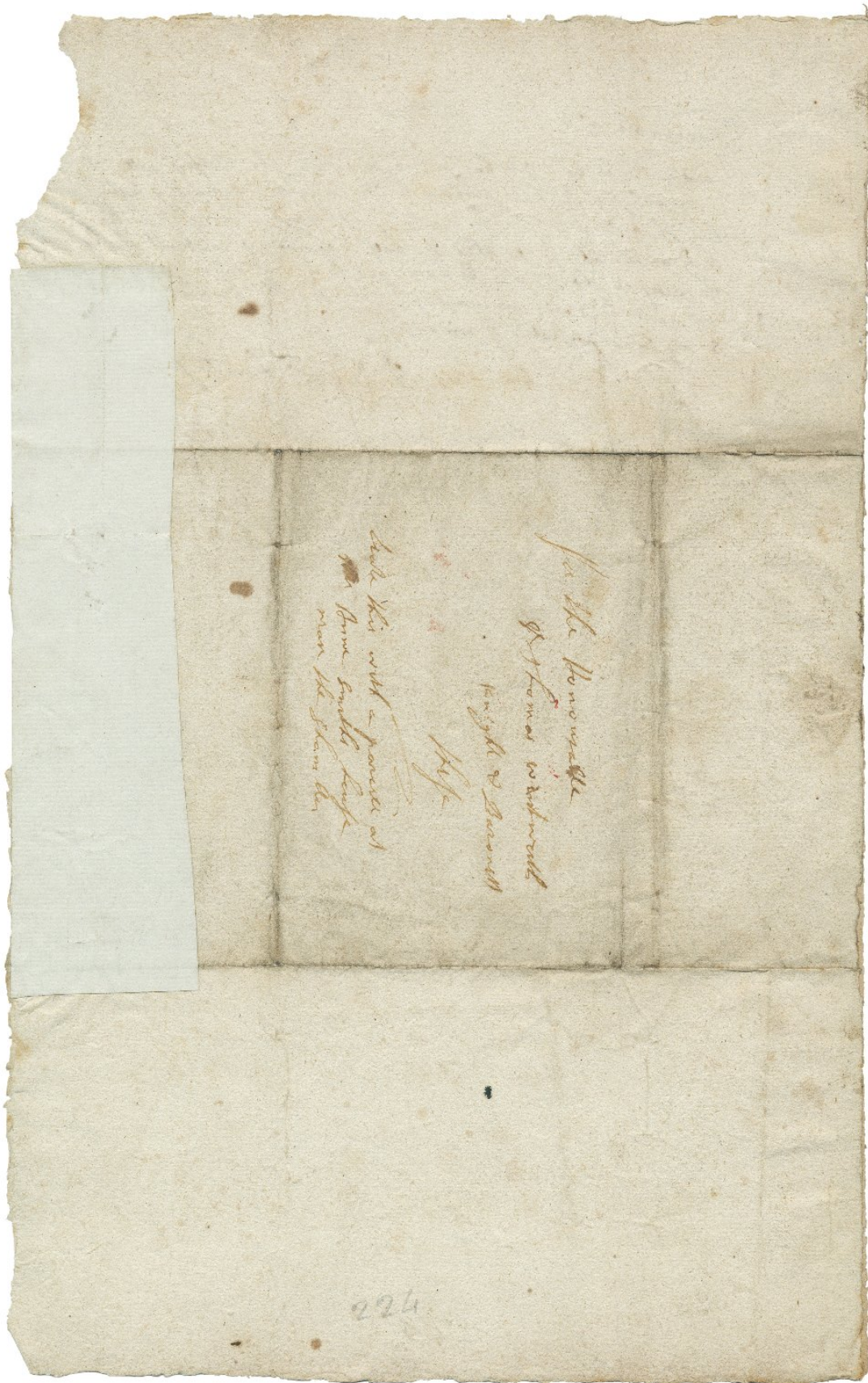
(7-8) *Thomas wortlety*: No information found.

(9) *Ex<sup>9</sup>*: *Exus*; possibly refers to the Latin word *exuro*, which means “to burn up, to destroy”. One of its inflected forms is *exustus*, so *Ex<sup>9</sup>* could be an abbreviation of this form (Morwood 2012). As mentioned in section 2.3., it is probably an order to burn the letter after reading.

(10) *<cadre>*: Possibly the word is *cadre* which, in this context, most likely means “frame” (*OED Online*, s.v. “cadre,” n. 1). As it is written on the same side of the paper with the address, it could be an instruction on how to fold the letter and mean “frame leaf”.

(11) *comenda~con~s*: Commendations: “[r]emembrances sent to those at a distance; respects, compliments, greetings” (*OED Online*, s.v. “commendation,” n. 4). Now archaic.

(11) *~lre~s*: letters



Mr. Honorable  
of the Honorable  
of the Honorable  
of the Honorable  
of the Honorable

Figure 10 Text 5, p. verso (Folger MS X.d.428 (153))

(20) *Oblig~acon~*: “The action of constraining oneself by oath, promise, or contract to a particular course of action” (*OED Online*, s.v. “obligation,” n. 2). Now obsolete.

(23) *Castell of Brow~hm~*: Refers to Brougham Castle, which is situated in Penrith, Cumbria. The castle was established at the beginning of the thirteenth century (English Heritage 2016). Later it served as a residence for the Clifford family (Hoyle 2004).

(25) *C~m~berland*: Henry Clifford, first Earl of Cumberland (c. 1493-1542). His father was Henry Clifford, tenth Baron Clifford, and his mother was Anne Bletsoe. According to Hoyle (2004), Clifford was a magnate, and he was made Knight Bachelor in 1509. He married Margaret Talbot during the earlier half of the 1510s. They had been married only a year or two when Margaret died. They did not have any children together. Clifford’s second wife was Margaret Percy (c. 1492-1540). They were married circa 1516 and had six children. The earldom of the Clifford family is titled Cumberland, which is a historic county in North West England. Despite this, “the Clifford heartlands were in the West Riding of Yorkshire [...], where they had castles at Brougham and Appleby” (Hoyle 2004). Clifford was a loyal royalist and warden of the west marches. In 1537 he was appointed to the Order of the Garter as a reward for his services (*ibid.*). The Order of the Garter is the highest and oldest order of chivalry in Britain (The British Monarchy 2016). Clifford’s biggest interest was having more influence for his family in the West Riding (Hoyle 2004).

## 7.5. Text 5: Letter from Nathaniel Johnston to Thomas Wentworth

Folger MS X.d.428 (153)

[verso, middle, vertically]

1. ffor the Honourable
2. S<sup>f</sup> Thomas Wentworth
3. Knight & Baronett
4. these
  
5. Leave this with a parcell at
6. M<sup>\*s</sup> Anne Smiths house
7. near the Shambles

[recto, left, top]

8. Honourable S<sup>f</sup>
9. I was sent ffor ere I gott home & have ordered the Balsom pills &
10. syrup ere I goe & have nothing to adde to the directions I left
11. but that y<sup>e</sup> Ale may be sweetned with the syrup of Cowsleps

Honourable s<sup>r</sup>

I was sent for ere I got home & have ordered the Balsam pills &  
syrup ere I got & have nothing to add to the directions I left  
but that they may be sweetned with the syrup of Cowslips  
to my own liking so that if half a spoonfull will not make  
it gratefull there may be more put to it. If before you will  
not omit of tea nor nursing. My humble service to y<sup>r</sup> self  
& my lady presents I remaine

April 22  
1675

Y<sup>r</sup> most humble servant

W. Johnson

Figure 11 Text 5, p. recto (Folger MS X.d.428 (153))

12. to y<sup>e</sup> owne liking so that If half a spoone full will not make
13. it gratefull there may be more put it. I desire you will
14. not omitt y<sup>e</sup> Tea nor neezing. my humble service to y<sup>e</sup> self
15. & my Lady presented I remaine

[right, middle]

16. S<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> most humble servant
17. N: Johnston

[left, middle]

18. April 22
19. 1675

### Summary

Physician Nathaniel Johnston informs in this letter to Thomas Wentworth that he has ordered him balsam pills and syrup. Johnston also writes that he has nothing else to add to the directions he left, but that the ale may be sweetened with the syrup of cowslip suited to one's liking. Johnston instructs the post or the bearer to leave the letter with a parcel at mistress Anne Smith's house, which is situated near the Shambles. It is possible that the parcel contained the aforementioned medicine for Thomas Wentworth.

### Manuscript

Otherwise the manuscript is in good condition, but the edge of the paper is torn and that side has been partly repaired with silk paper. Nevertheless, no words are lost because of the rupture. The manuscript only has one sheet of paper. Handwriting is very small and dense, but only about a quarter of the page is used. The text is written in an italic hand with secretary features. Letter forms characteristic to secretary are, for example, the Greek *e* (11: *be*), open *o* (10: *to*) and long *s* (9: *Balsom*). This hand poses challenges because many letter forms resemble one another. For example *b* and *l* are very similar looking when written in succession (1: *Honourable*). In addition, *e* and *r* (14: *nor*; 14: *neezing*), and *h* and *k* (9: *have*; 12: *make*) are often confusingly similar. The handwriting gives the impression that the letter is written in haste. The letter has had a seal, but only a little of red colour is left of that on the recto page.

### Notes

(2) *S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Wentworth*: see 3.2.2., p. 20

(6) *M<sup>rs</sup> Anne Smiths*: No information found.

(7) *the Shambles*: An old street in York, Yorkshire.

(9) *ere*: before (*OED Online*, s.v. "ere," conj. 1)



Figure 12 Text 6, p. verso (Folger MS X.d.428 (154))

(9) *Balsom pills*: Samuel Gray informs in his book concerning pharmacy and chemical history (1823) that “[p]ills are generally used when the remedies operate in small doses” (Gray 1823, 291). Gray (*ibid.*) notes that certain substances, for example balsam, were sometimes added to the pill to prevent it from dissolving too quickly inside the patient’s body.

(11) *the syrup of Cowsleps*: Cowsleps refers to cowslip which is “a common European primrose (*Primula veris*) with fragrant yellow flowers” (*Merriam-Webster Online*, s.v. “cowslip,” n.). In traditional medicine it is used as diuretic and to prevent spasms, in addition to treating whooping cough, headaches, tremors, and other illnesses. Furthermore, the plant is used in chest colds for the loosening of phlegm and formerly it was a recommended treatment for arthritis and rheumatism. Nowadays the syrup of cowslip is made from sugar, chopped cowslip flower petals and water (Choate & Brachfeld 2010, 210). According to Hatfield (2004, 100), it has also been used as a remedy for deafness.

(13) *gratefull*: “Pleasing to the mind or the senses, agreeable, acceptable” (*OED Online*, s.v. “grateful,” adj. 1).

(13) *theire*: there

(14) *neezing*: sneezing (*OED Online*, s.v. “neezing,” n.)

(17) *N: Johnston*: Nathaniel Johnston (1627-1705), physician and antiquary from Yorkshire (Wellcome library 2016).

## 7.6. Text 6: Letter from Nathaniel Johnston to Thomas Wentworth

Folger MS X.d.428 (154)

[verso, middle, vertically]

1. ffor the honourable
2. S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Wentworth
3. Knight & Baronett
4. these

[recto, left, top]

5. Honourable S<sup>r</sup>
6. I am in greate straites ffor tyme. I have writt a long letter
7. & wish you had some to reade it to you ere it goe ffor which purpose I send it
8. vpon the consideration of y<sup>r</sup> want of Appetite the aversion you have
9. to the Electuary & the number of pills I have studied to contrive
10. things effectuall & less burthensom theirefore If you please to swallow

Honourable Sr  
I am in great thanks for your letter  
I wish you had some to send it to you in it you for which purpose I  
give the consideration of I want of appetite the a disease you have  
to the election of the number of pills I have studied to contraind  
things effectuate of life but then I think for if you please to swallow  
one of these pills at night & 3 in the morning I hope they  
will be as effectuate as the other  
I hope of the quantity there is so little a quantity left that it may  
be all taken in 4 days.

I have sent some small pieces of which you may please to  
chew one in your mouth in a morning & at 4 a clock in an  
after noon before & after eating & after it will make you  
quite thine as the chewing of mashed salt & the  
change you show it the better it will be.

I have also sent a little bottle of spirit of Castor & Oil with a  
little of which let some black well be moistned & put into  
your smelling & stay day once a day

Because of your drink will grow sooner shortly & is ungrateful  
I have contraind another that may suit you for & possess  
of all other drink & will be pleasant & I hope a grate  
strengthening of your head

It must be made thus  
Let the woods be boiled in 2 Gallons & an half of the liquor with  
which small ale is made of the strength of 3 Gallons Beer  
& let it boyle as other liquors with & then grate it & let the  
bagg be runned in it & after it hath wrought 5 or 6 days  
it is fitt for drinking.

I am Sr with the kinde of my humble service to your self &  
my lady I remain

Apud Lond  
1675

J. J. Lay  
N. Johnson

Figure 13 Text 6, p. recto (Folger MS X.d.428 (154))

11. one of these pills at night & 3 in the morning I hope they
12. will be as effectuall as the other 1
13. As to y<sup>r</sup> Electuary there is so litle a quantity left that it may
14. be all taken in 4 daies.
15. I have sent some <ø†> Trockiske of which you may please to
16. chew one in y<sup>e</sup> mouth in a morning & at 4 a clock in an
17. after noone before y<sup>e</sup> neezing & after It will make you
18. spitt Rhume as the chowing of mashck doth & the
19. longer you chow it the better it will be.
20. I haue also sent a litle bottle of Sp<ir>it of Castor & Civet with a
21. litle of which let some black woll be moisturd & put into
22. y<sup>e</sup> eares renewing it every day once a day
23. Because y<sup>e</sup> dyet drinck will grow sower shortly & is vngratefull
24. I have contrived another that may serve you ffor y<sup>r</sup> possetts
25. & all other drinck & will be pleasant & I hope a greate
26. strengthener of y<sup>e</sup> heade
27. It must be made thus
28. let the woods be boyled in 2 Gallons & an half of the liquor with
29. which small Ale is made of the strength of y<sup>e</sup> vsuall Beere
30. & let it boyle as other liquor useth & then yeaste it & let the
31. bagg be Tuned in it & after it hath wrought 5 or 6 daies
32. It is ffitt ffor drincking.
33. Thus S<sup>r</sup> with the tender of my humble service to y<sup>e</sup> self &
34. my Lady I remaine

[right, bottom]

35. S<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> very humble servant
36. N: Johnston

[left, bottom]

37. April. last
38. 1675

### Summary

This text, along with text 5, is also from Nathaniel Johnston to Thomas Wentworth. There are eight days between these two letters. The letter concerns Thomas Wentworth's health. Johnston instructs how the medicine he has prescribed for Thomas should be taken. Johnston has also sent him some new medication. In addition, Johnston includes a recipe for a drink which he hopes will strengthen Thomas's head.

### Manuscript

This single-sheet manuscript is in very good condition. There are only some creases around the folds, which probably result from storing the document folded. Similarly

to text 5, the text is written rather densely, but approximately one-third of the paper is left blank. Since the hand is the same as in the previous one, and there are only eight days between these texts, I do not comment on the hand and the letter forms any more here. The handwriting gives again the impression that the letter is written in haste. In this text Johnston in fact states that “I am in greate straites ffor tyme”. Remnants of the seal are visible on the verso page.

## Notes

(2) *S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Wentworth*: see 3.2.2., p. 20

(7) *ere*: see “*ere*”, p. 78

(9) *Electuary*: “A medicinal conserve or paste, consisting of a powder or other ingredient mixed with honey, preserve, or syrup of some kind.” (*OED Online*, s.v. “electuary,” n. 1a).

(10) *burthensom*: Archaic variant of *burdensome* (*Merriam-Webster Online*, s.v. “burthen,” n.).

(15) *Trockiske*: “A medicated tablet or pellet” (*MED Online*, s.v. “trōciske,” n.).

(18) *spitt Rhume*: The modern spelling for *rhume* is *rheum*, and the word has historically had several spellings. It refers to “[w]atery or mucous secretions”, especially “as collecting in or dripping from the eyes, nose, or mouth, originally believed to originate in the brain or head and to be capable of causing disease”. Historically it has also meant “a secretion of this nature” and “a flow or flux (of humours)” (*OED Online*, s.v. “rheum,” n.<sub>1</sub> 1a). Thus, *spitt Rhume* refers to the spitting of these secretions.

(18) *mashck*: mash

(20) *Sp<ir>it of Castor & Civet*: A spirit mixed with the odorous substance of certain animals was used in pharmaceutical purposes in early modern times (Duncan 1789, 56). For example, it was used to treat deafness (Hatfield 2004, 112).

(21) *black woll*: *Woll* is an archaic form of *wool* (*OED Online*, s.v. “wool,” n.). Along with the spirit of castor and civet, black wool was also a remedy for deafness. Similarly to the instructions in the letter, some medicinal recipes from the early modern period instructed to dip the wool into the spirit (Hatfield 2004, 112).

(23) *sower*: sour

(24) *possetts*: A posset is a drink which was often used as medicine in earlier times. Ingredients included hot milk, liquor, sugar, herbs, and spices (*OED Online*, s.v. “posset,” n. 1).



Figure 14 Text 7, p. 4 (Folger MS X.d.428 (156))

(28) *2 Gallons & an half*: Gallon is “[a]n English measure of capacity” (*OED Online*, s.v. “gallon,” n. 1a). One imperial gallon is equivalent to 4.54609 litres. Thus, 2.5 gallons equals 11.37 litres (Wight Hat 2016).

(29) *small Ale*: It is cheaper and contains less alcohol than normal ale (*Merriam Webster Online*, s.v. “small ale,” n.).

(31) *wrought*: A past participle form of the verb *work* (*OED Online*, s.v. “work,” v. 1a). Nowadays chiefly archaic.

(36) *N: Johnston*: see “*N: Johnston*”, p. 79

### 7.7. Text 7: Letter from Marmaduke Langdale to George Wentworth Folger MS X.d.428 (156)

[p.4, middle, upside down]

1. For S<sup>r</sup> George Wentworth
2. Kn<sup>t</sup>: at Wolley.
  
3. Leaue these with the PostMaster
4. of
5. to be sent with all care
6. & speed according to the
7. direction./
8. Mar: Langdale
  
9. post pd
10. fferribride
11. [1 or 2 words illegible]

[p.1, middle, top]

12. London 14<sup>th</sup> July 1660

[left, top]

13. Honored S<sup>r</sup>
14. Yestarday as many of the gent named in this paper as were in towne met
15. to consult of the best way of patinge the antient trained bandes of the
16. west ridinge ~~into a for\*\*\*~~ under such gent of that Country as were most
17. proper & fit to be trusted w<sup>th</sup> that Charge we agreed upon this note
18. Herew<sup>th</sup> sent yow only for the regimn<sup>t</sup> of Strafford & TickHill & ~~Strafford~~
19. we were all of opinion that it were Juiustice in us to dispose of that
20. regimn<sup>t</sup> wheren<sup>th</sup> yow Haue in the late warres so faithfully serued His
21. late ma<sup>ts</sup> / w<sup>th</sup>out you<sup>r</sup> Consent but Consideringe some of you<sup>r</sup> freindes

Honored Sr

London 19 July 1660

yesterday as many of the gent named in this paper as were in towne met  
to consult of the best way of puttinge the antique trained bandes of the  
west ridinge ~~into a regiment~~ under such gent of that County as were most  
propor & fit to be trusted w<sup>th</sup> that Charge we agreed upon this note  
herent sent you only for the regiment of Stafford & Tickhill & ~~Stafford~~  
we were all of opinion that it were justice in us to dispose of that  
regiment wherent you have in the late warres so faithfully served this  
late ma<sup>ty</sup> w<sup>th</sup>out your consent but consideringe some of your friends  
alleged your desire of ease & not further trouble in military affaires  
we propounded to you that it might be disposed by your approbation upon  
s<sup>r</sup> Thom: wentworth your kinsman by w<sup>th</sup> means in succeedinge  
times the right of your family to that regiment might be preserved  
in the discussinge of the present occasions s<sup>r</sup> Thom: Osborne made  
it a request that some your selfe & s<sup>r</sup> Thom: wentworth were near  
the regiment of Barbstone Arke skirred & that he himselfe lived  
w<sup>th</sup> you Tickhill & Stafford that he might have that wherem he  
dwelt & that whether war as convenient for you or s<sup>r</sup> Thom:  
wentworth it was desired I should write unto you w<sup>th</sup> of what  
spede I could that I might have your answer by our next meetinge  
w<sup>th</sup> will be on monday sevenights all beinge referred to you  
to accept as you please, s<sup>r</sup> I beseech you present my most humble  
service to s<sup>r</sup> Thom: wentworth & acquainte him w<sup>th</sup> this inclosed  
& s<sup>r</sup> Rich: Conlart if he be in the County I have made bold  
to name him as a fit known person for a far greater place then  
this regiment if it were in my disposall but I have the is upon  
this way thither s<sup>r</sup> I shall expecte your answer at the first oppor-  
tunity w<sup>th</sup> shall be readily obeyed by

Your Most Humble & Most faithfull  
servant

Wm. Langdale

Figure 15 Text 7, p. 1 (Folger MS X.d.428 (156))

22. alledged you<sup>r</sup> desire of ease & noe farther trouble in military affaires  
 23. we propounded to yow that it might be disposed by you<sup>r</sup> approba~con~ upon  
 24. s<sup>r</sup> Thom: wentworth you<sup>r</sup> kinsman by w<sup>ch</sup> meanes in succedinge  
 25. times the right of you<sup>r</sup> family to that regimn<sup>t</sup> might be preserued  
 26. in the discussinge of the present occasions s<sup>r</sup> Thom: Osborne made  
 27. it a request that seinge you<sup>r</sup> selfe & s<sup>r</sup> Thom wentworth were nearer  
 28. the regimn<sup>t</sup> of Barkestone Ash & Skirec<sup>\*</sup> te & that He Himselfe liued  
 29. w<sup>th</sup>in TickHill & Straffourd that He might Haue that wherein He  
 30. <d> dwelt & that thother was as Conuenient for yow or s<sup>r</sup> Thom  
 31. wentworth It was desired I should write unto yow w<sup>th</sup> w<sup>th</sup> what  
 32. speede I Could that I might Haue you<sup>r</sup> answeere by ou<sup>r</sup> next metinge  
 33. w<sup>ch</sup> will be on monday seuenights all beinge refferred to yow  
 34. to accept as yow please / s<sup>r</sup> I beseche yow present my most Humble  
 35. seruice to s<sup>r</sup> Thom wentworth & acquainte Him w<sup>th</sup> this inclosed  
 36. & s<sup>r</sup> Rich Tankard If He be in the Country I Haue made bould  
 37. to name Him as a fit knowen person for a far greater place then  
 38. His regimn<sup>nt</sup> If it were in my disposall but I Heare He is upon  
 39. His way Hither s<sup>r</sup> I shall expecte you<sup>r</sup> answer w<sup>th</sup> the first oppor  
 40. tunity w<sup>ch</sup> shall be readily obeyed by

[right, bottom]

41. You<sup>r</sup> Most Humble & Most faithfull

42. seruant

43. Mar: Langdale

[p.2]

[blank]

[p.3]

[blank]

### Summary

Marmaduke Langdale requests George Wentworth's opinion on who will be appointed as captain of the trained bands for the regiment of Barkston Ash and Skircoat, and for the regiment of Strafford and Tickhill. Langdale informs Wentworth that a group of people had met to discuss of this appointment. He continues that they were unanimous in their opinion that George Wentworth's regiment of Strafford and Tickhill might be assigned to Thomas Wentworth with George Wentworth's consent. This stemmed from the fact that they had heard George Wentworth was not keen on being involved in military affairs anymore.

Langdale adds that Thomas Osborne has suggested that he could take the regiment of Strafford and Tickhill since he lives there himself and George and Thomas

Wentworth live nearer the regiment of Barkstone Ash & Skircoat. Langdale requests George Wentworth's answer to the matter by their next meeting. He also requests that George Wentworth could send a letter to Thomas Wentworth about this matter and enclose the letter Langdale wrote. Langdale adds that Richard Tankard could also be informed if he is in the country.

### **Manuscript**

The condition of this manuscript bifolium is not very good. There are plenty of ruptures and the letter has been thoroughly repaired with silk paper. However, these ruptures are quite small and mainly on page 4, where the address is written. Thus, the text is still readable. Handwriting is small and densely written. There are no margins on either side of the paper. The hand is predominantly an italic hand with only a few secretary letter forms. The secretary letter forms are the minuscule *g* (14: *gent*) and left-shouldered *r* (16: *riding*). The letter has many seals and one of them is intact.

### **Notes**

(1) *S<sup>r</sup> George Wentworth*: see 3.2.3., pp. 21-22

(2) *Kn<sup>t</sup>*: Knight

(2) *Wolley*: see 3.2.3., p. 21

(8) *Mar: Langdale*: Marmaduke Langdale, Baron, (bap. 1598, d. 1661) was a royalist army officer. His father was Peter Langdale, Esquire, and his mother was Anne Wharton. Langdale was knighted in 1628, and in 1639 he was nominated High Sheriff of Yorkshire. His land purchases and rent increases elevated the family to the upper gentry. Langdale was one of the leading figures in the opposition against Charles I and Thomas Wentworth's actions. However, he converted to the royalist cause when the Civil War was about to break out. In 1649 Langdale's estates were confiscated and he was banished from England. In 1658 he was created Baron Langdale of Holme-on-Spalding-Moor by Charles II. He was able to recover his estates and returned to Holme-on-Spalding-Moor, a village and civil parish in the East Riding of Yorkshire, after the Restoration in 1660, the same year this letter was written. In 1661 Langdale was nominated Lord-Lieutenant of the West Riding. He died in August the same year (Hopper 2004).

(9) *pd*: paid

(10) *fferribride*: Ferrybridge, a village in Wakefield, West Yorkshire.

(18) *Strafford & Tickhill*: A former administrative division in South Yorkshire (Wainwright 1829, i).

(21) *ma<sup>ty</sup>*: majesty's

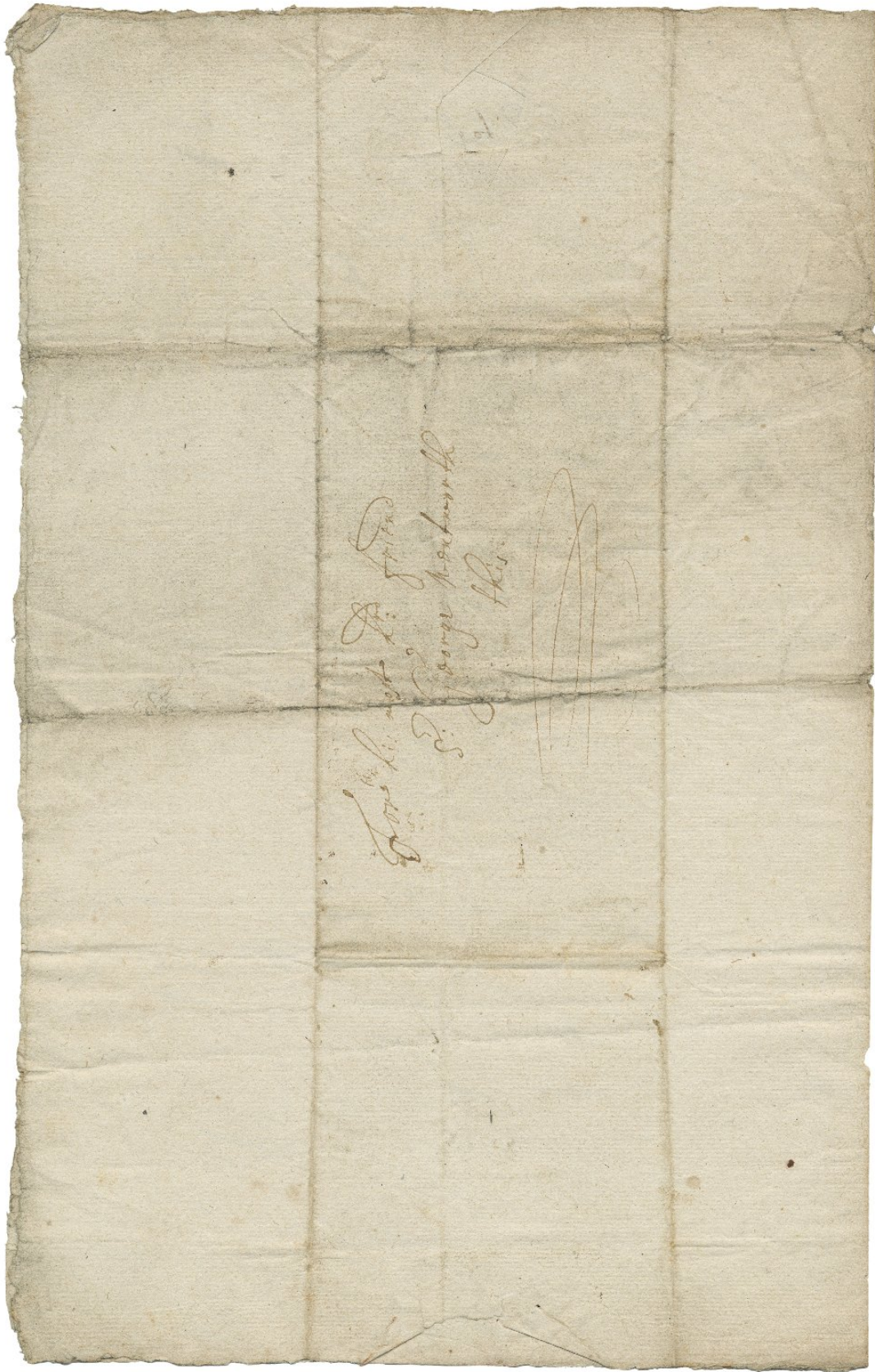


Figure 16 Text 8, p. 4 (Folger MS X.d.428 (157))

(24) *s<sup>r</sup> Thom: wentworth*: see 3.2.2., p. 20

(26) *s<sup>r</sup> Thom: Osborne*: Sir Thomas Osborne, first Duke of Leeds, (1632-1712). Osborne was a royalist politician. His father was Edward Osborne, Baronet, and his mother was Anne, the daughter of Thomas Walmesley of Dunkenhalth. Osborne married Lady Bridget Bertie with whom he had nine children. It is not stated what position he had at the time when this letter was written. The following year, in 1661, “he served as high sheriff of Yorkshire” (Knights 2008). He was elected Member of Parliament in 1665, and in 1674 he was appointed Scottish privy councillor and Lord-Lieutenant of the West Riding. Osborne had several titles. He became Baron Osborne of Kiveton and Viscount Latimer of Danby in 1673, the Earl of Danby in 1674, and Marquess of Carmarthen in 1689. In 1694 he was created Duke of Leeds (*ibid.*).

(28) *Barkestone Ash & Skirec<sup>\*</sup> te*: Barkston Ash is a village and civil parish in North Yorkshire. Skircoat is a district of Calderdale, West Yorkshire. The distance between these two places is approximately 40 miles.

(30) *thother*: the other

(33) *on monday seuenights*: A week from Monday (*OED Online*, s.v. “sennight,” n. b). Now archaic.

(36) *s<sup>r</sup> Rich Tankard*: Possibly refers to Sir Richard Tankard (c. 1608-1668), son of Charles Tankard of Whixley and Barbara Wyvell. The name has also been written as Tancred. The Tankard family originates from Boroughbridge, which is a small town and civil parish in North Yorkshire. Tankard was married to Mary Nevile and he suffered losses during the Civil War. After the Restoration he received a knighthood for his services in the war (Rotherham 2004-8).

## 7.8. Text 8: Letter from Francis Rockley to George Wentworth

Folger MS X.d.428 (157)

[p.4, middle, vertically]

1. For his most h<sup>rd</sup>: friend
2. S<sup>e</sup>: George Wentworth
3. this.

[p.1, left, top]

4. H<sup>rd</sup>: S<sup>e</sup>:
5. in ord<sup>e</sup>: to y<sup>e</sup>: reference of y<sup>e</sup>: Controv<sup>e</sup>sy betwixt s<sup>e</sup>:
6. John Kay and mee, I conferrd w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup>: Brogden at London

H<sup>on</sup>ble S<sup>r</sup> in ord<sup>r</sup> to y<sup>r</sup> reference of y<sup>r</sup> Certiorari betwixt S<sup>r</sup>  
 John Key and mee, & conford w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Tregon at London  
 for y<sup>r</sup> settlement of it, accordinge as was agreed upon, but  
 his returne to mee was, y<sup>t</sup> hee w<sup>o</sup>ld not proceede  
 till first y<sup>e</sup> made a present of a bond of have from  
 S<sup>r</sup> John Key and my Cousin Thomas worthw<sup>th</sup> of two  
 thousand poundes for forwaige of mee and myne  
 off h<sup>er</sup>es his ord<sup>r</sup> from S<sup>r</sup> John Key w<sup>th</sup> request  
 y<sup>e</sup> sh<sup>o</sup>ld be to be borne by y<sup>r</sup> h<sup>er</sup>es who may please to  
 answer by peace betwixt us, I desired y<sup>e</sup> may be one  
 of good to be y<sup>e</sup> boys plea, and then for a forwaige  
 y<sup>e</sup> issue of y<sup>r</sup> reference to be h<sup>er</sup>es, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> be not  
 misconstrued in biddinge any all to any h<sup>er</sup>es  
 & stranger y<sup>e</sup> sh<sup>o</sup>ld be misconstrued for by a  
 childes or foole as to <sup>an</sup> ~~an~~ a proposition of y<sup>e</sup>  
 h<sup>er</sup>es, when in place thereof y<sup>e</sup> must expect from  
 S<sup>r</sup> John Key (in case of proceede) a larger forwaige  
 and than h<sup>er</sup>es may have time to by the h<sup>er</sup>es  
 till y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>r</sup> Const<sup>able</sup> shall settle it, I pray the favor of  
 an answer when you have ord<sup>r</sup> to him. Remains  
 your obed<sup>t</sup> serv<sup>t</sup>  
 S<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> most devoted  
 Francis Rockley

March 30<sup>th</sup>  
1628

Figure 17 Text 8, p. 1 (Folger MS X.d.428 (157))

7. for y<sup>e</sup>: settlement of it, accordinge as was agreed vpon, but
8. his returne to mee was, y<sup>t</sup>: hee was not to proceede.
9. till first I made a surrend<sup>e</sup>: of a bond I have from
10. S<sup>e</sup>: John Kay and my Cozen Thomas Wentworth of two
11. thousand pounds for secureinge of mee indemnified
12. If hee had this ord<sup>e</sup>: from S<sup>e</sup>: John Kay w<sup>ch</sup> I request
13. y<sup>e</sup>: fav<sup>e</sup>: of to Learne by y<sup>r</sup>: hands who was pleasd to
14. endeav<sup>e</sup>: the peace betwixt vs, I desire I may bee vn=
15. d<sup>e</sup>stood to bee past boys plea, and therefore seeinge
16. y<sup>e</sup>: issue of y<sup>e</sup>: reference to bee this, y<sup>t</sup>: I bee not
17. misconstrued in biddinge denyall to any heere aft<sup>e</sup>:
18. I strange I should bee misconstrued soe v<sup>e</sup>y a
19. childe or foole or to r<eeiv>e<^> {embrace} a proposition of y<sup>t</sup>:
20. kinde, when in place thereof I must expect from
21. S<sup>e</sup>: John Kay (in case of proceede) a Larger security
22. and than hee may have liue to toyle him selfe in
23. till I shall y<sup>e</sup>: Court shall settle it, I pray the fav<sup>e</sup>: of
24. an answer when you have one, to him Remaines

[right, bottom]

25. S<sup>e</sup>: y<sup>r</sup>: most devoted
26. Francis Rockley

[left, bottom]

27. March 30<sup>th</sup>.
28. 1658

[p.2]

[blank]

[p.3]

[blank]

### Summary

Francis Rockley informs George Wentworth about the discussion with Mr. Brogden. The discussion was related to the settlement of the controversy between Rockley and John Kaye. Rockley and Wentworth had agreed that Rockley contacts Mr. Brogden. However, Mr. Brogden had answered Rockley that he will not proceed in the matter. Rockley asks George Wentworth if Mr. Brogden got this order from John Kaye. He also desires to be past John Kaye's and Thomas Wentworth's plea which concerns the bond they have.

## Manuscript

The manuscript is in excellent condition. It is a bifolium and repaired with silk paper in three places. However, these are quite small tears and do not affect reading. The hole in the top part of page 3 seems so symmetrical that it could have been made purposely to cut off the seal. Rockley has left a wide margin on the left edge of page 1. Handwriting is small, but the lineation is not dense. Lines are sloping downward towards the end of the paper. A dominant characteristic in the appearance of this manuscript are the thick ink strokes. These result from the way the nib of the quill is cut. The text is written in an italic hand with some secretary letter forms. The secretary letter forms are, for example, the two-stemmed *r* (5: *reference*) and the Greek *e* (8: *proceede*). There are also some instances of the secretary *h* (12: *this*), but most instances of the minuscule *h* are italic.

## Notes

(2) *S<sup>e</sup>*: *George Wentworth*: see 3.2.3., pp. 21-22

(5) *betwixt*: Between (*OED Online*, s.v. “betwixt,” prep. 1). Nowadays archaic in literary English.

(6) *John Kay*: John Kaye of Woodsom, Baronet, (d. 1662) was the second husband of Katherine Wentworth (c. 1608-1700). Katherine’s first husband was Michael Wentworth (d. 1658), who was George Wentworth’s son. Thus, John Kaye was the second husband of George’s daughter-in-law (Foster 1874, 259). However, in March 1658, at the time this letter was written, Katherine was probably still married to Michael Wentworth, as Michael died on 9 August 1658 (Foster 1874, 259).

(6) *M<sup>r</sup>*: *Brogden*: No information found.

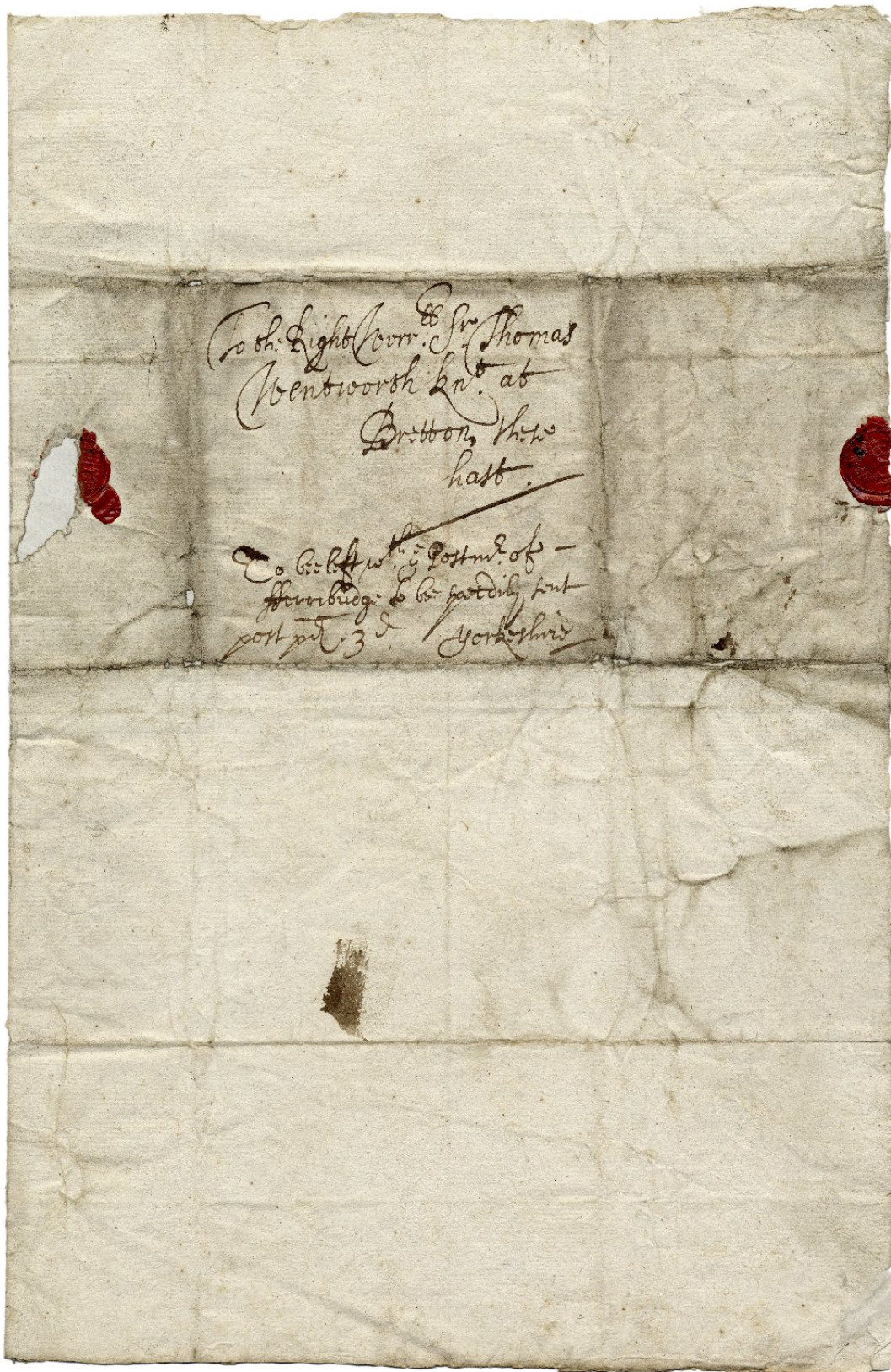
(9) *surrend<sup>r</sup>*: It possibly means “[t]he abandonment of an insurance policy by the party assured on receiving part of the premiums” (*OED Online*, s.v. “surrender,” n. 1e). This sense is now obsolete. However, it might also refer to abandonment, giving up, or resignation in general (*OED Online*, s.v. “surrender,” n. 2a).

(10) *my Cozen Thomas Wentworth*: see 3.2.2., p. 20

(18) *strange*: Wonder (*OED Online*, s.v. “strange,” v. 7a). Now obsolete.

(22) *toyle*: Toil: “to work hard; to exhaust oneself through hard work” (*OED Online*, s.v. “toil,” v.1 5b). Now rare.

(26) *Francis Rockley*: Francis Rockley, Esquire, lived in Worsbrough, Yorkshire. In 1660 he was ranked “as the wealthiest payer of poll tax” along with Thomas Edmunds (see “Tho Edmunds,” p. 93) (Hey 2015, 92). No other information concerning Rockley is found.



To sh. Light Carr. Sr Thomas  
Wentworth kn. at  
Briston, this  
hatt.

Co. B. H. w. y. Postm. of -  
Hamburg: to be paid by post  
post pd. 3 s. Yorkshire

Figure 18 Text 9, p. 4 (Folger MS X.d.428 (158))

**7.9. Text 9: Letter from James Shiers to Thomas Wentworth**  
Folger MS X.d.428 (158)

[p.4, middle]

1. To the Right Worr<sup>ll</sup>. S<sup>r</sup>. Thomas
2. Wentworth kn<sup>t</sup>. at
3. Bretton, these
4. hast./
5. To bee left w<sup>th</sup>. y<sup>e</sup> Postm<sup>e</sup>. of [line-filler]
6. fferribridge to bee speedily sent
7. post ~pd.~ 3<sup>d</sup>. Yorkeshire/.

[p.1, left, top]

8. Hon<sup>ed</sup>. S<sup>r</sup>/
9. This day the busines in Eiectm<sup>t</sup>. concerneing yo<sup>e</sup>. Broth<sup>e</sup>.
10. M<sup>r</sup>. Wentworth was argued in the kings Bench, M<sup>r</sup>.
11. Sollicit<sup>e</sup>. Geidall being of Councell therein for vs: & there
12. after some debate: & the reading of an Affid<sup>t</sup>. w<sup>ch</sup> I
13. had made in the Case, the Court over ruled vs, & [line-filler]
14. indeed I must needs say as I told yo<sup>u</sup> at Wakefeild,[line-filler]
15. I alwayes was in fare y<sup>e</sup> Tryall vpon y<sup>t</sup> Attempt would
16. not bee put of, Though yesternight both S<sup>r</sup>. Heneage
17. ffinch & M<sup>r</sup>. Allan did giue mee encouragm<sup>t</sup>. that
18. the Court would favour vs therein, in respect wee gaue
19. such good reasons & made such circumstances fully [line-filler]
20. appeare, But when Oath came to bee made ^ {in} Court on the
21. other syde y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> declara~tons~ were deluded y<sup>e</sup> begining of [line-filler]
22. december last, & y<sup>t</sup> wee haue had soe much tyme for makeing
23. defence in our busines, the Court clearely over ruled vs, Though
24. as much against ^ {a} reasonable favour or Countenance of y<sup>e</sup> Court.
25. as could bee; yet if M<sup>r</sup>. Beall had beene ciuill, (when I offered
26. him seid all good reasons on yo<sup>e</sup>. Wor<sup>ps</sup>. attempt; besydes pp<sup>s</sup>.
27. for saueing vs the trouble of a mo~ton~ & putting an end
28. to y<sup>e</sup> busines), hee might very safely granted such a reasonable
29. request, But of y<sup>t</sup> I shall say noe more at p<sup>e</sup>sent, yet still
30. if some wayes take y<sup>t</sup> I am in hopes some of them will not
31. fayle, I feare not but to p<sup>e</sup>vent them of y<sup>e</sup> Advantage of
32. their Tryall if they gett one; However I shall desire that
33. p<sup>r</sup> returne of y<sup>e</sup> Post, yo<sup>u</sup>: will ^ {please} to write 2 words to mee herein;
34. & to let mee vnderstand whome yo<sup>u</sup>. will name for a defend<sup>t</sup>. because
35. wee must name one, & I thinke if wee name H: Palleine it will
36. doe will enough, yet it may bee lesse trouble to name yo<sup>e</sup>. Brother
37. in aspect wee may exhibite a Bill in Chancery; I pray

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Hon. Sir

This day the business in Court concerning your Brother  
 Mr. Wentworth was argued in the Kings Bench, Mr.  
 Solicitor Girdall being of Council against you & your  
 after some debate the reading of an Affidavit which  
 had made in the Kings Bench, the Court over ruled it, & con-  
 sidered I must needs say as I told you at Wakefield -  
 I always was in fear if any of your Friends would  
 not be put off, though yesterday night both St. Bonaventure  
 & Mr. Allan did give me encouragement that  
 the Court would favour us herein, in respect we gave  
 such good reasons & made such circumstances fully to  
 appear, But when both sides to be made in Court on the  
 10th day of the 11th of December you declared your dissent at  
 beginning of  
 December last, & it was said you did dissent for making  
 I fear in our business, the Court clearly over ruled it though  
 as much against a reasonable favour of Dominant of the Court  
 as would be, yet if Mr. Girdall had been still (which I offered  
 him full good reason on your words account, & I did so  
 for saving us the trouble of a motion & putting an end  
 to your business) he might very safely go about such a reasonable  
 request, But of it I shall say no more at present yet still  
 if some way or other I am in hope some of them will not  
 fail, I have not but to prevent them of any advantage of  
 their day all if they get any. However I shall thin that  
 so returns of it post you will be sent 2 words to your friends  
 so let me understand whom you will name for a defendant. Where  
 we must name one, I think if we name two it will  
 do well enough, yet it may be left trouble to name you. But there  
 in respect we may exhibit a Bill in Chancery, I pray

To Sir (62)  
 I hope you will think of some way  
 to get the Court to give us a  
 full and complete satisfaction  
 in this matter  
 I am your  
 Obedient  
 Servant  
 J. M.

Figure 19 Text 9, p. 1 (Folger MS X.d.428 (158))

[left, vertically]

38. be pleased to write yo<sup>e</sup>. minde herein p <r<sup>e</sup>> of y<sup>e</sup> post to him who is S<sup>r</sup>

[left, bottom, vertically]

39. yo<sup>r</sup>. most faithfull

40. & humble serv<sup>t</sup>.

41. James Shiers/

[left, top, vertically]

42. i0 Feb<sup>r</sup>. (62)

[left, middle, vertically]

43. If these wayes I thinke of doe not take

44. I intend at y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>\*\*\*d</sup> sitting of Parliam<sup>t</sup>. to

45. sue forth an Ord<sup>e</sup>. to stay y<sup>e</sup> Tryall./

[p.2]

[blank]

[p.3]

[blank]

### Summary

James Shiers informs Thomas Wentworth that the court case concerning the ejection of his brother Matthew Wentworth was argued in the Kings's Bench that day. Shiers briefly explains what happened in the court and reports that the court had overruled the case. Shiers intends to carry out a follow-up action, and he requests that George and Matthew Wentworth could name a defendant for the case. Shiers himself suggests either H. Pulleine or Matthew Wentworth himself.

### Manuscript

The manuscript is in very good condition. The bifolium is only torn from one corner and under the seal. These places have been repaired with silk paper. Handwriting is quite small and lineation is dense. Also the margin on the left of the paper has been used for writing when space has run out. Ink is dark and very perceptible. The hand could be characterized as a mixed hand since there are italic letter forms, but also lots of secretary letter forms. The secretary features include the majuscule *C* (13: Case), minuscule *c* (9: Eiectm<sup>t</sup>.), and sigma *s* (9: busines). The seal is visible on page 4, but it has been ripped in two when the letter has been opened.

### Notes

(1) *Worr<sup>ll</sup>*: worshipful

(1-2) *S<sup>r</sup>*. *Thomas Wentworth*: see 3.2.2, p. 20

(2) *kn<sup>t</sup>*: knight

(5) *Postm<sup>e</sup>*: Postmaster

(6) *fferribridge*: Ferrybridge, a village in Wakefield, West Yorkshire.

(7) *~pd.~*: paid

(9-10) *yo<sup>e</sup>. Broth<sup>e</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. Wentworth*: Matthew Wentworth, see 3.2.2., p. 21

(10) *the kings Bench*: The King's Bench was one of the four principal superior courts, situated in Westminster Hall, London. The three others were Chancery, Common Pleas, and Exchequer. They were in operation from medieval times until their abolition between 1875 and 1880 (Beal 2008, 98-99).

(10-11) *M<sup>r</sup>. Sollicit<sup>e</sup>. Geidall*: No information found.

(12) *Affid<sup>t</sup>*: Affidavit, a written statement or official deposition which is legally binding. Its truth is confirmed by oath or affirmation. It may be used "as evidence in court, or in support of certain applications" (*OED Online*, s.v. "affidavit," n.).

(14) *Wakefeild*: Wakefield, a city in West Yorkshire.

(15) *in fare*: "to go in, to enter" (*OED Online*, s.v. "in fare," v.). Now obsolete.

(16) *yesternight*: Last night; however, earlier usage was not confined to the night (*OED Online*, s.v. "yesternight," adv.). Now mainly dialectal or archaic.

(16-17) *S<sup>r</sup>. Heneage ffinch*: Heneage Finch, first Earl of Nottingham, (1621-1682) who was a lawyer and politician. Finch was extremely accomplished in his legal career. By the time this letter was written, he had been appointed Solicitor-General and treasurer of his inn of court. In 1675 he was promoted Lord Chancellor (Yale 2004).

(17) *M<sup>r</sup>. Allan*: No information found, most likely a lawyer.

(25) *M<sup>r</sup>. Beall*: No information found.

(26) *Wor<sup>ps</sup>*: Worshipful: "[d]istinguished in respect of character or rank" (*OED Online*, s.v. "worshipful," n. 2a). Now archaic.

(26) *pp<sup>s</sup>*: Per procurationem: authorized signing of documents on somebody else's behalf: "by the agency of an official agent or attorney, by proxy" (*OED Online*, s.v. "per procurationem," adv.).

X.d.428  
(159)

Good Copie 159

finding an Error in my last directions concerning the particulars of the  
 paymēt out of my State I now desire yo<sup>r</sup> Excuse for that oversight  
 it was and have here sent I hope a very right and full list of them.  
 Mr. Baylton will shortly send the Copies of the Duties out for Mr.  
 Dunle George and Mr. Burrows had an other for yo<sup>r</sup> full satisfaction  
 but I thought for way I preferred in my last will little differ in  
 the distinguishment of yo<sup>r</sup> State in trust and the fourth which I have  
 desired yo<sup>r</sup> care of. I desire Mr. Bower may be directed to separate  
 the particular persons and arrears belonging to either that there  
 may be no manner of delay in providing forthwith to gett in both  
 arrears; I have earnestly pressed yo<sup>r</sup> with it and must not more  
 doe it againe. I have nothing more to recommend unperturbed in my  
 last letter but to lett Mr. Edmunds know in what manner I doe desire  
 his service if he be able to undertake the employment: by his letter to mee  
 I find he continues it in Mr. Bowers place, but I intend not as I have  
 before acquainted yo<sup>r</sup> with) that Mr. Bower should be taken from the account  
 for that purpose have always to be w<sup>th</sup> my steward upon he returns debts.  
 if Mr. Edmunds health and occasions will suffer him to accept of  
 my offer of making him steward I desire that hee may be so; but if  
 he cannot I recommend it to yo<sup>r</sup> severall care to make choice of a honest  
 and substantiall man and that yo<sup>r</sup> will putt such a one into that place  
 whose ability and care you have assurance of. I cannot being  
 absent promise my self to be better fitted then I am confident I shall  
 by yo<sup>r</sup> affections and yo<sup>r</sup> will I doubt not show mee a very acceptable  
 friend from hereon.

My Uncle George writt lately to mee aboute lettin<sup>g</sup> Edstone as yo<sup>r</sup>  
 desired hee would; and I thinke it no prejudice to have it done and  
 shall consent unto it

Rouen 15 Apr.  
1648.

Strafford.

For E. Geo. Wentworth of Woolley  
and my Copie wentworth of Arcton

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Figure 20 Text 10, p. 1 (Folger MS X.d.428 (159))

(33) *p* *returne of y<sup>e</sup> Post*: By return of post: “by means of the ‘post’ or courier who brought the dispatch or message from the sender” (now obsolete), or “by the next post in the opposite direction” (*OED Online*, s.v. “return,” n. P7).

(35) *H: Pulleine*: No information found.

(37) *Bill*: The term *bill* denotes different kinds of documents at various times in history. Generally it means any kind of written statement, list, memorandum, letter, or proposal that is formal in nature (Beal 2008, 34). In this context *bill* is a law term and it refers to “a pleading by the plaintiff” (*OED Online*, s.v. “bill,” n.3 4a). This sense is now obsolete.

(37) *Chancery*: see “*the kings Bench*”, p. 90

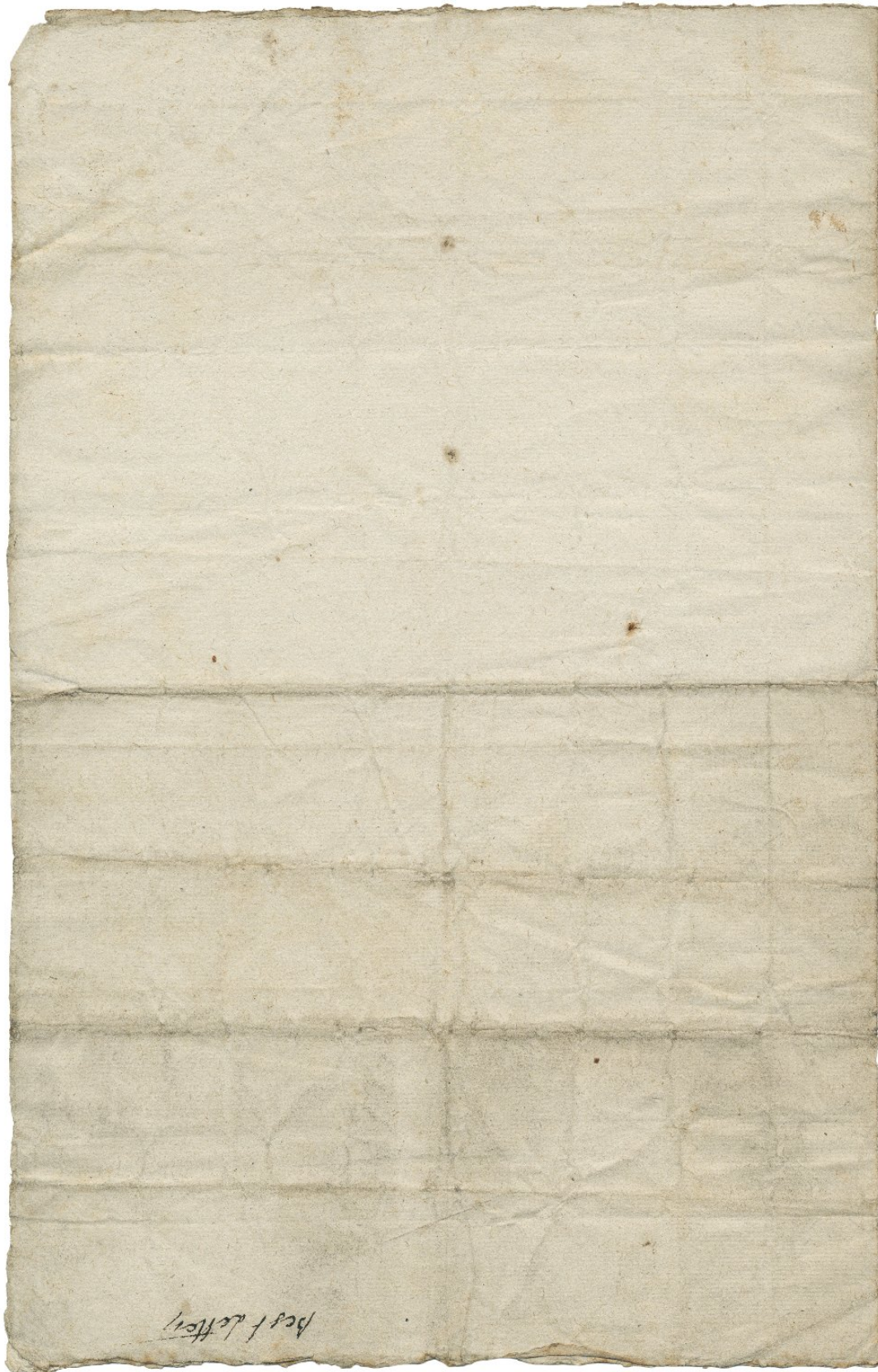
(38) <*r<sup>e</sup>*>: return

(41) *James Shiers*: No information found.

**7.10. Text 10: Letter from William Wentworth to George Wentworth and Thomas Wentworth**  
Folger MS X.d.428 (159)

[p.1, left, top]

1. Good Cosens
2. finding an Error in my last directions concerning the particulars of the
3. payments out of my Estate I now desire yo<sup>e</sup>. excuce for that oversight
4. in mee and haue here sent I hope a very right and full list of them.
5. M<sup>e</sup> Raylton will shortly send the Coppies of the Entaile one fo<sup>e</sup> my
6. Vncl<sup>e</sup> George and M<sup>e</sup> Burrowes and an other for yo<sup>e</sup> full instructions
7. but I conceiue the way I prescribed in my last [space] will little differr in
8. the distinguisment of the Estate in trust and the settld which I haue
9. desired yo<sup>e</sup> cares of: I desire W: Bower may be directed to seperate
10. the particular Reve~nu~es and Arreares belonging to either, that there
11. may be no manner of delay in proceeding forth with to gett in both
12. Arreares; I haue Earnestly pressed yo<sup>u</sup> with it and must once more
13. doe it againe. I haue nothinge more to reco~m~end vninserted in my
14. last Letter but to lett Tho: Edmunds knowe in what manner I doe desire
15. his service if he be able to vndertake the employmen<sup>t</sup>: by his letter to mee
16. I find he conceiues it is in W: Bowers place, but I intend not (as I haue
17. ~~haue~~ acquainted yo<sup>u</sup> with) that W: Bower: should be taken from the accounts:
18. for that purpose he is always to be wth my steward when he receiues Rents.
19. if Tho: Edmunds health and occations will suffer him to accept of



**Figure 21** Text 10, p. 4 (Folger MS X.d.428 (159))

20. My offer of Makeing him steward I desire that hee May be so; but if
21. he cannot I recomend it to yo<sup>e</sup> speciale cares to make choise of a honest
22. and substantiale man and that yo<sup>u</sup> will putt such a one into that place
23. whose ability and care yo<sup>u</sup> haue assurance of. I cannot beinge [line-filler]
24. absen<sup>t</sup> promisse my selfe to be better fitted then I am confident I shalbe
25. by yo<sup>e</sup> affections and yo<sup>u</sup> will I doubt not show mee a very acceptable [line-filler]
26. freindshipp herein.
27. My Vncle George writt lately to mee aboute Letting hedstone as yo<sup>u</sup> [line-filler]
28. desired hee would; and I thinke it, no preiudice to haue it done and
29. shall consent vnto it

[left, bottom]

30. Rouen 15 Apr:
31. 1648:
32. For S<sup>e</sup> Geo: wentworth of wooley
33. and my Cozen wentworth of Bretton

[right, bottom]

34. Strafforde:/

[p.2]

[blank]

[p.3]

[blank]

[p.4]

[blank]

### **Summary**

William Wentworth writes to his kinsmen George Wentworth and Thomas Wentworth about the payments out of his estate. At the beginning of the letter he apologizes that there has been a mistake in his last directions concerning these payments. In this letter he has attached the right list of the payments. He also states that W. Bowers can separate out their revenues and arrears so that they can collect the arrears as soon possible. William Wentworth also wants to know whether or not Thomas Edmunds will accept Wentworth's offer to make Edmunds his steward. Apparently Edmunds has understood that he could have W. Bowers post, but this is not the case. If Edmunds cannot take the post as steward, William Wentworth hopes that George and Thomas Wentworth could find him another person for that post. At the end of the letter William Wentworth informs that his uncle George has written to him about letting hedstone (possibly Headstone Manor). This has been George and Thomas Wentworth's wish, and William Wentworth states that he will consent to it.

## Manuscript

The manuscript bifolium is in excellent condition. The later added text “Best Letters” on page 4 probably relates to this fact. Handwriting is small and lineation is dense. Unlike other writers, Wentworth has written the text stating to whom the letter is addressed below the body of the text. Besides italic letter forms, there are also several secretary letter forms. Thus, it is difficult to tell whether this is a mixed hand or an italic hand with many secretary features. The secretary features include the minuscule *p* (2: particulars), open-bodied *d* (4: and), and long *s* (2: last).

## Notes

(5) *M<sup>e</sup> Raylton*: No information found.

(6) *Vnclē George*: Uncle George refers to Sir George Wentworth who was Sir William Wentworth’s and Anne Atkins’ youngest child of their altogether eleven children. George Wentworth (b. 1609) was the brother of Sir Thomas Wentworth, first Earl of Strafford (Foster 1874, 258-259). As mentioned in section 3.2.1., Thomas Wentworth was the father of William Wentworth, the writer of this letter. George was elected Member of Parliament in 1640; however, he never claimed his seat. He was appointed general of the King’s forces in Ireland. In addition, he was knighted and appointed privy councillor for Ireland (Foster 1874, 259). According to Foster (*ibid.*), the exact date of George Wentworth’s death is not known, but he died before the year 1667.

(6) *M<sup>e</sup> Burrowes*: No information found.

(9) *W: Bower*: No information found.

(14) *Tho: Edmunds*: Refers to Thomas Edmunds of Worsbrough, Esquire (Foster 1874, 266-267). Thomas Edmunds (c. 1596-1662) was the son of John Edmunds of Dalton. Edmunds was a newcomer to Worsbrough, which is located in Barnsley, South Yorkshire (Hey 2015, 94). Edmunds married Mary Wentworth, who was the daughter of John Wentworth of Twothornfield. The other recipient of this letter was John’s brother Thomas Wentworth of Bretton. Thus, Thomas Edmunds was a husband to Thomas Wentworth’s niece (Foster 1874, 266-267). Edmunds acquired wealth through his position as secretary to Thomas Wentworth, first Earl of Strafford, and became a significant landowner in Yorkshire. Similarly to the Wentworths, Edmunds was a royalist, and he suffered heavy losses during the Civil War. He was able to recover these losses after the Restoration of King Charles II (Hey 2015, 95).

(18) *steward*: “An official who controls the domestic affairs of a household, supervising the service of his master's table, directing the domestics, and regulating household expenditure” (*OED Online*, s.v. “steward,” n. 1a). Nowadays the word is only used historically.

X.d.428  
(160)

The 15 of October  
1642.

Good Cousins

I have acquainted you in my last how I have desired my Uncle has willed  
 to give his best assistance for the bringing in the Curacies belonging  
 to me as well as those belonging to the trust, and I hope you will use all  
 the means that can be gotten that new troubles should interrupt that business.  
 I desire you will let Sr. Elmier know from me that I intend Mr. Bowers  
 to go to the Court for the better lands belonging to me; with sufficient  
 direction for knowing how to demand what is due from them, and  
 to give you notice of the business all you can and let the agreement  
 be for as soon payment as can be made, just allowances (as of a year)  
 with you find need full. The treaty not proving probable to produce a  
 settlement or new terms growing again in the North, I have writ to my  
 Uncle Charles desiring he will be pleased to get passes for my Sisters coming  
 out of England, and I hope my Uncle and my Aunt will come with them  
 but if they are not staying at Woodhouse as I heard not long since they  
 would find any convenience I have desired my Sisters to undertake my Lady  
 to be with them there and that they will appoint every thing to be ready  
 I am sure my Uncle intends not to go away with I am very glad  
 of my Sister Anne will acquaint you what news must be prepared  
 and I desire you will take order it be ready out of the Curacies that will  
 be returned to Mr. Baylton with direction to be sent to me Mr.  
 Baylton Money being also sent to him, of which you will receive  
 information from your self. I will shortly send you directions of what  
 particulars both Annuities and other things without of the Curacies  
 must be discharged. I will not trouble you longer not doubting  
 but out of your affections you will appoint the going on of my business  
 with all diligence being most necessary to be done, only I must here desire  
 your compliance concerning my giving of security for the payment of  
 1000. half appears after it is taken if you hear from Mr. Baylton of  
 it that with the remembrance of my best wishes I remain your  
 your Most affectionate Cousin and faithful  
 friend and servant  
 J. Stafford.

For Sr. Geo. Wenthworth  
 of Wether and Sr.  
 Wenthworth of Boston etc.

Figure 22 Text 11, p. recto (Folger MS X.d.428 (160))

(27) *hedstone*: Possibly refers to Headstone Manor in the London borough of Harrow (Headstone Manor Museum 2016).

(30) *Rouen*: Capital of Normandy, France.

(32) *S<sup>e</sup> Geo: wentworth of wooley*: George Wentworth, see 3.2.3., pp. 21-22

(33) *my Cozen wentworth of Bretton*: Thomas Wentworth, see 3.2.2., p. 20

(34) *Strafforde*: William Wentworth, second Earl of Strafford, see 3.2.1., p. 19

### 7.11. Text 11: Letter from William Wentworth to George Wentworth and Thomas Wentworth

Folger MS X.d.428 (160)

[recto, right, top]

1. the 15 of october
2. 1648.

[left, top]

3. Good Cosens
4. I haue acquainted you in My last: how I haue desired My Vncle hee wilbe
5. pleased to giue his best assistance for the bringing in the Arreares belonging
6. to mee as well as those belonging to the trust, and I hope you will vse all
7. the Meanes that canbe therein least new troubles should interupt that business.
8. I desire yo<sup>u</sup>. will let Ri: Elmhirst know from mee that I conceiue W: Bowers
9. accounts, of what from the settled Lands belongs to mee; wilbe sufficient
10. direction for knowing how to demande what is due from every man. and
11. therefore I beseech you quicken the businesse all you can and lett the agreement
12. be for as soone paymen<sup>t</sup>. as canbe Makeing such allowances (as of a yeare)
13. w<sup>ch</sup>. you find needfull. The treaty not proueing probable to produce a
14. settlemen<sup>t</sup>. or new stirrs growing againe in the North; I haue writ to my
15. vncle Clare desireing he wilbe pleased to gett passes for my Sisters comeing
16. out of England, and I hope My Vncle and My Aunt will come with them
17. but if therein or in staying at Woodhouse as I heard not long since they [line-  
filler]
18. should find any preiudice I haue desired My Sisters to intreate My Lady
19. to be with them there and that they will appoint every thing to be ready
20. I since heare My Vncle intends not to goe away w<sup>ch</sup>. I am very glad
21. of. My sister Anne will acquaint you what Money Must be prepared
22. and I desire yo<sup>u</sup> will take order it be ready out of the Arreares that w<sup>ch</sup>
23. is now ready I desire you will advise how it May be returned and that

24. it be returned to M<sup>e</sup> Raylton with direction to be sent to mee M<sup>e</sup>.
25. Raylton Money being alsoe sent to him, of w<sup>ch</sup>. yo<sup>u</sup> will receiue
26. information from him selfe. I shall shortly send yo<sup>u</sup> directions of what
27. particulars ^ {are due} both: Annuatys and other things w<sup>th</sup>.out of the Arreares
28. I must see discharged. I shall not trouble you longer not doubting
29. but out of yo<sup>e</sup> affections yo<sup>u</sup> will appoint the goeing on of my businesse now
30. w<sup>th</sup>. all diligence being: Most necessarie so to doe, only I Must here desire
31. yo<sup>e</sup> compliance concerning My giueing of seecurity for the payment of
32. 1000<sup>£</sup>. halfe a yeare affter it is taken if yo<sup>u</sup> heare from M<sup>e</sup> Raylton of
33. it thus with the remembrance of My best wishes I remaine Good Cosens

[right, bottom]

34. yo<sup>e</sup> Most affectionate kinsman and faithfull
35. freind and seruan<sup>t</sup>:
36. Strafforde:

[left, bottom]

37. for S<sup>e</sup>: Geo: wentworth:
38. of woolley and Tho:
39. wentworth. of Bretton Esq<sup>3</sup>.

[verso]

[blank]

### Summary

This text, along with text 10, is a letter from William Wentworth to his kinsmen George Wentworth and Thomas Wentworth. This letter concerns William Wentworth's business relating to his estate and trust. At the beginning he refers to his previous letter which is not part of the Folger's collection. William Wentworth wants to further the business of collecting the arrears belonging to him or to the trust. Thus, he urges George and Thomas Wentworth to "vse all the Meanes that canbe" (6-7). William also requests George and Thomas to inform Richard Elmhirst that W: Bower's accounts will be adequate information to know which of the settled lands belong to William.

In addition to the business concerning payments, William writes that he has sent a letter to his uncle Clare, hoping that his sisters could get passes to come out of England. Furthermore, William hopes that his uncle and aunt could come with his sisters. After this, William goes back to his businesses, and writes that his sister Anne will acquaint George and Thomas with payments. William also gives directions concerning the returning of the arrears and promises that both he and Mr. Raylton will send further directions shortly. At the end of the letter William requests that George and Thomas consent to the fact that William has agreed to secure Mr. Raylton for the payment of 1000 pounds for a six-month period.

## Manuscript

The manuscript is in fairly good condition. The letter has only one leaf and it has been repaired with silk paper in two parts around the folds. The paper is worn on the whole length of the folds, and this makes the text hard to read in these places. The letter is written by the same writer as text 10, and these two letters look very similar. Handwriting is small and lineation is dense. In addition, the address is written in the same place below the body of the text, and the hand with which the text is written is the same.

## Notes

(4) *My Vncle*: see “*Vncle George*,” p. 93

(8) *Ri: Elmhirst*: Possibly refers to Richard Elmhirst (1597-1654), who was an employee of Thomas Wentworth, the first Earl of Strafford. Elmhirst did not come from a very wealthy family, but working for Thomas Wentworth made him rich. He possessed a lot of landed property, of which the largest was Houndhill (Hey 2015, 88). Houndhill is a manor house in Worsbrough, South Yorkshire (British Listed Buildings 1966).

(8) *W: Bowers*: No information found.

(13) *The treaty*: Probably the Treaty of Newport; see 3.1., p. 13.

(15) *vncle Clare*: Possibly John Holles, second Earl of Clare, (1595-1666) who was the son of Anne Stanhope and John Holles, first of Earl of Clare (Seddon 2004b). William Wentworth’s mother was Arabella Holles (d. 1631), who was also a child of John Holles, first Earl of Clare (Foster 1874, 258). Apparently William’s mother and the second Earl of Clare were siblings, although this specific information is not found. This would, indeed, make John Holles, second Earl of Clare, the uncle of William Wentworth.

(15) *my Sisters*: William Wentworth had two sisters: Arabella Wentworth (b. 1630) and Anne Wentworth (1627-1695). Anne was married to Edward Watson (see 3.2.1., p. 19) (Foster 1874, 258).

(16) *my Aunt*: Probably the wife of John Holles, second Earl of Clare; see “*vncle Clare*” in notes above.

(18) *intreate*: entreat

(18) *My Lady*: William Wentworth’s first wife, Henrietta Maria Stanley (1630-1685) (Foster 1874, 258). Her father was James Stanley, seventh Earl of Derby (Coward 2008).

(24) *M<sup>e</sup> Raylton*: No information found.



Figure 23 Text 12, p. 4 (Folger MS X.d.428 (161))

(36) *Strafforde*: William Wentworth, second Earl of Strafford, see 3.2.1., p. 19

(37-38) *S<sup>c</sup>: Geo: wentworth: of woolley*: George Wentworth, see 3.2.3., pp. 21-22

(38-39) *Tho: wentworth. of Bretton*: Thomas Wentworth, see 3.2.2., p. 20

## 7.12. Text 12: Letter from William Wentworth to Matthew Wentworth

Folger MS X.d.428 (161)

[p.4, middle, upside down]

1. ffor the Honoured [line-filler]
2. Sr Mathew Wentworth
3. Baronett this p̄sent
  
4. at M̄e Thomas Kirkham
5. house surgeon
  
6. In                    }
7. dublin               }
8. I[reland]            }

[p.1, right, top]

9. [torn] of January 1675

[left, top]

10. deare S<sup>r</sup>
11. I reid yours of the [torn]t very night I came
12. from Bretton I [torn]estate you haue
13. in possession and m[torn]r from my lady, w
14. which I brought [from Bre]tton, written by my [line-filler]
15. Cossen Tho: Edmunds[torn]st that should miscarry [line-filler]
16. I put you to the charge of this, all Bretton
17. I owne is yours, soe is Cawthorne flockton, the
18. smthies at Bretton, flockton, Brothliffe, Holling-
19. hurst, Netherton, and euey thing else, e<x>ept my
20. ladies land, Bretton demeane the mill, John Bretton
21. estate and Cumberworth, this falles to you as heyre
22. noe settlement, soe if it please god not to ~~h~~ send
23. you or my Cossen Mathew your sonne ~~\*\*\*th\*~~ {any} children
24. it falles to my Cossen Edmunds children, I hope you
25. will be soe kind to my children, that if your owne
26. issue faile <vs> ^ by your will or deed, declare them your

2 of January 1675

Dear gr.

I recd yours of the  
16th inst. & in  
your possession and in

which I brought  
Coffin Tho. Edmund,

I put you to the charge of this, all Britton  
is yours, for us (and home flock too) the  
Sunderland Britton flock too, the  
hurst, & other things and every thing else, save the  
Tadros land, Britton or meane the mill, John Britton  
of estate and timber wood & this falls to you as legar  
not justly mine, for if it please god not to be long  
you or my Coffin what shall your come, ~~our~~ ~~shall~~  
it falls to my Coffin Edmund's inheritance I hope you  
will be for him to my children, that if your time  
shall fail by your will or deed, declare them your  
heir's males and hope it in the name, this I make  
could to put you in mind of my absence, and perhaps  
may not think of it, I hope god will find you to be  
in safety, your brother Nathel queen 200 in legary  
to be paid out of the woods, in 4 years time, I think  
it will be left for you to hasten over to be present at  
them falls, that I leave to you, the sum of 1200 I suppose  
if it will be left before completed 1200 I suppose  
the woods contracted by his estate and land when will  
I charge that the personall estate is worth at 7600  
which is all my father's I came from Britton to London  
this daye, I pray god, as by the date of my last will  
you are, god bless you in about your presence, I pray  
I shall be my affection  
I pray god, I pray  
and my lady by will  
of that mortgage,  
I wish I could see  
and advise with  
for both my fel  
pardon what is  
is to be done

I have written me in love

at my right I come  
of estate you have  
from my lady, u  
them written by my

so that should my carry  
of this, all Britton

low home flock too, the  
flood listy, the  
and every thing else, save the

John Britton  
to you as legar  
not to be long

your come, ~~our~~ ~~shall~~  
I hope you  
that if your time

declare them your  
perhaps  
to be

in 4 years time, I think  
to be present at  
I suppose

the woods contracted by his estate and land when will  
I charge that the personall estate is worth at 7600

which is all my father's I came from Britton to London  
this daye, I pray god, as by the date of my last will

you are, god bless you in about your presence, I pray  
I shall be my affection

I wish I could see  
and advise with  
for both my fel

pardon what is  
is to be done

our devoted Cousin & servant  
Wm. W. Wood

1675

27. heyres male, and kepe it in the name, this I make
28. bould to put you in mind of, being absent, and perhapes
29. may not thinke of it, I hope god will send you to vs
30. in safety, your brother hath giuen 1200<sup>£</sup> in legacies,
31. to be **p**son<sup>t</sup> of the woods, in 4 yeares time, I thinke
32. yt ^ {it} will be best for you to hasten ouer, to be present at
33. their salles, that I leaue to you, the funerale was mag-
34. nificent, it will cost before compleated 1200<sup>£</sup>, I suppose
35. the woods contracted before his death and bond giuen will
36. discharge that, the personall estate, is prayesd at 1600<sup>£</sup>
37. which is all my ladies, I came from bretton, to London
38. this daye seuennight, as by the date of my last, will
39. apeare, good Cossen **ϕ** in short your concerne here is
40. great, and will day[torn] your presence, I propounded
41. the concerne from <sr>[torn] about Hoyland and dike
42. side, I pray refuse [torn][s]hall <haue> my assistance
43. and my lady by wi[torn] you to haue the refusall
44. of that morgage, [torn] selfe be yond reason
45. I wish I could mee[t][torn]in England, to informe
46. and aduise with [torn]\*s your her seruise
47. soe doth my se[torn] I am

[left, bottom]

48. pardon what [torn]
49. acceptable, [torn]
50. is the [torn]

[right, bottom]

51. [y]our deuoted Cossen & seruant
52. W~ill~ Wentworth

[left, middle, vertically]

53. I pr<a>ye write me as long
54. as you staye

[p.2]

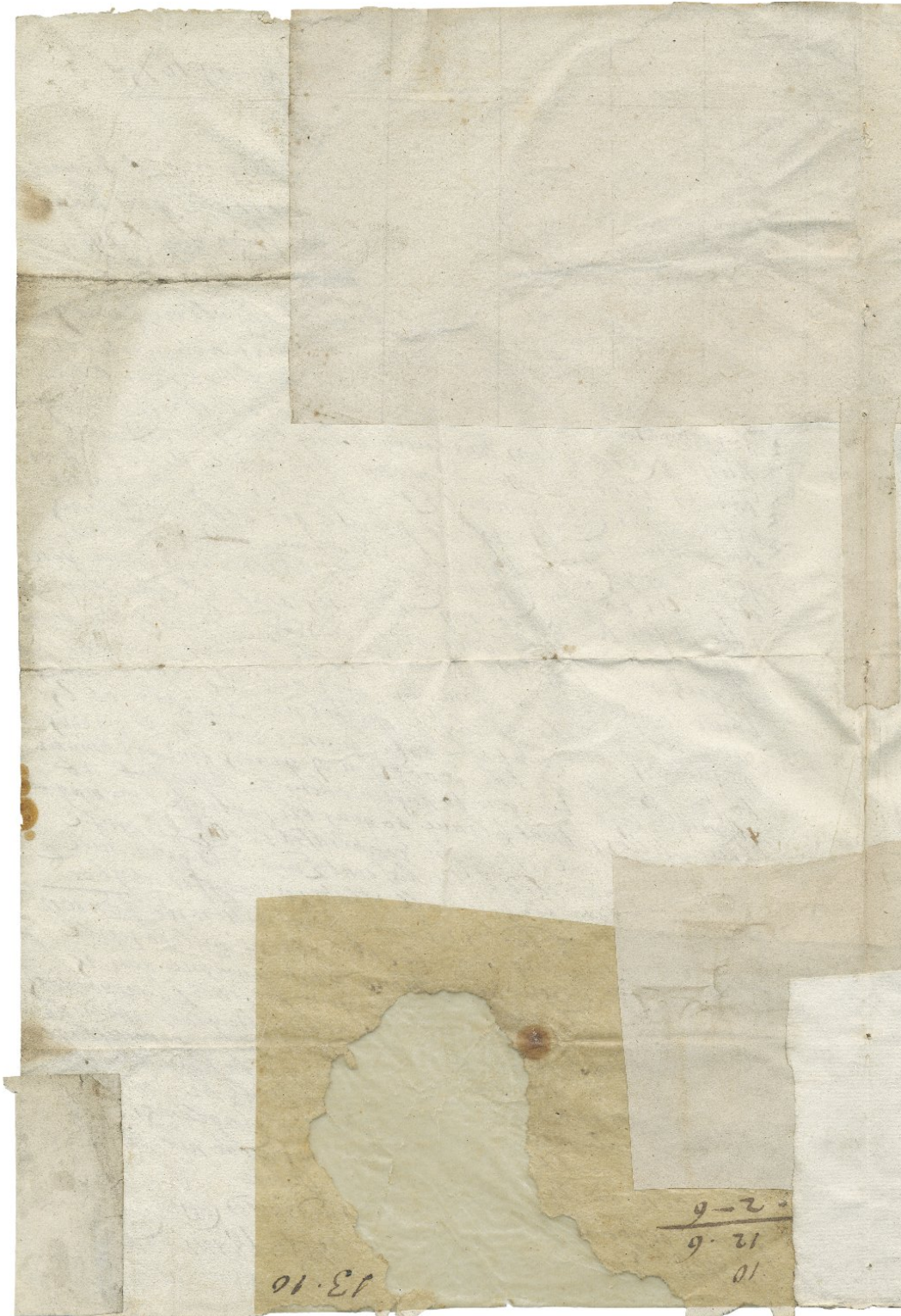
[blank]

[p.3]

[blank]

### Summary

In his letter to Matthew Wentworth, William Wentworth first refers to Matthew's previous letter. Then William lists all the estates that fall to Matthew as William's



**Figure 25** Text 12, p. 2 (Folger MS X.d.428 (161))

heir. William also hopes that William's own children would become Matthew's heirs in case Matthew or his son, also named Matthew, did not have any children. William reminds Matthew that otherwise these estates pass to Thomas Edmunds's children and do not stay in the family. In addition, William mentions Thomas Wentworth's funeral and informs that Thomas had given Matthew 1200 pounds in legacies (Thomas had died the preceding month (Foster 1874, 267)). William urges Matthew to hurry to Yorkshire, because his presence is important (probably because of the distribution of the estates). At the end of the letter William promises Matthew his assistance.

### **Manuscript**

The manuscript is in poor condition. This bifolium has several holes and tears on it, and these have been repaired with silk paper. These damages strongly affect the reading of the text. Handwriting is not particularly small, but the text is very densely written. The hand has several secretary letter forms, although, the overall feeling of the hand is italic. The secretary features are, for example, the minuscule *a* which is open at the top (11: *came*), and minuscule *e* which resembles *c* (16: *charge*). In addition, as is characteristic to the secretary script, the minims tend to merge (28: *mind*) (see 5.1.1., p. 36). Wentworth has probably been confused with these minims himself, because he has written *smthies* (18). Most likely he has meant an area called The Smithies, but by mistake did not write the first *i*. However, it is also a possibility that he left the *i* out on purpose.

On page 2 is a later added calculation. That part is also torn in the middle, and it is difficult to say whether there would have been more numbers or possibly some text indicating what was counted. As such, it is impossible to say to what the calculation relates. The seal is intact, and it is clearly seen that Wentworth has used the coat of arms of the Wentworth family in his seal (see 3.2., p. 17). The postal stamp has faded, but it seems that the number in it is 14. The month is not visible. Wentworth has dated his letter to January, but, as the letter has been torn, the number of the day is not seen. Presumably Wentworth has written his letter a day or two earlier than it was stamped by the post.

### **Notes**

(2) *Sr Mathew Wentworth*: Matthew Wentworth, see 3.2.2., p. 21

(4) *Me Thomas Kirkham*: No information found.

(13) *my lady*: No information found.

(14-15) *my Cossen Tho: Edmunds*: see "*Tho Edmunds*," p. 93

(17) *Cawthorne flockton*: Cawthorne is a village and civil parish in Barnsley, South Yorkshire, and Flockton is a village in Kirklees, West Yorkshire. There does not

seem to be a place called Cawthorne flockton. The distance between Cawthorne and Flockton is approximately eight miles.

(17-18) *the smthies at Bretton*: The Smithies; an area within the town of Barnsley, South Yorkshire.

(18) *flockton*: see “*Cawthorne flockton*” in notes

(18) *Broltiffe*: No information found.

(18-19) *Hollinghurst*: No information found.

(19) *Netherton*: There are two villages in West Yorkshire with this name, one is in Kirklees and the other is in Wakefield.

(20) *demeane*: The modern spelling of the word is demesne which means “[a] possession; an estate possessed” (*OED Online*, s.v. “demesne,” n.).

(20-21) *John Bretton estate*: Probably refers to the estate of John Bretton, who lived in the village of West Bretton, situated in Wakefield, West Yorkshire. John Bretton was Catholic who was executed because of his faith in 1598 (Bretton & Bretton 1987). He was married to Frances Wentworth, daughter of Alice and Richard Wentworth of Hollinghurst. Frances was the grand-niece of Thomas Wentworth of Bretton, the recipient of text 4 (see 3.2.2., pp. 19-20). Frances and Sir Matthew Wentworth, the recipient of this letter, are also related but not very closely. Frances is Matthew’s grandfather’s cousin (Foster 1874, 266-267).

(21) *Cumberworth*: Upper Cumberworth, a village in West Yorkshire.

(23) *my cossen Mathew your sonne*: Matthew Wentworth, see 3.2.2., p. 21

(33) *salles*: “A hall, room” (*OED Online*, s.v. “salle,” n. 1a). Nowadays rarely used.

(33) *the funerale*: Probably the funeral of Sir Thomas Wentworth of Bretton (d. 1675), see 3.2.2., p. 20.

(38) *this daye seuennight*: A week from this day (*OED Online*, s.v. “sennight,” n. b). Now archaic.

(40) *propounded*: “To bring forward (an allegation, pleading, etc.) in a cause” (*OED Online*, s.v. “propound,” v. 1b). In this sense the word is now obsolete.

(41) *Hoyland*: A town in Barnsley, South Yorkshire.



**Figure 26** Text 13, p. 4 (Folger MS X.d.428 (162))

(41-42) *dike side*: Might refer to Denby Dale Chapel which was previously called Denby Dyke Side (The National Archives 2016b). Denby is a village and civil parish in Kirkstiles, West Yorkshire.

(52) *W~ill~ Wentworth*: William Wentworth, see 3.2.2., p. 21

### 7.13. Text 13: Letter from John Whitehead to Matthew Wentworth

Folger MS X.d.428 (162)

[p.4, bottom, upside down]

1. For the honowrable
2. S<sup>e</sup> Matthew Wentworth
3. /These present

[p.1, left, top]

4. Hono<sup>ed</sup> S<sup>e</sup>.
5. By my letter addressed to you at Wentworth=Woodhouse
6. you will vnderstand my Error, as I did ^ {by} yo<sup>es</sup> from Ireland; whereas
7. I supposed you had been in this Kingdom./ S<sup>e</sup> As I must render yo
8. you thanks for yo<sup>e</sup> Kindnesse Expressed in that letter, and all
9. [1 word illegible] your favo<sup>es</sup>, soe I must beg yo<sup>e</sup> Pardon for my mistake
10. But its noe smale trouble to my wife & my self to hear
11. that you have bid Adeiw to Ireland, & wee left {vs} hopelesse of
12. yo<sup>e</sup> Return; But yet that wee might not totally lose you
13. wee have wished that yo<sup>e</sup> son were matched to some of o<sup>e</sup> Neices
14. who are very Considerable fortunes; which if wee did not
15. know ^ {to bee soe} wee would soon vnwish it; for though it bee a thing
16. wee should bee very ambitious of; wee should not wish
17. it to his or yo<sup>e</sup> disadvantage; My Sister Fiennes has two
18. Daughters (her only Children), who (its s<sup>d</sup>) will bee worth
19. seaven thousand pounds a peice; of w<sup>ch</sup> one is marrigeable
20. their Father, (were hee now alive) would bee l<sup>d</sup> Viscount
21. Say & Seale; as their Brother (by a former Venter) is./
22. My brother Whithed has two daughters vnmarried, whose
23. fortune lies in <the> pleasure of their father; hee has alrea-
24. =dy married one to a gent' of a very Considerable estate
25. & I am sure may bee drawn to giue a very good Portions
26. My brother Whitheds wife has a daughter that is s<sup>d</sup> to be
27. worth twenty=thousand Pounds; if the Gent' yo<sup>e</sup> son were
28. present to bee judge of their persons, (as I have truly
29. represented their fortunes) I beeleeve his wish & o<sup>es</sup> would
30. Concur; And am most Certaine were it Come to that my

196  
 + Hono<sup>d</sup> J<sup>r</sup> E.

By my letter addressed to you at West-wool-wood house  
 you will understand my Error, as I did <sup>not</sup> <sup>know</sup> you from Ireland; thinking  
 I supposed you had been in the Kingdom. As I must needs see you  
 you thank you for yo<sup>r</sup> kind<sup>e</sup> Expressions in that letter, and all  
 your favo<sup>r</sup>, soe I must beg yo<sup>r</sup> Pardon for my mistake  
 But it was some trouble to my wife & my self to hear  
 that you have bid Adieu to Ireland, & were left hopeles of  
 yo<sup>r</sup> Return; But yet that we might not totally lose you  
 we have wished that yo<sup>r</sup> son were married to some of a Noble  
 who are very considerable fortunes, which if we did not  
 know <sup>to be so</sup> <sup>well</sup> would soon unwish it for though it be a thing  
 we should be very ambitious of we should not wish  
 it to be yo<sup>r</sup> disadvantage, My Sister Firmy has two  
 Daughters (her only Children) who (as I) will be worth  
 seven thousand pound, a piece; of which one is marriagable  
 their Father (whoe hee now alive) would be D<sup>r</sup> Viscount  
 Say & Seal; as their Brother (by a former Uncle) is  
 My Brother Whitthet has two Daughters unmarried, whose  
 fortunes lie in the pleasure of their Father; hee has alre-  
 dy <sup>given</sup> one to a great of a very considerable estate  
 & I am sure may be drawn to give a very good portion  
 My Brother Whitthet's wife has a daughter that is sd to be  
 worth twenty thousand pound; if the great yo<sup>r</sup> son were  
 present to be judge of their persons, for I have truly  
 represented their fortunes I believe hee will be of good  
 Consequence; And am most certain were it come to that my  
 Service & assistance should contribute to both; how far these  
 Discourses may find Entertainment, I know not, but if yo<sup>r</sup> fairer  
 of this nature be not first talked of, they can never be done  
 And therefore at worst if am your you will continue them

Figure 27 Text 13, p. 1 (Folger MS X.d.428 (162))

31. service & assistance should Contribute to both; how far these
32. discourses 'may find Entertainment, I know not, but if buisnesses
33. of this nature bee not first talked of; they can neaver bee don
34. And therefore at worst I am sure you will Construe them

[p.2, left, top]

35. as the Genuine effects of that Great hono<sup>e</sup> & respect I have for
36. you; And if I thought yo<sup>e</sup> son were inclinable to visitt the west
37. Country I durst assure him a handsome welcome; and if I could hope it;
38. I would protract my journey on purpose to serve him; Or if hee
39. or you would take some time to Enquire into the Particulars of w<sup>t</sup> I
40. have related; Vpon the least su~mo~ns I would take a stepp into
41. England to promote soe desireable a designe; I am just returned
42. to London with wife and daughter<sup>s</sup>, that {they} may see this Famous Citty
43. and am ready to leave it; But if you pleas to hono<sup>e</sup> mee {with} a line or
44. two, & direct it to y<sup>e</sup> Peacock in Little Brittain London, I
45. a freind there that will take y<sup>e</sup> Care of Conveing it to mee
46. My wife & daughter present their humble servise; And if there bee any
47. thing wherein I may serve you either in England or in Ireland; whither
48. I am now hastening, but shall visitt all these freinds I am speaking
49. of; by the way; You may freely Co~ma~und

[right, middle]

50. Dear S<sup>e</sup>.
51. yo<sup>e</sup> most affectionately
52. faithfull serva<sup>nt</sup>
53. John Whithed.

[left, middle]

54. London this 14<sup>th</sup>
55. of March i675./

[p.3]

[blank]

### Summary

At the beginning of the letter John Whitehead apologizes to Matthew Wentworth that he had sent his previous letter to the wrong address. In addition, Whitehead thanks Matthew for his kindness and all his favours. Whitehead has sent this letter to Matthew because he and his wife wish that Matthew's son would be married to one of Whiteheads' nieces. Then he introduces these nieces and their fortunes. Whitehead suggests that Matthew or his son can enquire more about these girls, or Whitehead could come to England to promote this plan. He also mentions that at the moment he

as the genuine effects of that great hand & myself I love for  
you. And if I thought you were inclinable to visit the west  
country I durst assure you a handsome welcome, and if I durst hope it.  
I would protract my journey on purpose to serve you; or if he  
or you would take some time to Enquire into the Particulars of it I  
have related; upon the least summons I would take a stage into  
England to promote so desirable a design. I am, all returned  
to London with wife and daughter, that may <sup>they</sup> see <sup>with</sup> you in  
and am ready to have it; But if you please to honor me a time or  
two, & direct it to y<sup>e</sup> Parcock in Little Brittain London, I  
a friend there that will take y<sup>e</sup> care of conveying it to me  
My wife & daughter present their humble service. And if there be any  
thing wherein I may serve you either in England or in Scotland, <sup>whenever</sup>  
I am now Enclaving, but shall visit all y<sup>e</sup> friends I am speaking  
of, by the way; You may freely Comand  
Dear J. E.

London 15<sup>th</sup> 14<sup>th</sup>  
of March 1675.

Y<sup>e</sup> most affectionately  
faithfull servant  
J. M. W. W. W.

Figure 28 Text 13, p. 2 (Folger MS X.d.428 (162))

is visiting London with his family, but is returning shortly to Ireland. However, if Matthew would like to answer Whitehead's letter, he can direct it to London.

### Manuscript

Despite two tears and a few stains, this manuscript is in fairly good condition. The text is spaciouly written on pages 1 and 2 of the bifolium. The hand is predominantly italic with a few secretary features. The secretary letter forms include the Greek *e* (7: *been*) and minuscule *h* (2: *Wentworth*). The seal is still in place; however, it is slightly damaged. The other tear on the paper is a result of opening the seal.

### Notes

(2) *S<sup>e</sup> Matthew Wentworth*: see 3.2.2., p. 21

(5) *Wentworth=Woodhouse*: see 3.2.1., p. 18

(7) *this Kingdom*: Kingdom of England

(10) *my wife*: John Whitehead's wife, no information found.

(13) *yo<sup>e</sup> son*: Matthew Wentworth's son Matthew; see 3.2.2., p. 21

(17-18) *My Sister Fiennes has two Daughters*: John Whitehead's sister was Frances Whitehead (1621-1691). She became Frances Fiennes after she married Nathaniel Fiennes. They had five children together, all of whom were girls, but three of them died as infants. The "two daughters" mentioned in the letter refers to Celia and Mary Fiennes. Celia (1662-1741) was a traveller who never married (Hey 2004). According to Hey (2004), she lived "either with or near her sister's family" in London after their mother died in 1691. Her sister was Mary (1663-1737), and she was married to Sir Edmund Harrison, who was a merchant from London. The two sisters had also "two half-brothers from her father's first marriage, Nathaniel (c. 1637– c. 1672) and William (1639–1698)" (*ibid.*).

(18) *s<sup>d</sup>*: said

(20) *their Father*: Refers to Nathaniel Fiennes (1607/8-1669), who was a politician and army officer. His father was William Fiennes, first Viscount Saye and Sele, and his mother was Elizabeth Temple. Nathaniel Fiennes was married twice. First to Elizabeth Eliot, with whom he had two sons, and secondly to Frances Whitehead, sister of John Whitehead (Schwartz 2004). As mentioned earlier, he had five daughters with Frances (Hey 2004). Fiennes was a Member of Parliament and a prominent supporter of Oliver Cromwell (Schwartz 2004).

(20) *l<sup>d</sup>*: lord

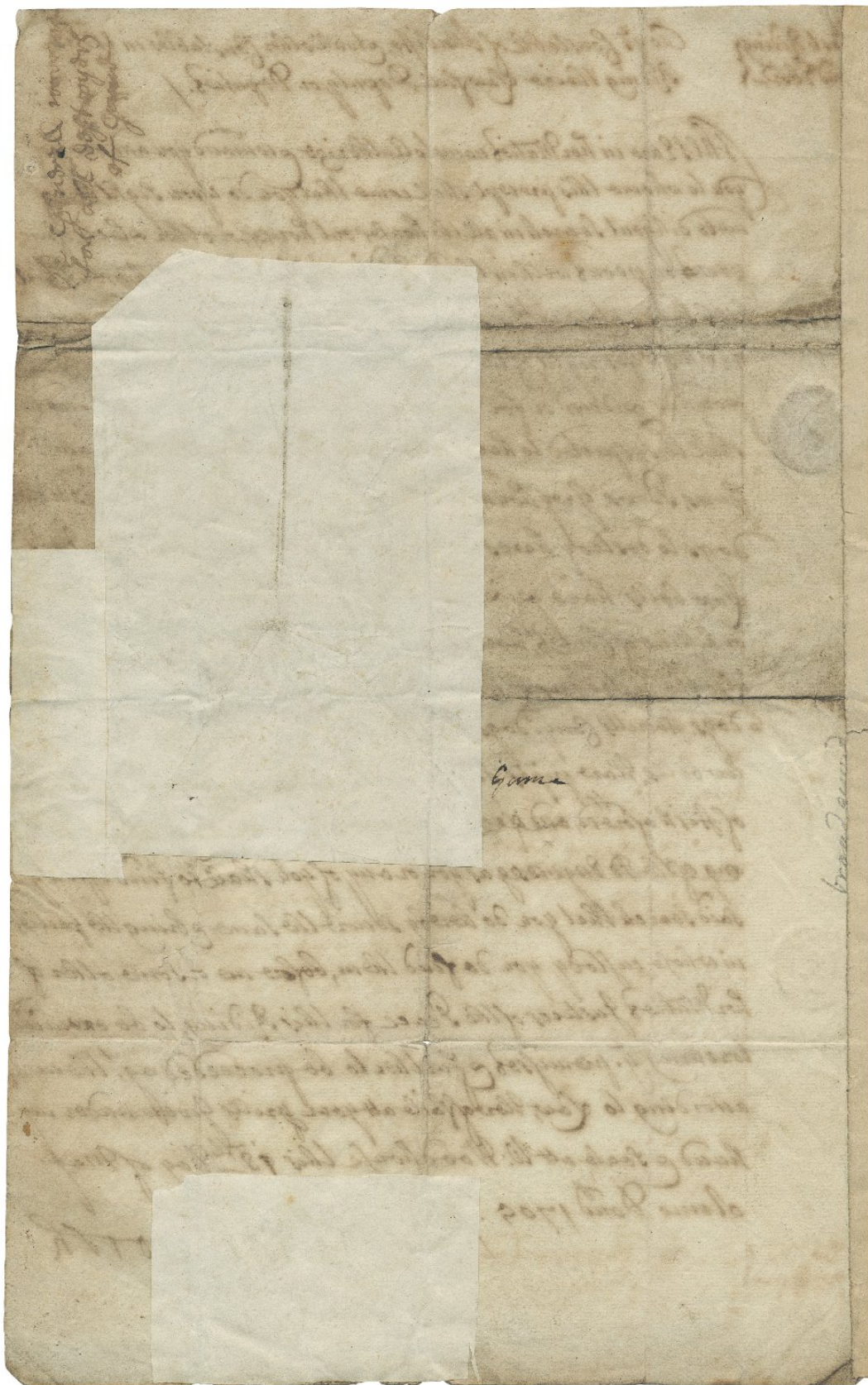


Figure 29 Text 14, p. verso (Folger MS X.d.428 (167))

(21) *their Brother (by a former Venter)*: Refers to William Fiennes (1639-1698), son of Nathaniel Fiennes and his first wife Elizabeth Eliot (Hey 2004). William was the other one of the two half-brothers mentioned earlier. He became the third Viscount Saye and Sele after his uncle James Fiennes died in 1674 (Schwarz 2004). The word *venter* in this sense means “[o]ne or other of two or more wives who are (successively or otherwise) sources of offspring to the same person” (*OED Online*, s.v. “*venter*,” n.1 1a).

(22) *My brother Whithed has two daughters vnmarried*: No information found on John Whitehead’s brother or on his brother’s unmarried daughters.

(23-24) *hee has already married one to a gent’ of a very Considerable estate*: No information found on the daughter or his husband.

(25) *Portions*: Now chiefly a historical term for a dowry (*OED Online*, s.v. “*portion*,” n. 1d).

(26) *My brother Whitheds wife has a daughter*: No information found on the wife or on her daughter.

(30) *Concur*: “Of things: [t]o agree, accord in quality, character, etc.” (*OED Online*, s.v. “*concur*,” v. 5). In this sense the word is now obsolete.

(36-37) *the west Country*: Ireland

(42) *daughter<sup>s</sup>*: No information found on John Whitehead’s daughters.

(44) *y<sup>e</sup> Peacock in Little Brittain London*: The Peacock was a bookstore in Little Britain, which is a street in London (Raven 2010).

(53) *John Whithed*: Son of Colonel Richard Whitehead of West Tytherley, Hampshire (Schwarz 2004). No other information found.

#### 7.14. Text 14: Warrant for arrest

Folger MS X.d.428 (167)

[verso, left, top, vertically]

1. A generall warrant
2. for all destroyers
3. of game

X.d.428  
167  
West Riding  
of the County

To y<sup>e</sup>. Constable of Shirecliffe, & to all other Constables in the sd  
Riding their Lawful Deputy or Deputies.

187  
These are in Her Majesty's name to Authorize & command you and every of  
you to whom this precept shall come that you do upon sight hereof  
make diligent Search in all the houses out houses, or other places of any  
pew or ground within the sd Riding other than of such pews that  
hath lands & tenements or some other estate of Substantive Justice own  
or in his wife's right of the clear yearly value of One Hundred  
pounds or more or for Tenants of life or as upon good ground  
shall be suspected to have or keep in his or their custody any  
Guns, Pows, Grey Hounds, Soling dogs, Horricks, Long dogs or other  
dogs to destroy hares or fowls, Hays, Trancels or other Hots  
Low bells, Hares pipes, Snares or other Engines, for the taking  
or killing of Hounds, Hares, Pheasants, Partridges, or other Game &  
also the destroyers of fish, And such Guns, Grey Hounds, Soling  
= dogs, Horricks, Long dogs or other dogs as aforesaid Hays, Trancels  
Low bells, Hares pipes, Snares or other Engines & also y<sup>e</sup>. destroyers  
of fish aforesaid, and if you shall find any of the said  
eng of the sd Engines as you or any of you shall so find upon y<sup>e</sup>.  
said Search that you do thereby seize the same & bring the parties  
in whose custody you do find them, before us or some other of  
Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace for this Riding, to be examined  
touching y<sup>e</sup>. premises & further to be proceeded ag<sup>t</sup>. them  
according to Law, Hereof fails at your wills Given under my  
hand & Seals at W. Woodhouse this 9<sup>th</sup> Day of May  
Anne Dowd 1709.

189  
Th Wentworth

Figure 30 Text 14, p. recto (Folger MS X.d.428 (167))

[recto, left, top]

4. West Riding
5. Co~m~ Ebo~r~ [line-filler]

}

[middle, top]

6. To y<sup>e</sup>. Constable of Attercliffe, & to all other Constables in the ~s~d
7. Riding their Lawfull Deputy or Deputies./

[left, top]

8. These are in her M~atie~s name to Authorize & co~man~d you and every of
9. you to whome this precept shall come that you do upon sight hereof
10. make diligent search in all the houses out houses, or other places, of any
11. p̄sons or p̄sons within the ~s~d Riding other than of such p̄sons that
12. hath lands & tenem<sup>ts</sup> or some other estate of Inheritance (in his own
13. or in his Wifes right of the clear Yearly Value of One Hundred [line-filler]
14. pounds p̄ A~nn~ or for Terme of life &c: as upon good ground
15. shall be suspected to have or keep in his or their custody any
16. Guns, Bows, Greyhounds, selling dogs fferritts, Cony=dogs or other
17. dogs to destroy hares or Conies, Hays tramels or other Nets
18. Low bells hare pipes snares or other Engines, for the taking
19. or killing of Conies, Hares Pheasants, Patridges, or other Game &
20. also the destroyers of ffish, And such Guns, Greyhounds selling
21. = dogs, fferritts Cony=dogs or other dogs as afor~es~d Hays tramels [line-filler]
22. low bells, Hare pipes snares or other Engines & also y<sup>e</sup>. destroyers
23. of ffish a~fores~d, and if upon your said search you or any of you do find
24. ~~any of the ~s~d Engines y~~ as you or any of you shall so find upon y<sup>e</sup>.
25. said search that you do hereby secure the same & bring the parties
26. in whose custody you do find them, before me or some other of
27. her M~atie~s Justices of the Peace for this Riding, to be examin'd
28. touching y<sup>e</sup>. premisses & farther to be proceeded ag<sup>t</sup>. them
29. according to Law, Hereof faile att your p̄rills Given under my
30. hand & seale att W: Woodhouse this i8<sup>th</sup> Day of May
31. Anno Do~m~ 1705./

[right, bottom]

32. Th Wentworth

### Summary

An arrest warrant from Thomas Wentworth to the constable of Attercliffe and to all other constables in the West Riding and their deputies. Wentworth authorizes them to make diligent search in all buildings belonging to such persons whose lands are not worth more than 100 pounds per year and who are suspected of killing game. Wentworth lists all the forbidden instruments which can be used to kill game. If these instruments are found in somebody's possession, the constable must bring this

person before Wentworth “or some other of her M~atie~s Justices of the Peace for this Riding” (26-27). This person shall then face the consequences. Wentworth states that if a constable does not act according to this warrant, he may be accused of disobedience.

### **Manuscript**

The manuscript is in fairly good condition. It only has one leaf and it is quite worn around the folds. Some of these scuffs have been repaired with silk paper. The letter has been folded into a very narrow strip, so the scuffing is probably a result of that. The manuscript looks very neat. The lines are straight and the text is not too small or densely written. On the verso page is a general statement to whom the letter is written (1-3). On the recto page it is specified more closely (6-7).

The hand is italic with secretary features. The secretary features include, for example, the majuscule *C* (5: *Co~m~*), minuscule *p* (14: *pounds*), and reversed *e* (7: *theire*). There is also some later added text in the manuscript. Two of these instances are individual words. One is in the middle of the left margin on the recto page, and the other is in the middle of the verso page. In addition, there are two words added to the middle of the right edge of the verso page. Unfortunately, I have not been able to decipher these words. The seal is on the left margin of the recto page. It is preserved intact.

### **Notes**

(5) *Co~m~ Ebo~r~*: An abbreviation of the words Common Eboracum, which refers to the city of York. The word common means “[t]he common body of the people of any place; the community or commonalty” (*OED Online*, s.v. “common,” n.1 1). The word is now obsolete in this sense. Eboracum is the Latin name of York (Simpson 2009b).

(6) *Attercliffe*: A suburb in the city of Sheffield, South Yorkshire.

(6) *~s~d*: said

(8) *M~atie~s*: Majesty’s

(9) *precept*: “A written authorization; a warrant” (*OED Online*, s.v. “precept,” n. 3). Now obsolete.

(16) *Cony=dogs*: Coney dog: nowadays a rarely used term for “[a] dog used for hunting rabbits” (*OED Online*, s.v. “coney dog,” n.1 1).

(17) *Hays*: “A net used for catching wild animals”, especially rabbits (*OED Online*, s.v. “hay,” n.3). Now obsolete.

in the name of God  
St. Theobaldus  
at the Baron's  
at the station  
in a Republic  
Hoyburg  
yost yuid  
3

17  
97

Figure 31 Text 15, p. 4 (Folger MS X.d.428 (168))

(18) *Low bells*: “A bell used in trapping birds, usually at night” (*OED Online*, s.v. “low bell,” n. 2a). Nowadays it is rare and only used historically.

(18) *hare pipes*: “A trap for catching hares” (*OED Online*, s.v. “hare-pipe,” n.). Now obsolete.

(28) *ag<sup>t</sup>*: against

(29) *prills*: perils

(30) *W: Woodhouse*: Wentworth Woodhouse, see 3.2.1., p. 18

(32) *Th Wentworth*: Thomas Watson-Wentworth, see 3.2.1., p. 19

**7.15. Text 15: Letter from unknown correspondent to Thomas Wentworth**  
Folger MS X.d.428 (168)

[p.4, middle, vertically]

1. [ff]or His Hon<sup>ed</sup>: ffreind
2. S<sup>r</sup>: Tho: Wentworth
3. K<sup>nt</sup>: & Barronett
4. att Bretton neare
5. wakefeild, this
6. fferrybrigg/.
7. post paid
8. [line-filler] 3<sup>d</sup>:

[p.1, left, top]

9. S<sup>e</sup>/.
10. my due respects p<sup>e</sup>:sent[torn] o<sup>e</sup>: selfe and
11. good Lady & I hartily wa[nt][torn]these may fin[d]
12. y<sup>ow</sup>: both in health. [line-filler] ha[ueinge] come to y<sup>or</sup>:
13. Lodgeinge on the munday mo~ring~e as ea[r]
14. =ly as I came on the Tusday I had seene
15. y<sup>w</sup>: before yo<sup>e</sup>: goeinge heme. all I could
16. I doe, when I mist of my desire, was
17. to pray for yo<sup>e</sup>: safe arivall [line-filler]
18. I haue waited for some thinge worthy yo<sup>e</sup>: no=
19. tice since y<sup>w</sup>: Left this place else I had.
20. ere this signified my thankefullnesse
21. for yo<sup>e</sup>: Continued respects [line-filler] and truely
22. I find them more, then many many



23. others, who had greater Cause all thinges
24. Considered [line-filler] all I shall say to this is [line-filler]
25. itt argue ingenuity & says y<sup>e</sup>: greater
26. obligac~ons~ vpon mee to remaine yo<sup>e</sup>:
27. faithfull & respectiue freind
28. /The ffre~nch~ Ambassado<sup>e</sup>: is come & att
29. p<sup>e</sup>:sent is Lodg<sup>d</sup> att S<sup>t</sup>: Jameses as incogni
30. to; till his Large retinue [line-filler] bee come ~w<sup>ch</sup>:~
31. is likely to bee great, beinge a pson of
32. soe great quallity [line-filler] vncke to o<sup>e</sup>: Kingelt.
33. y<sup>e</sup>: chancellor of Paris is w<sup>t</sup>: him [line-filler] aman
34. of very great parts and visdome
35. nothinge cann bee said of his Embassy
36. till Audience bee [line-filler] ‘tis said y<sup>e</sup>: fre~n[ch~]
37. haue 20: saile of shipp[torn][n]owe rydinge
38. ouer ag<sup>st</sup>: deipe [line-filler] ‘tis [torn] for o<sup>e</sup>: aide
39. if need regimie, [torn]ll shend tha[t]
40. o<sup>e</sup>: fleete nowe rides[torn][A]ldbrough
41. bay on y<sup>e</sup>: Coast [of Suff]olk<sup>e</sup> [line-filler] &
42. soe on for Harwic[h][torn][E]ssex [line-filler] &
43. are ready for ha[torn] as is said
44. here are <s>o~o<e>:~ ould [torn][n]ewely come
45. from Ireland for [torn] y<sup>e</sup>: fleete.
46. haueinge this eve~in~ge [torn] a Lett<sup>e</sup>: Come
47. from a good [line-filler] hand from the fleete I
48. thought good to giue y<sup>w</sup>: an abstract
49. of the p<sup>t</sup>iculars [line-filler] ~w<sup>ch</sup>:~ may bee
50. <rieues> [line-filler]

[right, bottom]

51. [line-filler] alerte,

[p.2, middle, top]

52. [torn] are nowe Rydinge 50 saile [of]
53. [torn]:<sup>ties</sup> shippes of the cheifest in 3:
54. [squ]adrons [line-filler] where of

[left]

55. [1:] of y<sup>e</sup>: Redd [line-filler]

[middle]

56. Admirall is y<sup>e</sup>: Royall charles y<sup>e</sup>: duke of yorke
57. Admirall & S<sup>t</sup>: w~ill:~ Penn Captaine.

one more beinge 50 saile  
 of Shippes of the dispatch, in 3<sup>rd</sup>  
 adrons - whereof

1<sup>st</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Redd  
 Admirall y<sup>e</sup> Royall Charles 2<sup>d</sup> Duke of York  
 Admirall y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> with y<sup>e</sup> same Captaine  
 Vice Admirall the Royall oak, y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> John  
 Rouse Admirall y<sup>e</sup> Swift sure, y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> Cha: Barkley

2<sup>nd</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> White  
 Admirall y<sup>e</sup> Prince Rupert, one Harman Capt.  
 Vice Admirall y<sup>e</sup> Trybungh, Capt. Myyns.  
 Rouse Admirall y<sup>e</sup> Resolution, Capt. Sanburn.

3<sup>rd</sup> Squadron  
 of y<sup>e</sup> Blou  
 Admirall each of said with; Capt. Rutland.  
 Vice Admirall; y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> Geo. Affine.  
 Rouse Admirall y<sup>e</sup> Royall Katherine, one  
 Gilyman Capt.

w<sup>ch</sup> in 6. daies its thought there will be  
 more 30. saile more the whole fleet  
 w<sup>ch</sup> five shippes to consist of 112.

Upon now an ex. vessel is come aboard  
 the Royall Charles w<sup>ch</sup> signifies the Dutch  
 are in the port with 40. saile  
 ready to come forth for y<sup>e</sup>  
 purpose by ex. vessel captured may  
 be sent man. shippes now  
 w<sup>ch</sup> are y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> Capt. John Comans  
 y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> Capt. J. J. of the small  
 the borough the journey  
 Gilym done Capt. north w<sup>ch</sup>  
 w<sup>ch</sup> by the order of the Prince  
 w<sup>ch</sup> is downe att y<sup>e</sup> side of y<sup>e</sup> Royall  
 Charles.

From aboard the Royall oak y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> for want  
 Att the 4<sup>th</sup> (85) et.

Figure 33 Text 15, p. 2 (Folger MS X.d.428 (168))

58. Vice Admirall the Royall Oake, S<sup>t</sup>: Jo: Lawson.  
 59. Rere Admirall, y<sup>e</sup>: Swift Sure, S<sup>t</sup>: cha: Barkley
- 

[left]

60. 2: of y<sup>e</sup>: white

[middle]

61. Admirall Prince Rupert, one Harman Cap<sup>t</sup>:  
 62. Vice Admirall y<sup>e</sup>: Tryvmph; Cap<sup>t</sup>: my~ns~.  
 63. Rere Admirall y<sup>e</sup>: Resolu~con~ Cap<sup>t</sup>: Sansum.
- 

[left]

64. 3: squadron of y<sup>e</sup>: Blewe [line-filler]

[middle]

65. Admirall Earle of Sandw~ich~; Capt. Cultance.  
 66. Vice Admirall; S<sup>t</sup>: Geo: Ascue.  
 67. Rere Admirall y<sup>e</sup>: Royall Katharine, one  
 68. [line-filler] Tilyman Cap<sup>t</sup>:
- 

69. w<sup>t</sup>:in 6: daies its' thought there wilbee  
 70. neare 30: saile more, the whole fleete  
 71. w<sup>t</sup>: fire shippes to Consist of ii2:  
 72. Even nowe an expresse is come aboard  
 73. y<sup>e</sup>: Royall charles ~w<sup>ch</sup>:~ signifies the dutch  
 74. [ar]e in the Texell with 70<sup>tie</sup>: saile  
 75. [torn] readinesse to come farth [line-filler] soe y<sup>t</sup>:  
 76. [torn]<n>ge 'tis expected engagm<sup>t</sup>: may [torn]  
 77. [torn]The Lord Mansfeild (nowe the  
 78. [duke o]f newcastles' eldest sonn Com~a<un[der>]  
 79. [torn]<ynebone>, ~~friggatt~~. & the Earl[e]  
 80. [of Mar]leborough the James. [line-filler] [torn]  
 81. [torn]ilpin & one Cap<sup>t</sup>: North w<sup>t</sup>: [torn]  
 82. [torn]\*en by the ouer lett of the Pinace  
 83. [we]re drown'd att y<sup>e</sup>: side of y<sup>e</sup>: Royall  
 84. charles. [line-filler]

[right, bottom]

85. y<sup>or</sup>: servant  
 86. &<sup>t</sup>.



[left, bottom]

87. ffrom aboard the Royall Oake  
88. Ap<sup>ell</sup>: the 4<sup>th</sup>: (65.)
- 

[p.3, left, top]

89. 'Tis said, His Grace [the Duke] of Buck<sup>9</sup>  
90. is gonn to the fleete[torn]& is to co~m[a~n]<sup>d</sup>  
91. a shipp [line-filler] but I query [torn]it many [torn]  
92. great p<sup>ersons</sup>. [line-filler] are gonn[torn] Continued dro[ugh]  
93. =ty Cold weather [line-filler] & frost e~ac~h night & an[o]  
94. ther bla<z>eing starr (or comett) ariseinge  
95. about 4: in the m~orin~ge to y<sup>e</sup>: norward  
96. appeard mere firry & obviouse then y<sup>e</sup>:  
97. form<sup>e</sup>: & as y<sup>e</sup>: stream<sup>e</sup>: of y<sup>e</sup>: first Constant tis  
98. followed the body of y<sup>e</sup>: starr in its mo~con~  
99. soe ~y<sup>e</sup>:~ stream<sup>e</sup>: or taile of this directly  
100. motes befoere the body of the starr  
101. p<sup>ro</sup>visions of all sorts gr<awe> deare, Little ap  
102. pearance of a syringe only some thinges  
103. looke gree~nish~. I hop'd ere this to haue  
104. waited on y<sup>w</sup>: att Bretton; but <y<sup>t</sup>> my  
105. father hath enjoyu'd my stay about H<ome>  
106. businesse this terme [line-filler] I knowe I hau[e]  
107. wearied y<sup>w</sup>: I shall take Leauē & remai[n]

[right, middle]

108. S<sup>r</sup>: y<sup>or</sup>: very respe[ctfull]  
109. ffreind & oble[idg servant]  
110. <H>[torn]

[left, middle]

111. Inn<sup>e</sup>: Temple  
112. Ap<sup>ell</sup>: 7<sup>th</sup>: (65.)

### Summary

This letter has been sent to Thomas Wentworth from the Inner Temple. However, the writer of the letter is unknown because the letter is torn in several places and only the first letter of the signature is visible. At the beginning of the letter the writer indicates that he could have seen Thomas Wentworth if he had come a day earlier to Wentworth's lodging. However, Wentworth had already left home by the time the writer arrived there. The writer also expresses his gratitude for Wentworth's continued respects and informs that the French Ambassador has arrived. In addition, he reports that a letter has come from the fleet (relating to the Second Anglo-Dutch

War). The writer states that he thought it would be good to give the information in that letter also to Wentworth. Thus, he has apparently copied some parts of it directly to his own letter, because there are two subscriptions and two dates in the document (lines 85-88 and 108-112).

The letter from the fleet seems to have been an order of battle for the Second Anglo-Dutch War, which was declared in March 1665 (see 3.1., pp. 13-14). According to Beal (2008, 271), usually an order of battle is “a type of naval document in which is listed the order in which the ships of a fleet or squadron are expected to sail”, exactly like in that letter. An order of battle mainly had a uniform format. For example, they were divided in columns and specified the squadrons, divisions, and names of captains, division commanders, and ships (Beal 2008, 271, 273). Indeed, it is clearly shown in this copied text that it is written on a certain pattern. According to the National Museum of the Royal Navy, Portsmouth (2014), the English fleet was divided, in descending order of rank, into the red, white, and blue squadrons. Each squadron was assigned three admirals (*ibid.*). These divisions are all seen in the document. At the end of the letter the writer describes the weather, and informs that there is a comet in the northward sky and provides a description of it.

### **Manuscript**

The manuscript is in extremely poor condition. There are big holes which affect the whole bifolium. These holes are repaired with silk paper, which gives the manuscript its blotchy appearance. The writer has left a wide margin on the left side of his text. Handwriting is quite small and lineation is dense. Almost the whole bifolium is used for writing. The hand is italic with secretary features. These secretary features include the minuscule *h* (11: *hartily*) and open-bodied *d* (11: *good*). In some cases letters *e* and *d* resemble one another very much (23: *greater*; 21: *and*). In addition, the writer had the habit of applying a dot to majuscule *P*, *K* and *B* (4: *Bretton*) (see 5.1.1., p. 39).

Furthermore, a few instances of minuscule *y* have also been dotted, for example in line 52: *Rydinge*. According to Petti (1977, 26), it was common until the early sixteenth century to dot *u* and *y* in order to distinguish them from *n* and the letter *thorn*, respectively. Therefore, it is quite interesting to find instances of dotted *y* in a document which is written in 1665. For consistency's sake, these dots in the letter *y* have not been reproduced in the transcription, as the dots in certain majuscule letters (discussed above) are not reproduced either. The postal stamp bears the date of 8 April. The seal, which is black in colour, is preserved intact (see 2.3., p. 9 on the meaning of a black seal).

### **Notes**

(2) *S'*: *Tho: Wentworth*: Thomas Wentworth, see 3.2.2., p. 20

(3) *K<sup>nl</sup>*:: Knight

(5) *wakefeild*: Wakefield, a city in West Yorkshire.

(6) *fferrybrigg*: Ferrybridge, a village in Wakefield, West Yorkshire.

(11) *good Lady*: Grace Wentworth, see 3.2.2., pp. 20-21

(28) *The ffre~nch~ Ambassado<sup>e</sup>*:: No information found.

(29) *S<sup>t</sup>: Jameses*: The official Royal residence, built by Henry VIII. It was the home for England's kings and queens from the 1530s to the 1830s. Since then, the monarchs have lived at Buckingham Palace, but St James's Palace "remains the official residence of the Sovereign" (The British Monarchy 2008/09).

(32-33) *vnclē to o<sup>e</sup>: Kingelt. y<sup>e</sup>: chancellor of Paris*: No information found.

(33) *aman*: a man

(38) *ag<sup>st</sup>*:: against

(40) *[A]ldborough*: Aldeburgh, coastal town in Suffolk.

(41) *[Suff]olk<sup>e</sup>*: Suffolk, county in eastern England.

(42) *Harwic[h]*: A harbour town in Essex.

(42) *[E]ssex*: County in eastern England.

(56) *y<sup>e</sup>: Royall charles*: Warship (Konstam 2011, 41).

(56) *y<sup>e</sup>: duke of yorke*: Refers to King James II and VII (1633-1701), the son of Charles I and his wife Henrietta Maria. James was created Duke of York and Albany soon after he was born. He was in charge of a navy consisting of over 130 ships. James preferred courtiers and gentlemen when selecting officers for the navy, because he was afraid that ordinary seamen might not be loyal to the restored monarchy. His crew was in action in the second and third Anglo-Dutch Wars. As stated in the letter, James himself participated in the battle of Lowestoft being on board the Royal Charles. Technically James was the admiral of the fleet, but in practice Sir William Penn, who was also on board the Royal Charles, was the real commander (Speck 2009).

(57) *S<sup>r</sup>: w~ill:~ Penn*: Sir William Penn (bap. 1621, d. 1670) was a naval officer from Bristol. His father was Giles Penn, a seaman and a merchant, and his mother was Joan Gilbert of Somerset. His family had a long history as landowners. However, Penn became a seaman, as he was not an heir and did not expect of

becoming one. Penn was knighted in 1660. He was appointed Lord High Admiral and had a key role as an adviser to the Duke of York. In the Second Anglo-Dutch War he started his service on 10 November 1664 aboard the Royal James. However, after a week, he was appointed “chief of staff to the duke of York in the Royal Charles, with the unique rank of ‘captain great commander’” (Knighton 2008b). This position he had at the battle of Lowestoft the next year. He died in 1670 at his home in Walthamstow (*ibid.*).

(58) *the Royall Oake*: Royall Oak, warship (Konstam 2011: 14).

(58) *S<sup>r</sup>: Jo: Lawson*: Sir John Lawson (c. 1615-1665) was a naval officer from Scarborough, Yorkshire. His mother is unknown, but his father was possibly William Lawson, a master mariner and a well-known merchant. In 1640 Lawson married Isabel, who was the daughter of William Jefferson. At the battle of Lowestoft, Lawson was wounded in knee. The wound was not thought of as dangerous. However, he died approximately three weeks later because gangrene had set in. Many other naval officers praised Lawson for his extraordinary naval strategy and battle tactics. Lawson was also popular among ordinary seamen, because he was concerned for their welfare (Binns 2008). According to Binns (2008), “Lawson was certainly one of England's greatest sea captains”.

(59) *y<sup>e</sup>: Swift Sure*: Swiftsure, warship (Konstam 2011, 40).

(59) *S<sup>r</sup>: cha: Barkley*: Possibly Charles Berkeley, Earl of Falmouth (bap. 1630, d. 1665), courtier. His father was Charles Berkeley and his mother was Penelope Godolphin. Berkeley came from a royalist family. He served in the court of the Stuarts during their exile in the 1650s and became a close friend to the duke of York. After they had returned to England in 1660, Berkeley was knighted and appointed lieutenant-governor of Portsmouth. In 1661 he was elected as Member of Parliament, and in 1662 he received a post as Keeper of the Privy Purse. These nominations were mainly due to his friendship with the Duke of York (Hutton 2008). By 1663 King Charles II himself “had become so fond of Berkeley that he was now one of the principal royal favourites, and perhaps the greatest” (*ibid.*). In 1663 he became Baron Berkeley of Rathdowne and Viscount Fitzhardinge of Berehaven within the Irish peerage. In 1665 he received the English titles Baron Botetourt of Langport and Earl of Falmouth. In the same year he offered his services to the Royal Navy and died in the battle of Lowestoft. He had only one daughter with his wife, Mary Bagot. Thus, the earldom and English baronetcy became extinct. The Irish titles were inherited by his father by special remainder (Hutton 2008).

(61) *Prince Rupert*: Refers to Rupert who was “prince and count palatine of the Rhine and duke of Cumberland (1619-1682), royalist army and naval officer” (Roy 2011). His father was Frederick V, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, and his mother was Elizabeth, the daughter of King James VI and I. Rupert was a cousin of King Charles

II and his brother James, Duke of York. He was appointed privy councillor in 1662 and governor of the mines royal in 1663. In the Second Anglo-Dutch War he was in command of the navy alongside the Duke of York and the Earl of Sandwich. Rupert was never married and presumably he did not have any children. He died from a chest infection in 1682. However, he had apparently had several other illnesses, for example kidney stones and growth in the brain, which was probably caused by a head wound he had already in 1664 (Roy 2011).

(61) *one Harman Cap<sup>t</sup>*: Sir John Harman (d. 1673), a naval officer, who possibly originated from Suffolk. He had at least four children with his wife Katherine. According to Davies (2008b), Harman was transferred to the Royal Charles at the end of March 1665. His task was to serve as flag captain to the Duke of York. Davies (2008) states that on 13 June he was appointed rear-admiral of the white to the Resolution. In addition, Knighton (2008b) states that Harman was captain of the Royal Charles. However, according to the letter, Penn was captain of the Royal Charles and Harman was captain of the white squadron already in the battle of Lowestoft. Nevertheless, it is possible that the position stated in the letter had altered. Harman was knighted in 1666 and appointed commander-in-chief of the fleet in August 1673. However, he suffered from gout and was already very ill at this time. Harman died approximately two months after his appointment (Davies 2008b).

(62) *y<sup>f</sup>: Tryvmp<sup>h</sup>*: Triumph, warship (Konstam 2011: 11).

(62) *Cap<sup>t</sup>: my~ns~*: Sir Christopher Myngs (bap. 1625, d. 1666) was a naval officer from Salthouse, Norfolk. His father was John Myngs, shoemaker, and his mother was Katherine Parr. Myngs was married twice and he had at least three children. As was stated in the letter as well, he was the commander of the Triump<sup>h</sup> and vice-admiral of the white squadron at the battle of Lowestoft. During the battle he was wounded in the leg, but not fatally. He was knighted in June 1665, circa three weeks after the battle. A year later he died from his injuries, which he got in another battle a week before his death. Similarly to John Lawson, Myngs was also concerned for his crew's welfare. He was liked by many and had a reputation as having an easy nature (Knighton 2008a).

(63) *y<sup>e</sup>: Resolu~con~*: Resolution, warship (Konstam 2011: 41).

(63) *Cap<sup>t</sup>: Sansum*: Robert Sansum (c. 1626-1665) was a naval officer from Ipswich, Suffolk. His father was Robert Sansum, also a naval officer, who raised his son from a young age to be a mariner. However, after the Restoration, the younger Robert Sansum was labeled as an 'Anabaptist'. Therefore, he could not pursue his career in the navy and became a merchant. Nevertheless, when the Second Anglo-Dutch War was about to commence, Sansum was called back to naval service. He was aboard the Resolution, serving as rear-admiral of the white squadron under Prince Rupert's

command. He died at the battle of Lowestoft, leaving a widow and four children (Baumber 2008).

(65) *Earle of Sandw~ich~*: Refers to Edward Montagu, first Earl of Sandwich, (1625-1672) who was a diplomat, and army and naval officer from Barnwell, Northamptonshire. His father was Sydney Montagu, Member of Parliament, and his mother was Paulina Pepys. In 1642 Montagu married Jemimiah Crew, and they had nine children. During his lifetime Montagu had several offices and positions of trust. He was appointed admiral of the blue squadron in 1664. In the battle of Lowestoft he was aboard the Royal Prince and commanded the rear squadron. He died in another battle in 1672 (Davies 2008c).

(65) *Capt. Cultance*: No information found.

(66) *S<sup>r</sup>: Geo: Ascue*: Sir George Ayscue (c. 1615-1672) was a naval officer from Lincoln, Lincolnshire. His father was William Ayscue and his mother's identity is uncertain. Ayscue married Mary Fotherby, but no mention of children is found. He was a member of the privy chamber to Charles I and was knighted in 1641. After that he spent time abroad and returned to England in 1660. Having renewed his contacts in the navy, he was appointed captain of the Henry in 1664. As stated in the letter as well, he served as vice-admiral to the Earl of Sandwich in 1665; the battle of Lowestoft included. He died in 1672 at his home in Westminster (Davies 2008a).

(67) *y<sup>e</sup>: Royall Katharine*: Royal Katherine, warship (Konstam 2011, 14).

(67-68) *one [line-filler] Tilyman Cap<sup>t</sup>*:: No information found.

(74) *Texell*: An island at the edge of the North Sea and off the Dutch coast. It is the largest and most populated of the Dutch West Frisian Islands, a chain of barrier islands north of the mainland Netherlands (Holland 2016).

(77) *The Lord Mansfeild*: Refers to William Cavendish (bap. 1593, d. 1676), who was a writer, patron, and a royalist army officer from Handsworth, Yorkshire. He was the son of Sir Charles Cavendish, Member of Parliament, and Catherine, who was the daughter of Cuthbert, Baron Ogle. He was created Duke of Newcastle upon Tyne on 16 March 1665 (Hulse 2011). This is noted also in the letter, which was written approximately three weeks after the appointment (77-78: nowe the [duke o]f newcastles').

(78-79) *Com~a<un[der>] [torn]<ynebone>*: Refers to Henry Cavendish (1630-1691), politician. His father was William Cavendish, first Duke of Newcastle upon Tyne (discussed above), and his mother was Elizabeth Bassett. Henry was married twice, but no mention of children is found. He became Viscount Mansfield in 1659, after the death of his elder brother (Seddon 2004a). According to Seddon (2004a), his title was Earl of Ogle from March 1665 onwards. However, in the letter he is still

styled according to his old title, even though it was written in April 1665 (77: The Lord Mansfeild). In 1676 he became the second Duke of Newcastle after the death of his father (*ibid.*).

(79-80) *the Earl[e] [of Mar]leborough*: Refers to James Ley (1618/19-1665), who was a naval officer and the eldest child of Henry Ley, second Earl of Marlborough, and Mary Capel. He became the third Earl of Marlborough after his father's death in 1638. In 1664 Ley was appointed governor of Jamaica, but when the Second Anglo-Dutch War was about to break out, he was nominated captain of the Royal James. Like many other naval officers, he died at the battle of Lowestoft (Harris 2008).

(80) *the James*: Royal James, warship (Konstam 2011: 15).

(81) *one Cap<sup>t</sup>: North*: No information found.

(82) *the Pinace*: Probably refers to the type of the ship and not to the name. Pinnace in this sense refers probably to a small boat which formed “part of the equipment of a warship or other large vessel” (*OED Online*, s.v. “pinnace,” n.2 2).

(89) *His Grace [the Duke] of Buck<sup>9</sup>*: Refers to George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, (1628-1687) who was a politician and wit. His father was George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham, and his mother was Lady Katherine Manners. In 1657 he married Mary Fairfax, but they did not have any children. However, with the Countess of Shrewsbury he had an illegitimate child who died in infancy. Villiers joined the fleet in April 1665, and this information is reflected in the letter as well. The third page begins with the notion “His Grace [the Duke] of Buck<sup>9</sup> is gonn to the fleete[<sup>torn</sup>]& is to co~m[a~n]<sup>d</sup> a shipp” (89-91). However, he argued with the Duke of York and the Earl of Sandwich, and was commanded to leave the fleet (Yardley 2009).

(94) *bla<z>eing starr (or comett)*: This comet, seen in April 1665, was actually the same comet which was seen in December 1664 (Bardi 2006, chap.2). In early modern times the contemporaries did not consider comets as a happy sight. They were a source of superstitions and sowed fear where they were seen (BBC 2013). As mentioned in section 3.1., the comet of 1664/5 was thought to be a harbinger of the Second Anglo-Dutch War, the Great Plague of London, and of the Great Fire of London (Burns 2002, 98).

(100) *motes*: There are two possible meanings provided by the OED: “to light up specks of dust in the atmosphere” (*OED Online*, s.v. “mote,” v.2 2), or “to remove specks, small particles, etc., from anything” (*OED Online*, s.v. “mote,” v.2 3a). The first sense is nowadays obsolete. However, it can also mean something else.

(105) *stay*: A figurative sense for “[a] thing or a person that affords support; an object of reliance” (*OED Online*, s.v. “stay,” n.2 1b). Nowadays chiefly archaic.

(111) *Inn*<sup>e</sup>: *Temple*: One of the four Inns of Court in London, situated in the City of London within an area called The Temple (*Britannica Academic Online*, s.v. “The Temple”).

## 8. Conclusion

In this thesis I have presented my transcriptions of fifteen previously unedited documents categorized in the Folger as section 2.1 *Correspondence of the Wentworth family*. These documents are part of a larger collection called *Papers of the Cavendish-Talbot family* (the Folger 2012). I also provided general information relating to these manuscripts. This includes a chapter on letters and letter writing, historical and linguistic information, and a chapter on palaeographical matters. These background chapters greatly help in understanding the manuscripts and offer some new insights into earlier research. In addition, I also provided a commentary to accompany each of the texts. The commentary section includes notes which are based on a large number of secondary sources and are very useful for the reader.

As already stated, these manuscripts have not been edited earlier. The correspondence of the Wentworth family proved very interesting and offered new information about their lives and social circles. As mentioned in the introduction, the family was very wealthy and influential in early modern times, which is confirmed by my material as well. For example, my material reveals that the Wentworths had vast estates. Mainly these estates were in Yorkshire, but possibly they also had properties at least in London. Text 10 and 11 reveal that it also took quite a lot of time to manage them, as these two letters mainly relate to matters concerning William Wentworth’s estate. Wentworths were also rich enough to be able to help others financially, as is revealed in texts 4 and 11.

The family’s power and high status also comes up in my material. For example, many members of the Wentworth family were involved in military affairs and held high-ranking offices. In addition, they seem to have had close family relationships,

not only within the different branches of the Wentworth family, but also between these branches. The Wentworths resided not only in Yorkshire, but at least three members of the family in my material alone were living or had spent some time elsewhere as well, for example in London and France.

Their correspondence also offered information about letter writing, the English language, and palaeographic conventions in early modern England. For example, it seems that the writers of my material were aware of certain letter writing conventions which were discussed in chapter 2. In addition, it is seen that the English language was in transition, as there were both older and newer language conventions in use. The handwriting of the writers was also often a mixture between the older secretary and the newer italic scripts. As such, however, there is too little material to draw any specific conclusions, but my material could be used as part of a bigger corpus.

Nevertheless, it can be stated that often my material reasserted findings of earlier research. An example of this is the use of the *-th* ending in the indicative third-person singular suffix, discussed in section 4.3. As mentioned in that section, according to Lass (1999c, 163), contemporaries used *-th* endings much longer in verbs *have* and *do*. This finding is clearly seen in my material as well. However, in some cases my material is in contradiction with earlier research. An example of this is the use of the virgule. As mentioned in section 5.3., its use was almost non-existent in the seventeenth century according to Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton (1968, 18) and Petti (1977: 26). However, in my material the use of the virgule is fairly frequent, even though the material mainly dates from the latter half of the seventeenth century.

According to Harvey (2009, 78), transcriptions of manuscripts will probably remain useful for a long time: “if not for all time [...] at least for all the foreseeable future”. However, apart from some particular insights, the secondary work, which accompanies and is based on the transcriptions, is likely to date faster as further research is made (*ibid.*). This is probably true with my thesis as well. Nevertheless, the secondary work is still unquestionably necessary for the full understanding of the manuscripts. Also Harvey (2009, 78) thinks this way, having stated that “[t]he record deserves to be introduced to its readers [...] and the readers deserve the assistance”.

An issue which could be seen as a limitation in this thesis is that some matters have only been touched upon. Due to the scope of the thesis I was not able to comment everything in-depth. There are many issues in my material which could be dealt with more carefully. For example, I was concerned with palaeographical matters on a more general level. Keeping the scope in mind, I tried to concentrate on the essentials and ensured that the reader understands the contents of the texts. As stated earlier, the notes are very thorough and based on a large number of secondary sources.

However, as Kline (1998, 259) states, “[d]ocumentary editions are properly regarded not as the end of scholarly research but as its beginning”. They can be considered as pioneer works, which function as a basis on which others can build (*ibid.*). I hope that this edition will be useful not only to scholars of the English language, but also to various history scholars. As part of the EMMO database, it will be available to a wider audience and possibly exploited as part of the EMMO corpus. As Wolfe (2013) states in the Folger website regarding the EMMO project: “the research possibilities are really quite endless”.

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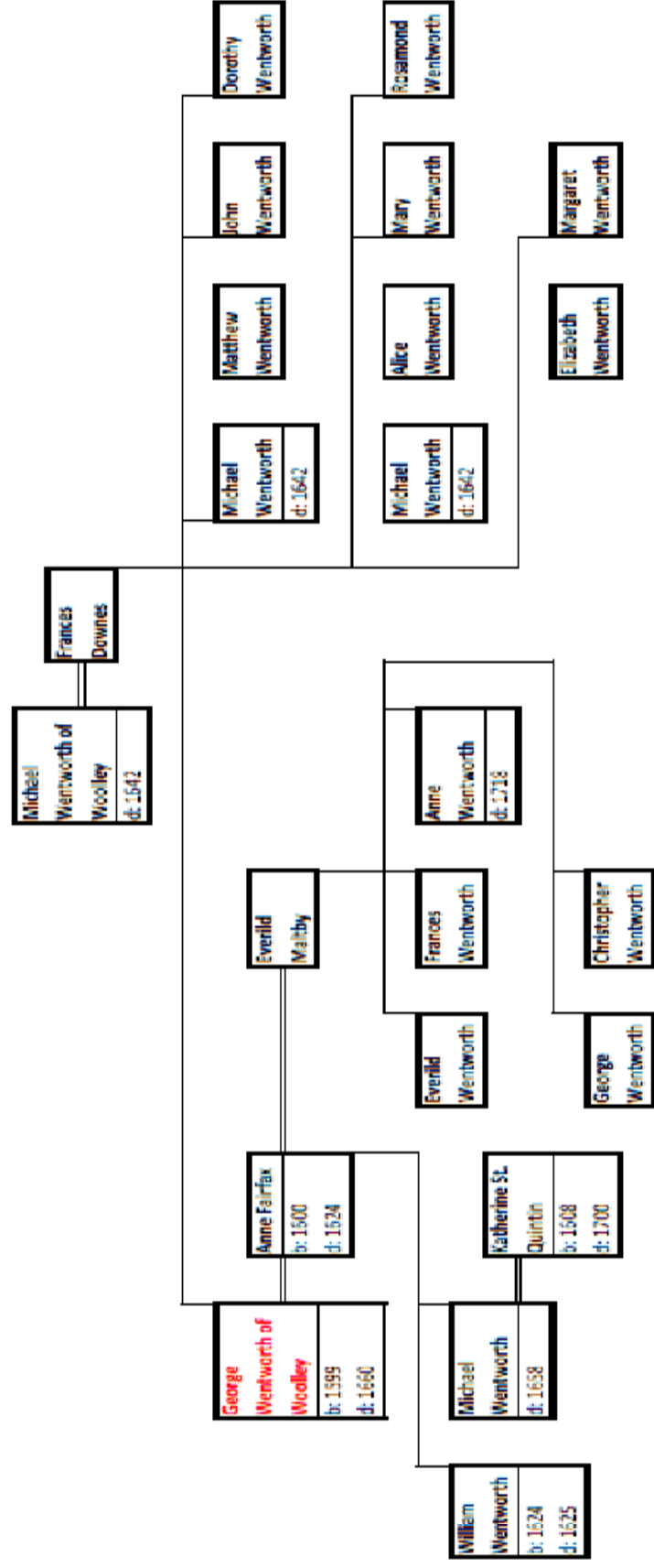
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**Appendix 1: A partial pedigree of the Wentworths of the Wentworth Woodhouse**





### Appendix 3: A partial pedigree of the Wentworths of Woolley



## Appendix 4: XML-coding example from text 2

X.d.428

(149)

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Honored Si /

Haueinge *received* information from our Tennants at Oxspring that **Si. francis Wortley** is about building of <sup>^ town</sup> a milne vnder **Thurgoland** where he formerly <sup>ha</sup> hath had one but *yat* he sets it vpon anew ground and soe cuts agoit through his Tenna<sup>hts</sup> grounds: & places his weare Just at our taile goit end: on purpose to spoyle, ~~our~~ <sup>our</sup> milne *which* certainly it will doe for if this worke goe on: the droughtiest somer *yat* can come we shall be in backe *water*: our mill cost in building & dammes makeing about **four** hundred pounds about twelue yeare agoe: it will be clearly **Thury pound** ayeare loste to vs if not prevented: now *Sir* my earnest request to you is to speake to **Si. George Savill**: he beinge cheife Lord of halfe the Streame: *yat* he would be pleased not to giue way to any such thing as to let **them** **set** aware vpon his ground: *which* will be soe great a loste to the fatherlesse: for with out his consent they cannot Iniure vs at all: if **Si. francis** setts his milne wheare it formerly stood & places his weare as formerly: it will doe vs very litle or no preiudice: if **Si. George** hath granted any such thing to **Si. francis** allready: Then be pleased to get agrant for vs to cut through ahill on the *common* about eight yards from their weare: to haue apossage for the water it will ly in **Twenty pound** pound charg: howeuer our milne otherwise must stand: *Sir* this is meare mallice set on foot purpossely to doe the heir an Iniury: I am certaine **mr. Bostende** was auery good freind to **Si. francis** when things was very sadd with him: but what can be expected from him: ~~---~~ *yat* is ciuill to no body why should we expect ciullyty from him: *Sir* I <sup>am</sup> much ashamd to trouble you: but it is for the fatherlesse who I am certaine had litle nede to loose any thing *yat* makes me take this bouldnesse vpon me: pray *Sir* let this be an addition **to** your former faouours & you will very much obleidg him who~~s~~ is

your kinsman and servant to

Comand **George Barnby**

**Gunthwait** this 24<sup>th</sup>

of march 1663

if **Si. Georg** hath granted no such thing *yat* he would be pleased not to doe it for the future whreby the heir will receaue soe great a preiudice/

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line filler in lines 12 and 20.

postscript text is written vertically.

## Appendix 5: Finnish summary

Tutkielmani on editio Wentworthin suvun kirjeenvaihdosta pääosin 1600-luvulta. Työni on osa yhteistyöprojektia Washington D.C.:ssä sijaitsevan Folger Shakespeare Libraryn (tästedes Folger) ja Turun yliopiston englannin kielen oppiaineen välillä. Yhteistyön puitteissa olen käyttänyt digitoituja käsikirjoituksia Folgerin arkistosta, jonka jälkeen olen antanut omat transkriptioni näistä käsikirjoituksista heidän käyttöönsä. Transkriptiot tulevat osaksi Folgerin kokoamaa tietokantaa nimeltään *Early Modern Manuscripts Online* (EMMO), joka koostuu uuden ajan alun käsikirjoituksista vuosien 1500 ja 1700 väliltä. Folgerin käsikirjoituskokoelmassa Wentworthin suvun kirjeenvaihto muodostaa osion 2.1. *Correspondence of the Wentworth family* suuremmassa kokoelmassa nimeltään *Papers of the Cavendish-Talbot Family*.

Tutkielmani sisältää viisitoista ennen editoimatonta kirjettä, jotka on joko lähettänyt tai vastaanottanut Wentworthin suvun jäsen. Työni sisältää tekemäni kirjeiden transkriptiot, ja lisäksi jokainen teksti sisältää kommentaarin. Kommentaari sisältää lyhyen tiivistelmän tekstistä ja kuvauksen käsikirjoituksesta. Olen kuvaillut muun muassa käsikirjoitusta fyysisenä objektina ja analysoinut kirjoittajan käsialaa. Olen lisäksi laatinut listan sellaisista sanoista ja käsitteistä, jotka nykylukijan voi olla vaikea ymmärtää. Näihin lukeutuvat esimerkiksi henkilöt, suurin osa paikannimistä, sanat joiden kirjoitusasu poikkeaa huomattavasti nykyenglannista, käytöstä jo poistuneet sanat sekä tietyt historiallista kontekstia vaativat sanat ja käsitteet.

Ennen varsinaisia tekstejä on taustalukuja, jotka auttavat ymmärtämään tekstejä paremmin. Nämä taustaluvut käsittelevät kirjeitä genrenä, kirjeen kirjoitusta ja käytäntöjä, englantilaista yhteiskuntaa, Wentworthin sukua, uuden ajan alun englannin kieltä ja erilaisia paleografiaan liittyviä asioita, kuten käsialaa ja lyhennyksiä. Pääosin kirjeet ovat 1600-luvulta, mutta yksi kirje (teksti 14) on kirjoitettu 1705 ja yksi kirje (teksti 4) on oletettavasti jo vuodelta 1542. Tekstin 4 kirjoitusvuodesta ei kuitenkaan ole täyttä varmuutta, koska kirjeeseen ei ole merkitty vuotta. Taustaluvuissa olen kuitenkin pääosin keskittynyt 1600-lukuun.

Merkittävän työstä tekee se, että tekstejä ei ole ennen editoitu. Dokumentaariset editiot ovat tärkeä lähde erilaisissa tutkimuksissa ja niiden avulla voidaan myös

elävöittää historiaa myöhemmille sukupolville. Erilaiset arkistot ovat täynnä editoimattomia ja jopa kokonaan tarkastelemattomia käsikirjoituksia, joita olisi mahdollista ja pitäisikin paremmin hyödyntää. Folgerin projekti *Early Modern Manuscripts Online* (EMMO) on erinomainen osana suurempaa tavoitetta näiden editoimattomien käsikirjoitusten hyödyntämiseksi.

Dokumentaarista editointia voidaan verrata kielen kääntämiseen, koska se on prosessi, jossa alkuperäisiä dokumentteja käännetään ymmärrettäväksi tekstiksi. Vanhojen käsikirjoitusten transkribointi on tärkeää, koska tekstit on usein kirjoitettu vaikealla käsialalla, jonka tulkitseminen vie aikaa. Aiemmin kirjoittajat käyttivät lisäksi enemmän sanojen lyhennyksiä ja jopa tuttujen sanojen kirjoitusasu saattaa poiketa hyvinkin paljon, koska englannin kielen kirjoitusasu standardisoitui vasta 1700-luvun alussa. Tästä johtuen monet tutkijat käyttävätkin ainoastaan painettuja lähteitä tutkimuksissaan. Folgerin mukaan tämä hämärtää käsitystä Englannin uuden ajan alun kaksinaisesta tekstiympäristöstä, jossa oli käytössä sekä painettuja että käsikirjoitettuja tekstejä, ja estää täyden ymmärryksen aikakaudesta. Tutkielmani tarjoaa siten mahdollisuuden hyödyntää tekstejä, jotka editoimattomina olisivat monille hyvin vaikeaselkoisia.

Omassa työssäni olen transkriboinut tekstit diplomaattisesti, mutta Folgerin kokoamaan tietokantaan olen transkriboinut tekstit semi-diplomaattisesti. Diplomaattinen transkriptio tarkoittaa, että kaikki tekstin piirteet pyritään säilyttämään niin hyvin kuin mahdollista. Editoriaaliset muutokset on merkitty erilaisilla symboleilla ja suluilla. Semi-diplomaattisesti transkriboitu teksti on sen sijaan hieman muokattu alkuperäisestä käsikirjoituksesta, jotta sitä on helpompi lukea. Tällaisiin muokkauksiin kuuluu usein esimerkiksi lyhennyksien laajentaminen kokonaisiksi sanoiksi. Muokkaukset aiheuttavat kuitenkin sen, että alkuperäisen tekstin tuntuma katoaa, eikä lukija saa täyttä kuvaa tekstistä.

Sen lisäksi että transkriboidut tekstit on esitetty semi-diplomaattisesti Folgerin tietokannassa, olen myös koodannut ne XML-kielellä. Koodaus on tehty Dromiolla, joka on Folgerin kehittämä transkriptiotyökalu. Dromio sisältää 26 erilaista tagia, jotka liittyvät esimerkiksi käsikirjoituksen sisältöön ja ulkoasuun. Kaikki erisnimet on esimerkiksi koodattu tagilla, joka korostaa nimen siniseksi valkoisella tekstillä.

Transkriptioiden koodaus on hyödyllistä, koska siten transkriptiot saavat käytännöllisen ja yhtenäisen ulkoasun, ja lisäksi se mahdollistaa tietokoneella tehtävät nopeat haut ja materiaalin analysoinnin.

On syytä huomioida, että koodaus on tehty Folgerin ohjeiden mukaan, ja että se jossain määrin eroaa tässä työssä esitettävistä transkriptioista. Semi-diplomaattisen transkription lisäksi koodatut tekstit sisältävät esimerkiksi myöhemmin lisätyn tekstin. Tässä tutkielmassa olen sen sijaan huomionut myöhemmät lisäykset kommentaarissa, koska ne eivät kuulu alkuperäiseen käsikirjoitukseen. Olen sisällyttänyt yhden koodatun tekstin liitteeksi tähän työhön lukijalle esimerkiksi. Kokonaisuudessaan nämä koodaukset ovat löydettävissä *Early Modern Manuscripts Online* -projektin internetsivulta otsikolla *UTurku* ja alaotsikolla *X.d. 428: Cavendish-Talbot manuscripts, 1333-1705 (bulk 1548-1705)* osoitteesta [transcribe.folger.edu./index.php?dir=Projects-Other/UTurku](http://transcribe.folger.edu./index.php?dir=Projects-Other/UTurku).

Uuden ajan alun tekstit ovat materiaalina erittäin kiinnostavia. Verrattuna keskienglantiin, varhaisuusenglanti on melko ymmärrettävää nykyenglannin puhujille. Eriävaiisyyksiä löytyy silti paljon. Valitsin materiaalikseni kirjeitä, koska ne tarjoavat autenttista materiaalia, jotka voivat valottaa historiallista kontekstia laajemminkin sen lisäksi, että ne kertovat kirjoittajiensa ja vastaanottajiensa elämästä. Lisäksi halusin, että tutkielmani materiaali muodostaa yhtenäisen kokonaisuuden, joten valitsin Wentworthin suvun kirjeenvaihdon, koska se muodostaa oman osionsa suuremmassa kokoelmassa ja osio oli juuri sopiva tämän laajuiseen tutkimukseen. Sen lisäksi Wentworthit olivat merkittävä suku uuden ajan alun Englannissa ja monissa historian käänneissä mukana.

Wentworthin suku on peräisin Yorkshiresta. Uuden ajan alussa se kuului ylempään yhteiskuntaluokkaan. Suku oli siihen aikaan hyvin rikas ja vaikutusvaltainen. Aikaisempiin Wentworthin suvun dokumentteja sisältäviin editioihin kuuluu J. P. Coopersin *Wentworth Papers 1597-1628*, julkaistu 1973, ja James Cartwrightin *The Wentworth Papers 1705-1739*, julkaistu 1883. Jälkimmäinen editio koostuu Thomas Wentworthin valikoiduista kirjeistä. Thomas Wentworth oli Straffordin ensimmäinen jaarli arvonimen toisen luonnin jälkeen, eikä hänen kirjeitään kuulu omaan materiaalini. Näiden lisäksi on tehty paljon teoksia aiemmin eläneestä ja hyvin

tunnetusta Thomas Wentworthista (Straffordin ensimmäinen jaarli), joka oli edellä mainitun Thomas Wentworthin isosetä. Näiden teosten joukossa on muun muassa George Radcliffen editio *The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches*, joka julkaistiin kahdessa osassa vuonna 1739.

Wentworthin suvun dokumenteista aikaväliltä 1648 ja 1705, eli ajalta jolta tämän tutkimuksen materiaali lukuunottamatta tekstiä 4 on peräisin, ei ole kuitenkaan tehty yhtään editiota. Transkriptioita täydentävät ja tarjoavat siten mielekiintoisen lisän näihin aiempiin editioihin. Materiaalini dokumentit tarjoavat paljon uutta tietoa Wentworthien elämästä ja sosiaalisista ympyröistä. Suvun rikkaus ja vaikutusvaltaisuus käy hyvin ilmi heidän kirjeenvaihdostaan. Esimerkiksi Wentworthien laajat maa-alueet ja kiinteistöt tulevat materiaalissani esille. Tekstit 10 ja 11, jotka lähinnä käsittelevät William Wentworthin tiluksia, paljastavat, että niiden hoito vaati paljon aikaa. Lisäksi teksteistä 4 ja 11 käy ilmi, että Wentworthit olivat tarjonneet taloudellista apua, joten mitä ilmeisimmin he todella olivat hyvin varakkaita.

Myös suvun vaikutusvalta ja korkea status käy ilmi materiaalistani. Monet Wentworthin suvun jäsenet olivat esimerkiksi osallisena armeijaan liittyvissä toimissa ja heillä oli korkea-arvoisia virkoja. Suvulla on lisäksi vaikuttanut olleen läheiset perhesuhteet sekä eri sukuhaarojen sisällä että niiden välillä. Materiaalista käy lisäksi ilmi, että Wentworthit eivät vaikuttaneet ainoastaan Yorkshiressa, vaan ainakin kolme suvun jäsentä pelkästään omassa materiaalissani asuivat tai olivat viettäneet aikaa muualla, esimerkiksi Lontoossa ja Ranskassa.

Wentworthin suvun kirjeenvaihto tarjoaa myös tietoa kirjeiden kirjoittamisesta, englannin kielestä ja paleografisista käytännöistä uuden ajan alun Englannissa. Materiaalini kirjoittajat vaikuttavat olleen tietoisia esimerkiksi kirjeenkirjoittamisen käytännöistä, joita tarkastellaan kappaleessa 2. Materiaalista on lisäksi nähtävissä englannin kielessä tapahtuneet muutokset kohti nykypäivänä käytettävää englantia: kirjoittajat ovat käyttäneet sekä vanhempia että uudempia kielellisiä konventioita. Lisäksi lähes kaikkien kirjoittajien käsiala on sekoitus vanhempaa *secretary*-käsialaa ja modernimpaa *italic*-käsialaa. Tämän tutkielman materiaali on kuitenkin liian pieni

tarkempien johtopäätösten tekemiseen. Materiaaliani voidaan kuitenkin hyödyntää osana suurempaa korpusta.

Voidaan silti todeta, että joissakin tapauksissa editoimani materiaali vahvistaa aiempien tutkimusten käsityksiä. Yksi esimerkki tällaisista tapauksista on yksikön kolmannen persoonan *th*-päätteen käyttö. Aikalaiset käyttivät *th*-päätettä kauemmin verbeissä *have* ja *do*. Tämä on nähtävissä myös omassa materiaalissani. Sitä vastoin jotkut piirteet materiaalissani eroavat aiemmista tutkimustuloksista. Näihin piirteisiin kuuluu esimerkiksi *virgule*-välimerkin käyttö. Aiemmin on todettu, että merkin käyttö oli vähentynyt lähes olemattomaan 1600-lukuun mennessä. Omassa materiaalissani virgulen käyttö on kuitenkin suhteellisen yleistä, vaikka dokumentit ovatkin pääosin 1600-luvun jälkimmäiseltä puoliskolta.

Tutkielman rajauksen huomioon ottaen en ole kuitenkaan voinut tarkastella tai kommentoida kaikkia asioita kovin syvällisesti. Materiaalissani on monia asioita, joita olisi mahdollista käsitellä tarkemmin. Esimerkiksi paleografisia seikkoja olen työn rajauksen huomioiden kommentoinut hieman yleisemmällä tasolla. Olen keskittynyt enemmän tekstien sisältöön ja siihen, että lukija ymmärtää tekstit mahdollisimman hyvin. Kommentaarin selventävät huomautukset ovat hyvin perusteelliset ja tehty laajaa sekundääriaineistoa apuna käyttäen. Editiot voidaan kuitenkin nähdä pioneeritöinä ja vasta alkuna tieteelliselle tutkimukselle. Ne tarjoavat uutta ja helpommin käytettävää materiaalia tutkijoille ja toimivat pohjana, johon muut tutkijat voivat perustaa tutkimuksensa.

Editiot ovat usein hyvin pitkään hyödyllisiä. Käsikirjoitusten transkriptiot ovat monesti hyödyksi ainakin pitkälle lähitulevaisuuteen, vaikkakin taustalukujen ja kommentaarien tarjoama informaatio todennäköisesti vanhenee nopeammin kun uutta tutkimusta tehdään. Näin käy todennäköisesti myös tämän edition kohdalla. Tämä lisäinformaatio on silti välttämätöntä, jotta käsikirjoituksia on mahdollista ymmärtää paremmin. Editiotani voivat toivon mukaan hyödyntää sekä englannin kielen tutkijat, että erilaiset historiantutkijat. Osana Folgerin *Early Modern Manuscripts Online* -tietokantaa editio on monien saatavilla ja sitä voidaan mahdollisesti hyödyntää osana EMMO-korpusta. Folgerin mukaan tutkimusmahdollisuudet ovat lähes loputtomat.