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INTERPRETING PRACTICE: SCRIBES, MATERIALS, AND OCCUPATIONAL IDENTITIES 1560-1640

Hannah Marie Lilley

CONTENTS

Abstract

In recent years, the materials used in textual production have been understood to be essential to a manuscript's interpretation. In occupational contexts, for which the vast majority of our archives survive, very little work has been done on the way in which materials are used and negotiated by scribes writing for a living. This thesis develops methodologies for interpreting scribal practice within occupational contexts, and asks how a scribe's writing practices might be understood as embedded within spatial and material worlds.

The methodology developed to understand scribal practice uses recent theoretical approaches to craft and skill, alongside literary and material analysis. These methods are enhanced by, and placed in conversation with, a digital method, Image Processing, used to analyse handwriting, and quantitative data on manuscript materials and their deployment. These approaches are used in the analysis of four categories of scribes writing for a living in early modern England: arms-drawers, clerks, officeholders, and servants. Within these categories, making contexts are explored with individual scribes or groups of scribes and their work situated within wider patterns of practices. This thesis is concerned with scrutinising scribal experiences, practices, and skills, as they are interrelated with writing contexts. The diversity of a scribe's work means that this thesis engages with multiple textual forms, scripts, storage methods, spaces and individuals, where occupational identities are created through patterns of practice. Yet, these occupational identities are also fragile and malleable when they collide with individual scribes' deliberate or accidental innovative textual performance.

Above all, this thesis seeks to centralise scribes as active participants in the creation of archives, to dissect their administrative, material, and textual practices and interpret their meanings. Focusing on the scribal practices of those often below the level of the elite and writing as part of their occupation transforms how textual culture, craft, and archival presence (or absence) are understood. Scribes are placed within a spatial context where their social world, physical abilities and constraints, and materials for writing entwine in the making of text.

Acknowledgements

Thank you to my wonderful supervisors, Professor Catherine Richardson and Dr Richard Guest, for their commitment to communicating across disciplines and for their invaluable support and guidance.

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I owe a special thanks to Kathryn, Cassie, and Laura. The Colvilles have provided respite from the project when I most needed it, and I am very grateful to Frances for reading my work. Mum, Dad, and Rob have offered encouragement throughout. I am so grateful to Tom for the constant love and motivating support. Last but not least, thank you to Grandpa, who did not quite get to see the end of this journey, but accompanied me on the first step when we travelled together from Cornwall to Kent.

Note on the Text

All transcriptions are faithful to those manuscripts from which they originate but some spellings have been silently modernised and punctuation added, where necessary, for ease of reading. Any transcription errors are my own. All printed texts are cited in line with the Short Title Catalogue and have been consulted using Early English Books Online (unless otherwise stated). Archives, libraries, and reference texts have been abbreviated in footnotes, and these are listed in the front matter.

Abbreviations

Archives, Libraries, and Record Offices

BC	Berkeley, Berkeley Castle Muniments
BL	London, British Library
BM	London, British Museum
Bod. L	Oxford, Bodleian Library
CCAL	Canterbury, Canterbury Cathedral Archives and Library
COA	College of Arms
CUL	Cambridge, Cambridge University Library
DRO	Dorchester, Dorset Records Office
FH	Lincolnshire, Fulbeck Hall
FSL	Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library
GA	Gloucester, Gloucestershire Archives
HL	San Marino, Huntington Library
KHLC	Maidstone, Kent History and Library Centre

LMA	London, London Metropolitan Archives
LPL	London, Lambeth Palace Library
MoL	London, Museum of London
NA	London, National Archives
NAL	London, National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum
SBT	Stratford-Upon-Avon, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust
SHC	Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre
UCL	University College London
WL	Wellcome Library

Reference

CELM	Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts <http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/>
DEMT	Peter Beal, *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology 1450-2000,* online publication (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). <DOI: 10.1093/acref/9780199576128.001.0001> [last accessed 8th January 2019]
DoLL	Jana Dambrogio, Daniel Starza Smith, et al., *Dictionary of Letterlocking* < http://letterlocking.org/dictionary/> [last updated: 30th December 2017/ last accessed 8th January 2019]
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
OED	Oxford English Dictionary Online

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SCRIBES, SKILL, AND MATERIALITY

1.1. Introduction

This thesis is about scribes who write for a living across four contexts between 1560 and 1640 in England.[1] It presents an innovative, interdisciplinary method through which to interpret scribal practice, or the spatially and materially situated actions a scribe completes in textual production.[2] Traces left upon scribally produced manuscripts are used as evidence for practice, alongside text. The central aim of this study is to develop a methodological approach to scribal practice and to understand scribes' work as it is *occupationally* conducted. 'Occupation' holds meanings of: a 'pursuit or activity' conducted by an individual (like a profession); time being *occupied* by a task; and, in an early modern sense of the term, 'skilled handicraft'.[3] These definitions have implications for how we might understand scribes' identities as they are related to their working contexts.

Questions at the centre of this thesis are: how can scribal practice be interpreted? How do manuscript materials make meaning and what do they tell us about scribal practice? How do scribes use manuscript-making practices as an expression of their occupational identities, and where/how do they innovate? How is practice embedded within social, material, and spatial contexts? To

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[1] I extend outside of these years where the source material spills over.
[2] 'Practice' (n) 1c, is 'the action *of* doing something', *OED*.
[3] 'Occupation' (n) 4a, b, c, *OED*.

provide solutions to these questions, I deploy an interdisciplinary approach that encompasses biographical, textual, and material evidence, theoretical studies of skill and practical knowledge, and quantitative information about manuscript materials. In addition, a digital method called Image Processing is employed to explore how writing practices are shared or individually distinctive. These approaches are applied to grasp how a scribe occupied in writing might use workspaces, materials, and their time.

The central questions and methods are implemented on four manuscript-making contexts, and each is investigated in a separate chapter: arms-drawing, corporation clerks, officeholders at home, and servants upon an elite estate. All four contexts have been chosen because they have received little consideration from a material perspective and from the viewpoint of their scribes, yet they represent some of the central document-producing situations in early modern England. Each chapter draws on a range of different kinds of manuscripts to interpret scribal practice, from armorials and wills to accounts and correspondence. By using a variety of manuscript forms, this thesis emphasises a holistic view of the scribal work of individuals, rather than close analyses of particular document types (a perspective from which manuscript studies are often arranged).[4] It is important to respect the demands, purposes, and motivations behind separate forms of writing, as scribes did, but to understand how these forms interact, and how writers might produce a diverse range of texts. Although there are sections on particular kinds of manuscripts that appear throughout the thesis, they are brought into dialogue with one another to understand how

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[4] For example, Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); James Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-writing, 1512-1635* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); and Alison Wiggins, *Bess of Hardwick's Letters: Language, materiality and Early Modern Epistolary Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017).

different textual and material forms are used. Exploring each occupational context in separate chapters enables the close analysis of the practices that characterise them. It also allows the comparison of techniques between occupations, and the generation of cumulative conclusions about the connections between scribes, spaces, materials, and occupations.

In order to consider how scribes are occupationally embedded within the four contexts studied, individuals are related to a network of people and manuscripts to which they are connected socially, or through shared practices. The relationship between scribes and their social world is important to the manner in which practices become evocative of an occupation, and to a scribe's identification with their working context, which in turn forms a sense of the 'oneness', or repeated characteristics that form an 'identity'.[5] Occupational identities, or patterns of practice that appear within contexts, can be uncovered through the study of a wide range of manuscripts. This being said, this thesis cannot present a holistic picture of scribes' work across early modern England, because it is so diverse, and only 1,747 documents (specific to each of the four chapters) of the many thousands of surviving manuscripts have been studied.[6] Although this number cannot give a full picture of scribal work of this period, using a sample of manuscripts enables individual scribes to be placed in

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[5] This is in line with an approach to professions laid out by Wilfred Prest, where he writes that: 'the social identity and the nature of the work carried out by members of the occupation or occupations in question need to be investigated and (so far as possible) related to one another'. Wilfred Prest, *The Professions in Early Modern England* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), p.7. 'Identity' (n) 1a, *OED.*

[6] This is also in line with Woudhuysen's findings that, 'The field is a vast one and, although the first part of this book is fairly detailed, it can only begin to draw on some of the more readily available primary sources', in Henry Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p.4. Perhaps, Carolyn Steedman puts the difficulties in dealing with the vast number of documents in archives most accurately when she writes: 'There is the great, brown, slow-moving strandless river of Everything, and then there is its tiny flotsam that has ended up in the record office you are at work in.' Carolyn Steedman, *Dust* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p.18.

conversation with the wider patterns of actions that shape their work, and allows the contextualisation of qualitative observations with quantitative data about practices.[7]

Using a sample of manuscripts also means that individual scribes and documents can be embedded within their social, material, and spatial worlds. This sample enables comparisons to be drawn between contexts, and avoids the dislocation of scribes from wider textual practices. Elisabeth Salter, in *Six Renaissance Men and Women,* presents valuable biographies of 'six lives' connected to 'English royal households', but studies each in isolation, stating that 'the contents and nature of this book defy a conclusion'.[8] Individualisation to the point of separation from a wider argument or conclusions about occupational manuscript practices is something this thesis shuns. For this reason, I avoid using a single case study manuscript or individual as representative of scribal practices across each context studied.[9] Although case studies are useful in uncovering provenance, scribes, owners, and the immediate associations of a manuscript, and I make use of such studies, it is essential to view scribes as working within a broad context of material practices.[10] Seeing scribes as embedded in a material,

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[7] This approach is common in economic, quantitative work like that of Jane Whittle and Mark Overton who use a quantitative approach to gain access to patterns of consumption. Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, et al, *Production and Consumption in English Households 1600-1750* (Routledge: London and New York, 2004); and Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth Century Household* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). Examples of qualitative and quantitative work combined in approaches to early modern material culture include: Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England: Material Culture and Domestic Life 1500-1700* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017).

[8] Elizabeth Salter, *Six Renaissance Men and Women: Innovation, Biography and Cultural Creativity in Tudor England c.1450-1560* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp.1 and 153.

[9] In a recent article in a special edition of *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* focused on microhistory, István M. Szijártó writes that 'the deeper the microhistorian's background knowledge, the better the microhistory', something that is as important to literary studies as it is history. István M. Szijártó, 'Probing the Limits of Microhistory', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 47 (2017), 193-198 (p.196).

[10] Arthur Marotti writes: 'we should give more editorial attention to the work of anonymous and non-canonical authors' to 'broaden our sense of the literary'. Arthur Marotti, 'Manuscript, Print

social, and spatial world enables their role in textual production to be centralised and valued. The scribes studied within each context are of diverse social status, and often produce large volumes of writing: manuscripts which, at the point of their making and since, have been seen as important to preserve.

Studies of occupational scribal practice are sparse, and tend to focus on secretaries and exceptional scriveners like 'the feathery scribe'.[11] Henry Woudhuysen has produced the broadest study of scribal culture in early modern England, and has uncovered the diverse contexts in which scribes worked.[12] Drawing upon these studies, I take this occupational perspective in a material direction, interpreting scribal practice *in action*, and considering the range of influences (occupational, biographical, spatial, and social) that might impact upon scribes' textual production. Material-text studies are a burgeoning field, with Alison Wiggins, James Daybell, and others influenced by D. F. McKenzie's assertion that 'form effects meaning' — or that the physical aspects of a text-object are as important to meaning-making as the words recorded.[13] This thesis argues that the meanings generated by manuscript materials can enable the

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and the English Renaissance Lyric', in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985-1991* (New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1993), pp.209-222 (p.215).

[11] See in particular: Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and their Makers in Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Alan Stewart, 'The Early Modern Closet Discovered', *Representations,* 50 (1995), 76-100 and *Close Readers: Humanism and Sodomy in Early Modern England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); Jennifer Bishop, 'The Clerk's Tale: Civic Writing in Sixteenth Century London', *Past and Present*, 230: Supplement 11 (2016), 112-130; and Arnold Hunt, 'The Early Modern Secretary and the Early Modern Archive' in *Archives and Information in the Early Modern World*, Proceedings of the British Academy: 212, ed. by Katie Peters, Alexandra Walsham, and Liesbeth Corens, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp.105-130.

[12] Woudhuysen.

[13] D.F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and Sociology of Texts,* 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.13; Daybell, *Material* and *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture: Texts and Social Practices, 1580-1730,* ed. by James Daybell and Peter Hinds (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillian, 2010); Wiggins, *Bess*; Helen Smith, *Grossly Material Things: Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Joshua Calhoun, 'The Word Made Flax: Cheap Bibles, Textual Corruption, and the Poetics of Paper,' *PMLA* 126:2 (March, 2011), 327-344; Adam Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

interpretation of scribal practice, and an understanding of skill. Therefore, it contributes to the field of material-text studies by considering how scribes of varied social statuses develop practices that are occupationally distinctive, and connected to the spaces in which they take place, the social circles they fall within, and the scribe's access to materials. Consequently, in order to approach practice, I am methodologically influenced not only by the field of material-texts and bibliography, but also by material culture and anthropological studies on artisanal practices.[14]

The spatial aspect to the argument is influenced by Andrew Cambers' *Godly Reading,* which pioneers an approach to text that combines 'reading and religious culture' as it takes place in space. He sees 'textual experience as located' in homes, churches, prisons, and libraries.[15] Where possible, I place manuscripts in the spaces of their production, connecting them to the people, tools, and materials available within that space. In doing so, I extend Cambers' largely textually evidenced imagining of reading and writing in space, showing the importance of material aspects to the understanding of a scribe's spatial negotiations.

Occupational practices are generated within spaces of manuscript production, and these doings evoke scribes' 'occupational identities', or the

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[14] Craft practices are discussed in depth later in this chapter. See: Pamela Smith, *The Body of the Artisan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); and 'Making as Knowing: Craft as Natural Philosophy' in *Ways of Making and Knowing: The Material Culture of Empirical Knowledge*, ed. by Pamela H. Smith, Amy R.W. Meyers, and Harold J. Cook (Ann Arbour: University of Michigan Press, 2014), pp.17-47. For anthropological studies of influence see: Tim Ingold, *Making: Anthropology, Archaeology, Art and Architecture* (London: Routledge, 2013); Marcell Mauss, 'Techniques of the Body', *Economy and Society*, 2.1 (1973), 70-88; and Lambros Malafouris, 'At the Potter's Wheel: An Argument for Material Agency', in *Material Agency: Towards a Non-Anthropocentric Approach*, ed. by Carl Knappett and Lambros Malafouris (New York: Springer, 2008), pp.19-36.

[15] Andrew Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580-1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 3 and 93. See also Bill Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008) where he explores how readers engaged with books in early modern England, finding 'patterns of use', p.5.

performance of repeated actions. These group practices come into conversation with the unique actions of individual scribes, referred to as evocative of 'scribal identity'. These two phrases gesture towards one of the central thesis questions, outlined at the beginning, which concerns the interrelation between occupational practices and the work of individuals. In placing the individual and their social context in conversation, I seek to present a nuanced notion of 'occupational identity' as something created through repeated practices, but challenged by individual scribes' experiences in their material world. Thinking about both the individual and the social also facilitates the consideration of scribes as *people* rather than *hands*, and moves towards seeing scribes as important actors in a network of people, materials, and spaces.

Considering scribes as active participants in the creation of text, challenges established *OED* definitions of 'scribe' that focus on the mechanical act of writing. A scribe is 'an assistant employed to write down dictated text; an amanuensis', or a person employed 'to make records' on behalf of their employer; 'a copyist'.[16] Another term used to describe those writing within institutions for a living is 'clerk' – defined as one who is in a 'subordinate position in public or private office, who does the 'mechanical work of correspondence', and makes 'fair copies' of documents.[17] Although the mechanical act of writing is certainly part of scribes' working identities, they should not be considered as merely an institutional tool. In focusing on the scribe as a copyist, amanuensis, or subordinate, we neglect the complex negotiations between materials, working environments, and people within which a scribe

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[16] 'Scribe' (n) 3a, 4, 5, *OED*. Peter Beal also gives a similar definition of a scribe as those who: 'physically write or copy things for a living, even at the most humble, mechanical level'. Beal, *In Praise*, p.1.
[17] 'Clerk' (n.), 5 and 6b, *OED*.

works. Therefore, this study seeks to uncover scribes' experiences as they are spatially, materially, and socially situated, in order to resituate them as active participants in early modern textual culture.[18]

Pejorative definitions have led to a neglect of scribes working in occupational contexts in textual scholarship, where they are often described through the metonym 'hands', or as 'anonymous'. These adjectives are an important indication of how we see the act of writing for employment as disembodied from the writer, and see the employer or owner of scribes' work as more valuable.[19] As a result, determining the names and biographical information for scribes is seen as essential to my argument, which posits that scribal practice cannot be understood unless writers' work is imagined as socially, materially, and spatially situated. This understanding can only be fully realised through identification, not only of names (which is not always possible), but also techniques.[20] An example of scribes' individual identities being neglected is Jonathan Goldberg's 'Hamlet's Hand', where he argues that:

> The individual produced by writing is not an individualised subject but one conforming to characters inscribed – the letters, and ultimately, the words of the copy-texts. Writing well is a social sign, a sign of socialisation.[21]

Goldberg also argues in *Writing Matter* that a secretary's life is separate from that of their hand, in the sense that they are restrained by the forms of writing

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[18] Daniel Wakelin has recently, and pivotally explored this in relation to medieval scribes' correcting practices. Daniel Wakelin, *Scribal Correction and Literary Craft: English Manuscripts 1375-1510* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

[19] Alan Stewart has done important work to remedy this in 'The Making of Writing in Renaissance England: Re-Thinking Authorship Through Collaboration', in *Renaissance Transformations: The Making of English Writing 1500-1650*, ed. by M. Healy and T. Healy (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), pp.81-96. Here he argues that masters and secretaries work together.

[20] 'Identification' (n) 2. Here it refers to 'the determination of identity', *OED*.

[21] Jonathan Goldberg, 'Hamlet's Hand', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 39 (1988), 307-327 (p.317). See also, Jonathan Goldberg, *Writing Matter: From the Hands of the English Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), pp.233-278, for a similar argument.

they are required to adhere to.[22] Writing in a manner that is recognisable to an audience is a way in which it can be seen as a 'sign of socialisation', but this does not necessarily mean a secretary cannot be an 'individualised subject'. Scribes often use their own discretion in their work – they cross out, rewrite, and add flourishes onto letters.[23] Although scribes' chosen scripts, and materials upon which they write, are dependent on their training – first at school, occasionally university, and then in their place of work – the potential for an individual to innovate within the forms they conform to is extensive.[24] By focusing on writing as separated from materials, it is easy to detach the hand from the person writing, and present a split between the text, its producer, and their wider environment. In setting the individual against a wider background of practices, in uncovering features of 'scribal identities' as well as 'occupational identities', I aim to see scribes as skilled practitioners.

In scholarship on secretaries in particular, there has been a lot of work on recovering the individual lives and scribal work of those employed by powerful men.[25] However, secretaries are exceptional, being – as Arnold Hunt points out – 'powerful bureaucrat[s]' who 'were at pains to distinguish themselves from mere servants, scribes, or scriveners'.[26] Yet these servants, scribes, scriveners, and clerks worked alongside and for these powerful bureaucrats, and deserve equal attention, even if they did not go on to become powerful statesmen like the

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[22] Goldberg, *Writing Matter*, p. 272 in particular.

[23] For the correcting practices of scribes see Wakelin.

[24] See David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); and Herbert C. Schultz, 'The Teaching of Handwriting in Tudor and Stuart Times,' *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 6.4 (1943), 381-425, for education in writing.

[25] See in particular: Paul E. Hammer, 'The Uses of Scholarship: The Secretariat of Robert Deveraux, Second Earl of Essex, c.1585-1601', *English Historical Review,* 109 (1994), 26-51; J. Davis, 'The Secretariat of Henri 1, Duc de Montmorency, 1563-1614,' *English Historical Review,* 115 (2000), 812-42; Stewart, 'Closet', and *Close Readers*.

[26] Arnold Hunt, 'The Early Modern Secretary and the Early Modern Archive' in *Archives and Information* ed. by Katie Peters, Alexandra Walsham and Liesbeth Corens, pp.105-130 (p.106).

secretaries of Lord Cecil.[27] As the secretary is now understood not as 'an instrument in his master's hand' but a skilled practitioner, and keeper of records, it is time to address those lower down the social scale in a similar manner: to understand an individual's 'hand' as it is attached to the person, and view the scribe as acting within broader patterns of practices.

When approaching the question: 'how can scribal practice be interpreted?' it is essential to understand what constitutes skill, and how this contributes to the construction of an occupational identity, especially as a contemporaneous meaning of 'occupation' is 'skilled handicraft'. Skills vary from chapter to chapter, but this introduction offers a theoretical framework for interpreting scribal practices and abilities. Manuscript scholars have long referred to scribes as craftspeople, but the difficulties inherent in approaching techniques that go beyond the manuscript as it appears to us, and into the actual practices of writing, mean that writing-as-craft still has potential for exploration.[28] In material culture studies, however, the relationship between skill and making, objects and space, and the manner in which the intrinsic and extrinsic values of materials function within a wider context of people, places, and practices is now understood to be essential to a full understanding of an object.[29] This thesis attempts to place material-texts in action to understand scribes at work. In placing these texts in action, I understand them as involving what John Sutton and Nicholas Keene describe as: 'the sensing, feeling, thinking agents who make it [material culture], use it, and are in turn transformed by and

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[27] Alan Smith, 'The Secretariats of the Cecils, circa 1580-1621', *English Historical Review,* 83 (1968), 481-504.
[28] For scribes-as-craftspeople, see Beal, *In Praise,* p.58, and Wakelin, p.3.
[29] Daniel Miller, in his introduction to *Materiality* defines it in a usefully broad way going beyond artefacts and into 'the ephemeral, the imaginary, the biological, and the theoretical; all that which would have been external to the simple definition of the artefact'. 'Introduction' in *Materiality*, ed. by Daniel Miller (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), p.4.

with it'.[30] In this sense, scribes work within a social, material, and spatial framework, which they are experts at negotiating. It is through close attention to their practices we might begin to understand more about the lives of scribes and their work.

It is, however, difficult to grasp exactly what skill is because it often cannot be expressed verbally, but only in action. This is a central methodological problem. Expertise does not only rest on the ability to communicate verbally. Text-compilation is the final step in a process that involves the making or purchase of ink and quills, choosing paper, deciding on form and script, learning how to move the hand to form letters, and in understanding the nuances of the relationship between ink, paper, hand, posture, light, and furniture. All of these aspects, when understood by a scribe, involve something that is commonly referred to as 'tacit knowledge' after Michael Polanyi who argues that: 'we know more than we can tell'.[31]

Other terms have recently been used to describe 'tacit knowledge', or the sense that knowing is more than that which can be verbalised. These terms help us understand skill, and how it can be transferred in a non-verbal manner. A useful and often used phrase coined by Pamela Smith – 'artisanal literacy' – has gained currency as a way of describing non-verbalised means of negotiating materials. This phrase is useful as it decentralises text as the focus of our attention, and instead places importance on the craftsperson's skill as a kind of literacy where 'artisans might see reality as intimately related to material objects and the manipulation of material, which would be thought about and understood

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[30] John Sutton and Nicholas Keene, 'Cognitive History and Material Culture', *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Catherine Richardson, Tara Hamling and David Gaimster (Oxford: Routledge, 2017), pp.46-58 (p.46).
[31] Michael Polanyi, *The Tacit Dimension* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), p.5.

as a "material language"'.[32] Smith's notion of artisanal literacy is as important to the study of manuscripts as it is to the crafts she goes on to explore within *The Body of the Artisan*. The existence of a 'material language' is essential to the argument of this thesis, where manuscript materials are used as evidence through which scribal practice can be understood.

To understand non-verbalised aspects of manuscript making, which include, but are not limited to, acts like folding, sewing, quill-use, ink-making, and aesthetic choices, it is important to understand skill. Or, more specifically, how proficiency is embedded within occupational contexts, and how, in turn, this can lead to an understanding of a scribe's 'artisanal literacy'. The development of technical expertise is an aspect of material culture that has been usefully explored by John Sutton and Nicholas Keene who argue that skill is:

> Largely picked up implicitly and in practice [which means] there are limits to explicit instruction as a means of transmitting tacit knowledge: so apprentices were likely to "steal with their eyes", as the saying went, slowly coming to recognise patterns and anticipate problems in working with particular artefacts.[33]

This statement is important to the approach towards scribes within this study, which sees their practices as entwined with material 'patterns' that emerge upon textual artefacts. Accessing 'tacit knowledge' relies on a consideration of the relationship between actions and materials, and how they exist within social environments. 'Tacit knowledge' as a phrase is misleading, because the word 'tacit' can suggest that something cannot be comprehended.[34] This phrase

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[32] Smith, *The Body,* p.8. For use and application of this see in particular Wendy Wall, *Recipes for Thought: Knowledge and Taste in the Early Modern English Kitchen* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); and 'Literacy and the Domestic Arts', *Huntington Library Quarterly,* 73.3 (Sept, 2010), 383-412.
[33] Sutton and Keene, 'Cognitive', p.56.
[34] See Andreas Reckwitz for a criticism of this term in 'Affective Spaces: A Praxeological Outlook', *Rethinking History,* 16.2 (2012), 241-258 (p.248). Here he claims that saying that

implies that we can only hazard a guess as to the 'patterns' and 'problems' scribes experienced in their manuscript making. The reality is that manuscript materials can tell us about patterns of practice, and offer solutions to reading non-verbal skill. It is these non-verbalised patterns that this thesis seeks to uncover for scribes working in the four occupational contexts that are the subjects of each chapter.

Tim Ingold provides a positive, anthropological framework for approaching 'tacit knowledge', using the phrase 'personal knowledge'. In using this phrase, Ingold questions what it means 'to tell', and argues that telling is not only verbal, but that 'we can tell of what we know through practice and experience'. Telling, for Ingold, is rooted in the environment and it is personal: it means to 'trace a path that others can follow' rather than reach a 'complete specification' of a process. Complete specification is, in any case, impossible when it comes to practice because it would:

> leave the novice as perplexed in how to proceed as do the technical specifications that often accompany mechanical or electronic instruments which are incomprehensible to anyone not roughly familiar with their operation.

So, the relationship between action and words is tricky to negotiate when exploring craft-practices because we are dealing with a kind of expertise that cannot always be specified in language. Ingold also points out that grasping personal knowledge rests on being 'able to recognise subtle cues in one's environment and to respond to them with judgement and precision'.[35] The shifting complexities in environments, and the flexibility of the relationship between the body and the material world is specific to each action. Therefore,

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'practices are based on tacit knowledge' is often an assumption, rather than an attempt at understanding them.
[35] Ingold, *Making*, p.109.

when uncovering scribal practices, this perspective on telling is useful as it suggests an approach to materials, which appreciates that they 'trace a path' and tell a narrative of their making through their materiality. These narratives are generated in relation to each scribe's personal knowledge.

'Personal Knowledge' and 'artisanal literacy' hold similar sentiments. They deal with the gap between what can be expressed in language and another gestural means of telling. These phrases enable a focus on approaching processes and craft knowledge, and the relationship between people, environments, and materials, as opposed to 'tacit knowledge'. By exploring how people interact with materials, we might better understand this gestural world. Marcel Mauss' work in 'Techniques of the Body' provides a framework through which we can explore the relationship between movement and environment.[36] Mauss describes the way techniques can be taught through movement. He describes the social aspect of actions, or the way in which bodily performances change and vary between societies, as '*habitus*', by which he means: 'the techniques and work of collective and individual practical reason'. He explains that these bodily techniques are transferred through education in which 'the individual borrows a series of movements which constitute it from the action executed in front of him or with him by others'. An individual's success at imitating these actions is a gauge of whether they can be considered a master of a certain technique. Furthermore, there is a hierarchy to movement within the educational contexts that Mauss explores, for 'the prestige of the person who performs the ordered, authorized, tested action vis-à-vis the imitating individual' is the social element

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[36] Mauss, 70-88.

of bodily technique.[37] Within a craft context, for example, the master craftsman holds authority over the apprentice. The implications for the research questions of this thesis are important, because Mauss, Smith's 'artisanal literacy', and Ingold's 'personal knowledge', give terms through which actions can be placed within social and material worlds, where movement and practices are shared.

Tim Ingold describes this adaptation to an artisanal environment – where an attunement is reached between space, people, and materials – as 'rhythm' or 'the continual sensory attunement of the practitioner's movements to the inherent rhythmicity of those components of the environment in which he or she is engaged'. The example Ingold uses to explore this idea is the making of string, and he explains that the rhythm the hands impart to the materials, the impact the string has on the skin of the hands, and the way the string maintains a memory of the movement, is the result of the attunement of movement to the material.[38] Expertise, in this sense, rests in the body and in the potential of the material, with correspondence between the two being essential to the production of an object. It is this attunement that, through finding ways to interpret scribal practice, this thesis seeks to grasp.

Manuscript production can be considered as bound to an expertise matrix, where bodily technique, material correspondence, and responsiveness to a writing environment are important aspects of scribal negotiations. It is through considering scribes as embedded within social, material, and spatial worlds – where scribes' sense of their occupation, their peers, the materials they use, and aspects of the spaces in which they work collide – that the practices of scribes working within the four occupational contexts studied can be understood. The

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[37] Ibid., pp.73-74.
[38] Ingold, *Making*, p.115.

following sections of this introductory chapter are arranged to address the approaches used within this thesis, and to introduce findings across all four contexts studied.

1.2. Chapter Outlines and Archives

The manuscripts studied for this project formed part of archives kept by institutions, families, and collectors before they were absorbed into record offices and public libraries. These records have been shaped over time, from their original organisation, to their current sequencing, usually by document type (correspondence, financial, legal etc.). Decisions have also been made about what materials should be kept and preserved over time, and so power over the lifespan of a document lies with the institution, family, or collector that keeps it at a particular point in time.[39] Strictly speaking, the term 'record' suggests materials kept for a business or family, whereas 'archives' are defined by, as Eric Ketelaar writes, records that are 'kept beyond their primary purpose'.[40] All of the manuscripts used within this thesis have been kept as a 'representation' of legal, financial, cultural, or business transactions, and kept due to their importance to the guardians and users of those manuscripts at each stage of their lives.[41]

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[39]Giles E. Dawson and Laetitia Kennedy-Skipton, *Elizabethan Handwriting 1500-1650,* 2nd edn (Chichester: Phillimore, 1981)*,* p.4. They point out that: 'care will be taken to preserve those things recognised as assessing value – and only those things. […] In discussing the survival of manuscripts, then, we need to assess not only the value attached to several classes of manuscripts at various times but also such forces that favoured their destruction.'

[40] Eric Ketelaar, 'Foreword', in *Archives and Information*, ed. by Katie Peters, Alexandra Walsham and Liesbeth Corens, pp. xv-xviii (pp.xv and xvi). Alexandra Walsham makes a similar argument in: 'The Social History of the Archive: Record-Keeping in Early Modern Europe', *Past and Present*, 230 supplement 11 (2016), 9-48 (pp.13-15).

[41] Eric Ketelaar writes very usefully on this subject, calling it 'cultural patrimony' in the sense that the ability to form and retain an archive is a symbol of an institution's or a family's power. See Eric Ketelaar, 'Muniments and Monuments: the Dawn of Archives as Cultural Patrimony',

Consequently, scribal lives have to be unravelled from archives that have been kept for another purpose, for the memory of an institution or family.

Necessarily, this family or institution would also have had access to safe storage spaces for the survival of manuscripts, or have passed them into the possession of records offices and public, university, or institutional libraries and archives.[42] The materials that survive, then, are pertinent to maintaining the memory of that institution or family, and although some other papers might slip through the net, the majority are kept for the purpose of remembering and as a performance of governance at local or national level.[43] As a result, not only are we working with a very small proportion of the writing that was produced, but that which its guardians chose to keep. This point is particularly pertinent to Chapters Three and Five, which focus on archives of documents that are stored together and catalogued in sequence.

Chapter Two draws on a variety of heraldic and antiquarian manuscripts in order to uncover practices used by arms-drawers in compilations of heraldry. Armorials have survived in large numbers within the College of Arms, the governing body for granting and making coats of arms, but they are also preserved in family and institutional archives, due to them being made for and

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Archive Science, 7 (2007), 343-357; and 'The Genealogical Gaze: Family Identities and Family Archives in the Fourteenth Century', *Libraries and the Cultural Record*, 44 (2009), 9-28.

[42] James Daybell comments on this in the survival of letters: 'The survival of letters in institutional and state archives or in the muniments rooms of stately homes preconditions from the outset the kinds of correspondence that has survived down to the present, and necessarily structures and restricts the range of social groups that are represented in archival collections', *Material*, p.222.

[43] There are a few documents analysed in this thesis that have slipped through the net. For example, a love letter from one of Cranfield's stewards to one of his maidservants Mary Smallwood labeled 'Catchmay amorous' is a good example of a servant's personal correspondence being absorbed into the family's archive, KHLC, U269/1 E225. Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton write that keeping records was a practice 'widespread' for those 'involved in government', p.5.

kept by gentry families.[44] This chapter focuses on an arms-drawer and scrivener William Burch alias Ellis, who between 1590 and 1592 made an antiquarian compilation using techniques that are distinctive of arms-drawing.[45] The manuscript's provenance, the King's Bench Prison, provides the space and social context for William Burch's making practices, and Burch is compared with other arms-drawers, heralds, and manuscripts in order to explore occupational identity and practice. Burch's handwriting is compared to that of Francis Thynne's, in order to explore the use of set hands in arms-drawing and their relationship to heraldic craft. As coats of arms are a visual language that can only be read and understood when generated consistently, this chapter offers a particularly distinctive perspective on occupational practice and scribal identity. Scribes often work for elite patrons who hold positions of power in society, and scribes' subordinate position shaped their practice.

Chapter Three moves from the commercial craft of arms-drawing, into the practices of clerks within an urban corporation, where records are made to aid local governance. The chosen town is Lydd in Kent, where there is a rich archive attached. The clerks worked to produce a range of documents including accounts, wills and inventories, legal records, petitions, minutes of meetings, and correspondence. This chapter explores these clerks' roles within the corporation and how they are materialised within the archive. A sample of all 312 extant wills and inventories for the town is used to explore social relations between clerks and their community. The storage and survival of corporation papers are considered in the context of information management, and the relationships between filing practices, spaces and people are explored. Features of clerks'

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[44] For a definition of 'armorial' see *DEMT*.
[45] CCAL, CCA-LitMS/A/14.

occupational and scribal identities are studied in relation to the documents and the archive. Finally, one of the most important aspects of a clerk's work, their handwriting, is investigated using Image Processing to look at change over time and how far each clerk's handwriting can be considered unique. This chapter contributes a contrasting perspective on scribal practice compared to Chapter Two, because the clerks are mainly of middling status, but their identities are tied to their role as town officials and the responsibility this gives them towards their community.

Chapter Four moves from institutional spaces into the home, and explores officeholders, their writing practices at home, and their creation of paper books containing autobiographical information, news, and commonplaces. In particular, this chapter focuses on William Whiteway of Dorchester who was an officeholder for most of his adult life in the town, and for whom a diary and commonplace book survive.[46] Whiteway is compared to other officeholders making comparable manuscripts, particularly Walter Yong, Edward Howes, Adam Winthrop, and Thomas Davis. The relationship between status, administration within the corporation, and writing at home is explored, and these officeholders are placed within the intertextual spaces in which they worked. Their development of practical knowledge and its relationship with their manuscript writing is analysed, and in particular, the choice to make (rather than buy) ink is investigated alongside their use of paper and other kinds of writing materials. The handwriting of four officeholders is compared using Image Processing to explore again how uniqueness and similarities between scribes can be understood. Finally, their gathering of information into notebooks is placed

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[46] BL, MS Egerton 784, and CUL, MS Dd.73.11.

against their intertextual worlds, and responsibilities towards their communities in terms of understanding events. The purpose of this chapter is to look at how those working within corporations might bring their writing practices home, and continue to create manuscripts both for their own use, and to pass to future generations as a means of performing their identities as governors of towns.

Chapter Five remains within the home, but moves up the social scale into the elite household. This chapter focuses on the administrative documents for the running of Lionel Cranfield's estates produced by his servants in the early seventeenth century. The survival and storage of documents is explored looking at evidence from inventories and accounts, and the scribal work of servants is contextualised within the structures of the elite household. A study of paper use within the household that draws upon quantitative data as well as evidence from household accounts is used, and explores the role of servants in the bringing of writing materials into the estates. There are two Image Processing experiments discussed in this chapter, one exploring the impact of illness on handwriting in the correspondence of Thomas Catchmay, building on the work of Deborah Thorpe on tremors and handwriting.[47] The second compares two of Lionel Cranfield's servants' hands with the hand of one of the stewards of Thomas Temple, whose literacy is far lower, to explore what aspects of handwriting are affected by writing fluency, and again try to understand the boundaries between uniqueness in handwriting and continuities between people. Finally, the literary life of John Langley, Cranfield's sons' tutor and bailiff at Milcote house is explored in relation to Henry Stanford, another tutor contemporary to Langley who fulfils a similar role within multiple households. This chapter centralises

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[47] Deborah E. Thorpe and Jane E. Alty, 'What type of tremor did the medieval "Tremulous Hand of Worcester" have?', *Brain*, 138:10 (2015), 3123-3127.

servants as the makers of papers within elite households and explores their practices in relation to the structures and spaces they work within.

Overall, these four case studies move between institutions and households in order to build a picture of the manuscript-making practices taking place in four different contexts in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. All of the scribes seen within this thesis are using their skill at writing to make recognisable forms of manuscripts, and regard writing as important to their reputation and occupation. They all work within a community of people, whether that is in the home or in their place of work, and their manuscripts absorb signs of their social situation, status, and practices. The documents within this thesis have often been understudied, or have not been valued for their significance as material-texts.[48] As Alexandra Walsham has indicated, during this period 'in city and country alike an army of amateur and professional clerks, notaries, scribes and amanuenses arose to meet demand' for the making of documents, and it is these people, writing for a living, which this thesis seeks to uncover.[49] In order to move into the four case studies, it is important first to look across the whole corpora of manuscripts to examine how the manuscript materials and techniques used across these contexts are similar or different, and to provide a broad picture of the uses of manuscript materials and practices upon which each of the chapters can build. These sections also introduce the approaches to manuscript materials used within this thesis.

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[48] William Sherman talks about dust and its significance to what we value in our research in the chapter: 'Digging the Dust: Renaissance Archivology', in *The Forms of Renaissance Thought: New Essays in Literature and Culture*, ed. by Leonard Barkan, Bradin Cormack and Sean Keilen, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp.246-260.

[49] Walsham, 'The Social History', p.25.

1.3. How do Manuscript Materials Make Meaning?

In order to begin to explore each of the four manuscript contexts in detail, it is first essential to outline some of the ways in which writing materials generate meaning across all four contexts, and establish a way to read these connotations. At the outset, it is useful to draw upon art historian Ann-Sophie Lehmann's assertion that: 'meaning […] is not a definite attribute of materials but is enclosed within them'.[50] In this statement, Lehmann understands meaning not as something imposed upon materials, but something that is generated by their intrinsic qualities. This is a useful perspective with which to start exploring meaning and materiality within a manuscript context, particularly since this thesis is concerned with craftsmanship, where the affordances (properties of a material that relate to its 'potential utility') of particular materials are important to the ways in which they are used.[51] Accordingly, there are two different kinds of meaning this thesis is concerned with: meaning suggested by material affordances, and meaning that is socially and culturally generated by consumers of those materials. These two kinds of meanings can be related. To understand these meanings from the perspective of the scribe, it is essential to explore how we might understand the relationship between the scribe and the materials of manuscript-making.

Theoretical approaches to making are often based upon an Aristotelian *hylomorphic* model, where a maker imposes form upon matter. Tim Ingold has rejected this model, and instead of seeing makers as imposers of form, he sees

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[50] Ann-Sophie Lehmann, 'How Materials Make Meaning', in *Meaning in Materials 1400-1800: Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art*, 62, ed. by Ann-Sophie Lehmann, Fritz Scholten, and H. Perry Chapman (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), pp.6-27 (p.8).
[51] 'Affordance' (n) 2., *OED.*

the producer as being in conversation with the intrinsic qualities of the materials they use for construction. Skill, for Ingold, within this context involves the practitioners' 'ability to find the grain of the world's becoming and follow its course while bending it to their evolving purpose'.[52] In other words, expertise involves being conscious of a material's affordances and working with them. If we apply this to a context of manuscript-making, this aspect of conversation between scribes and the materials of making is essential to the production of text.

In order to extend this idea of the scribe being in conversation with the material world, it is important to explore their agency in the making process. The theoretical understanding of agency as it is frequently used in studies of material culture is drawn from Alfred Gell, who argues that agency is possessed by people or things, and that an agent is 'the source, the origin of causal events'. Agency in this sense is 'a culturally prescribed framework for thinking about causation […] whenever an event is believed to happen because of an "intention" lodged in a person or thing'.[53] The result of Gell's perspective is that agency always flows in one direction, projected by an individual and their 'intention' into the outside world, with objects having 'agency' only when it is impressed upon them by the human mind. In this model, an employer can possess agency over a manuscript maker, for example, and this is problematic because it places the power and agency in the idea or intention to make a text, rather than in the practice of writing. This also limits our understanding of the making of meaning, as it is always presumed to rest in the design of an object not in the action of its

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[52] Tim Ingold, 'The Textility of Making', *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 34 (2010), 91-102 (p.92).
[53] Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp.16 and 17.

making, and this denies the power that rests within the affordances of manuscript materials.

Although Bruno Latour tries to complicate Gell's version of agency, he also defines it as something possessed by things or people – objects only being agents in the sense that they can transform, or be altered, through relationships with people or other things within a 'social' world. The 'social' is defined by Latour as 'a type of momentary association which is characterised by the way it gathers together into new shapes'.[54] Latour's notion of this material agency is perhaps best expressed in his analogy of the key as the agent in the interaction between a hand and a door in the sense that it is the 'means and end' of this interaction, transforming the state of the lock, and thus becoming 'a social actor, an agent, and active being' in the achievement of this purpose.[55]

In seeing agency as possessed by people and things, Latour's model of agency only helps us to understand *intended* action, but what an actor plans is not necessarily the result of an interaction. This issue with agency is something that Tim Ingold has explored, and he concludes that the concept of agency should be void, because it is an oversimplification of a complex world, where we imagine: 'a world not of things that exist in the throwing [in action], but in which the die is already cast', or, in other words, where intended action leads to an anticipated result. Ingold argues that this approach is reductive and neglects the nuances in the relationships between people and materials, resulting in 'life' being reduced to 'agency'.[56] For Ingold, the issue with agency is that it is static, whereas 'action' is something living and evolving. Theoretically, there has been a shift

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[54] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 46, 53 and 65.
[55] Bruno Latour, 'The Berlin Key or How to do Words with Things', in *Matter, Materiality and Modern Culture*, ed. by P.M Graves-Brown (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), pp.10-21.
[56] Ingold, 'Textility', p.97.

from the idea that action is always intended, and that craft relies on the imposition of a design within the craftsperson's mind onto the material world. In this sense the creation of meaning in the relationship between humans and things does not go in one direction: it is not *hylomorphic*, but a constant conversation between the two.

Although this thesis does not reject the term 'agency', when used to describe the power imbalances between different people and objects as they exist in context, it does aim to resituate agency from something possessed in a static sense to something that is produced in action. This is important for understanding the generation of meaning through manuscript-making as dynamic – produced not in the abstract by an individual holding agency, but through the reciprocal relationships that emerge between people and materials in space. Andreas Reckwitz works towards this understanding of agency from a sociological perspective, where he argues that the relationship between materials and people should not be seen as 'discrete and intentional acts by individual agents, but rather as recurring, spreading and evolving patterns of practices which carry their agents and are at the same time carried (out) by them'. People and things, in Reckwitz's understanding, inhabit spaces of 'interconnected "doings"' where relationships between people and things are made of complex and 'evolving patterns of practices'.[57] This understanding of people, materials and space is what this thesis aims to create a sense of, understanding manuscript-making as embedded within spaces of 'interconnected '"doings"', which is

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[57] Reckwitz, p.248.

compatible too with Andrew Cambers' approach to reading and writing as being interrelated with other activities.[58]

Another anthropological perspective that is important to this thesis, and helps explore how meaning can be generated through action, is Lambros Malafouris' understanding of agency as 'an emergent property' that 'can only be characterised according to that component that at a given moment has the upper hand' in a process. This he calls 'the dynamic tension that characterises the processes of material engagement' where things can become extensions of people, or individuals can become extensions of materials that have the upper hand at a certain point in the making process.[59] An example of the materials having an upper hand in a making process can be seen in the making of iron gall ink. Here, the chemical reaction between copperas and the tannins in oak galls, which is not completed by human action, is what makes the ink black. The chemical reaction works because of the response of these materials to one another, and so in the interaction between the two, agency emerges as being characteristic of the materials rather than the human maker. This is important when questioning the *hylomorphic* model, and considering how certain material processes can be out of the control of the maker. When considering how manuscript materials make meaning, it is essential to contemplate the range of relationships scribes have with materials and their working environments, and to consider processes and materials that create meaning as well as implications that are extrinsically generated.

In the making of a manuscript, meaning is created through the interactions between makers and materials, and emerges, like agency, through

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[58] Cambers, *Godly.*
[59] Malafouris, p.34.

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action: between materials and hands, affordances and design, perception and value (monetary, aesthetic, and quality), skill, use and fitness for use, historical/social context, and the circumstances of a manuscript's survival. As this thesis is concerned with the manuscript-making of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is important both to theorise making and also historicise it. Meaning is generated through the interaction of the scribe with the materials of manuscript-making, and the way in which the text is subsequently used, stored, and interacted with. The historicising of these material interactions rests on our ability to access what Michael Baxandell has termed the 'period eye', where sight is culturally determined. This thesis, because it explores materiality, must extend Baxandell's definition to encompass all of the senses, and explore the range of impacts materials have on those that interact with them. [60] Consequently, manuscript materials in this thesis are seen as holding intrinsic and extrinsic meanings that are generated through their place within a context of interactions with people.

The next sections of this introductory chapter explore the issues surrounding the generation of meaning through the two manuscript materials, paper and ink, and discusses the processes applied to them. These manuscript materials are explored in a theoretical and historical sense, but also in a quantitative one. By looking at a large sample of manuscripts pertaining to the four occupational groups explored within this thesis, I consider how far patterns of consumption and practices can be perceived across scribes' work.

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[60] Michael Baxandell, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). For recent uses of the term 'period eye' in studies of material culture see: Ulinka Rublack, 'Renaissance Dress, Cultures of Making, and the Period Eye', *Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture*, 23.1 (2016), 6-34; and Tara Hamling, 'Visual Culture' in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Matthew Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 75-102.

1.3.i. *Paper*

Paper is the principal writing surface used in the manuscripts studied for this thesis.[61] By the mid-sixteenth century, diverse sorts of paper were available for purchase including: 'cap paper', 'brown paper', 'white paper', 'printing paper', 'writing paper' and, by 1617, 'blue paper'.[62] By the mid-1630s, 95,000 reams of paper were being imported into England, steadily increasing from the late-sixteenth century into the mid-seventeenth century, in line with increasing literacy levels.[63] Paper could also occasionally be categorized by its size or quality, with 'ordinary paper' making up '93 per cent of total white paper imports'. This means 'fine' paper would only have made up a very small proportion of paper used.[64]

Intrinsically, paper is lightweight and flexible to the point that it can be folded and scrunched without breaking. Paper described as 'writing paper' would also have other important qualities that would make it a surface to which ink could bind. It would have been 'sized' in 'animal glue and starch' before use to create a smooth blot-resistant surface for writing.[65] Layers of intrinsic meaning

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[61] Although I do not have space here to go through the history of paper up to the sixteenth century, there are numerous studies on the subject: M. Bloom, *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001); D.C. Coleman, *The British Paper Industry 1495-1860: A Study in Industrial Growth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958); Dard Hunter, *Papermaking: The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft* (New York: Dover Publications, 1943); and Richard L. Hills, *Papermaking in Britain 1488-1988: A Short History* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2015).

[62] See Helen Smith, '" A Unique Instance of Art": The Proliferating Surfaces of Early Modern Paper', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance*, 8 (2017): < http://www.northernrenaissance.org/a-unique-instance-of-art-the-proliferating-surfaces-of-early-modern-paper/>paragraph 14 [accessed 18/9/2018]. She notes that 4500 bundles of brown paper, 13,209 reams of 'paper', 368 reams of 'printing paper' and '54 reams of "writing paper"' were imported into London from 1567/68. See also, D.C. Coleman's table in *British,* p.13, which details imports of paper by year.

[63] Daybell, *Material*, p.34, for the statistic of 95,000, and D.C. Coleman, *British*, p.13. See Cressy, *Literacy*, p.153. A ream was 450-500 sheets.

[64] D.C. Coleman, *British,* p.15.

[65] Daven Christopher Chamberlain, 'Paper', in *The Book: A Global History*, ed. by Henry Woudhuysen and Michael Suarez (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.116-129 (p.119).

could be built into a sheet at its point of manufacture. For example, the textile waste used as paper's base component had the ability to influence its qualities: dark rags formed brown sheets, and light rags made shades of cream.[66] Extrinsically, the quality of paper influenced the way in which it was used, with brown paper not deployed frequently in extant manuscripts as a writing surface.[67] The forming of paper into sheets upon frames that imprinted them with chain, laid lines, and watermarks would also influence the paper's subsequent meanings. Watermarks would suggest to a consumer the paper's provenance, its size, and also its quality.[68] Paper's other key intrinsic quality is that it is alkaline due to the process in which the rags it is made from are broken down into a pulp.[69] This makes paper an ideal surface to which acidic ink can bind.[70] It does, however, also accelerate the manner in which paper decays over time.[71] This reaction is out of the scribe's hands, and is an example of where agency is generated in action – this time the agency of decay – from the interaction between ink and paper.

In its use, scribes worked with paper's intrinsic qualities, using acidic ink to write with and paper prepared with a size. They capitalised on paper's flexibility through folding. Indeed, scribes would have been well aware of these

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[66] Daybell, *Material,* p.34; and Hills, *Papermaking,* p.15.

[67] As Joshua Calhoun observes: 'The stuff vat, the poet of macerated fibers used to make sheets of paper, contained about ninety-nine percent water, so it is no surprise that silty, muddy or polluted water would render sheets of paper darker.' Calhoun, p. 332.

[68] See in particular John Bidwell, 'The Study of Paper as Evidence, Artefact, and Commodity', in *The Book Encompassed: Studies in Twentieth Century Bibliography*, ed. by Peter Davidson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 69-83; John Bidwell, 'French Paper in English Books', *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume IV, 1557-1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.583-601; Daybell, *Material*, p.34; Allan Stevenson, 'Paper as Bibliographical Evidence', *The Library*, 17:3 (1962), 197-212; Edward Heawood, 'Paper Used in England after 1600: 1 the Seventeenth Century to c.1680', *The Library*, 4:3, (1930), 263-299; and Thomas Tanselle, 'The Bibliographical Description of Paper', *Studies in Bibliography*, 24 (1971), 27-67.

[69] Chamberlain, 'Paper', p.117.

[70] See the Iron-Gall Ink project website to read more about this chemistry: Elmer Eusmann, 'Iron Gall Ink Chemistry', <https://irongallink.org/igi_indexedde.html.> [accessed 18 /9/2018].

[71] Bidwell, 'The Study', p.69.

qualities, as Joshua Calhoun has explored, remarking that: 'until wood pulp replaced rags in papermaking, writers and readers actively participated in a material network of textiles and texts'.[72] The literary examples Calhoun uses demonstrate an understanding of the material origins of paper as flax, and its material qualities, amongst scribes and readers.[73] This kind of engagement with paper's origins also manifests materially, with, for example, some of Cranfield's papers, explored in Chapter Five, stored in an old shirtsleeve – a gesture to the relationship between paper and textiles. Within this thesis, paper is explored from each occupation's perspective across all four chapters. Folding techniques are explored, and the extrinsic qualities impressed upon paper are also discussed. This introduction intends to look at paper use across all manuscripts studied, in order to characterise each occupation through its paper use. Details of watermarks in all manuscripts studied, unless they are too damaged or illegible, have been noted and quantified in order to understand how paper was used within occupational contexts.[74]

Watermarks can be used to establish how a manuscript has been built over time, to date paper, and to understand the importation and trade of writing materials.[75] The study of watermarks can be tricky because no two watermarks are precisely the same. Variations between marks of the same stock can be caused by a paper mould's warping over time, by a watermark design being reattached or changed, by the movement of the papermaker in the making

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[72] Calhoun, p.335.
[73] Ibid.
[74] The wills and inventories discussed in Chapter Three are the only documents studied for this thesis where barely any watermark information was collected due to the majority being studied on microfilm.
[75] Bidwell, 'French Paper', p.69.

process, or by the manner in which sheets were made in 'twin' moulds.[76]

Nevertheless, bibliographers – notably Allan Stevenson, Edward Heawood, and

Charles Briquet – have sought to categorise and develop methods for

approaching these marks.[77] Allan Stevenson, in particular, has defined how

watermarks should be recorded, with details of their position within a sheet,

dimensions, features, and their relationship to chain lines.[78] Even when these

details have been recorded, John Bidwell has remarked that it would still be

difficult to match paper to its specific stock without the use of digital images of

watermarks, which are hard to gather in reading room environments.[79]

Due to the issues in gathering precise information about watermarks

without images, the features for the watermarks within documents are recorded

in order to understand what kind of paper is being used in each occupational

context. The recording of this information has enabled the analysis of paper

across the sample of documents to see how paper is used within contexts.[80] Of

course, the information and comparisons made would have been more specific

had it been possible to measure the size of each occurrence and width of

surrounding chainlines, and this would provide an avenue for research in future

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[76] Hunter, *Papermaking*, p.266 and Allan Stevenson, 'Watermarks are Twins', *Studies in Bibliography*, 4 (1951), 57-91 (p.64).
[77] Allan Stevenson, 'Paper'; 'Watermarks are Twins'; and 'Chain-Indentations in Paper as Evidence', *Studies in Bibliography*, 6 (1954), 181-195; Heawood, 'Paper'; and Charles Briquet, *Les Filigranes* 4 vols, ed. by Allan Stevenson (Amsterdam: The Paper Publications Society, 1968)
[78] Stevenson, 'Paper'.
[79] Bidwell, 'Paper', p.73. 'Photographs or (better still) beta-radiographs can tell the entire life history of a paper mould and of the wire profile that delineates watermarks on paper, by chronicling the movements of the wire profile across the mould and the progressive deterioration of the profile or outline during heavy use at the vat.'
[80] This practice is necessarily different in character to those who use watermark evidence in order to identify manuscripts or printed books that are part of the same sequence, as it is looking across a far larger group. For studies that do very precise work on watermarks in order to investigate the relationships between books and manuscripts on a smaller scale see for example: Isabel Feder McCarthy, '*Ad Fontes:* A New Look at the Watermarks on Paper Copies of the Gutenberg Bible', *The Library*, 17 (2016), 115-137; and David L. Gants, 'Identifying and Tracking Paper Stocks in Early Modern London,' *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 94 (2000), 531-40.

studies of paper. This thesis' findings are a starting point for quantifying paper types within manuscript making contexts. Through quantifying the marks, it is possible to access the way different sorts and qualities of paper were used in different manuscript-making settings, and so to access the 'period eye' when applied to paper. In future, this technique could be enhanced by the use of digital imaging to look at paper transmission on a large scale, assisted by Image Processing methods.

The most prevalent watermark types found on paper used within manuscripts studied are variations of pot and grape (with posts) watermarks. These stocks of paper could be considered part of the 93% proportion of 'ordinary' paper that was imported into England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, because they appear so frequently. Paper bearing a pot watermark is the 'standard grade of writing paper' for this period, its predecessor being a hand-star watermark.[81] Grapes watermarks appear in paper of slightly higher grade to pot paper, and in slightly larger sheets. Proportionally, paper bearing the watermark of grapes between two pillars makes up almost half of the paper used by servants working on Lionel Cranfield's estates explored in Chapter Five, but there are only eight examples seen in the corporation of Lydd documents studied for Chapter Three (see Table 1.4). Although both the pot and the grapes watermarks then seem 'ordinary' when looking across all manuscript-making contexts, the grapes mark is not so 'ordinary' when used within the context of the Lydd Corporation. It is also important to consider the date of the documents studied, where proportionally those documents made by Lionel Cranfield's servants date from 1618 onwards. After 1620 grape watermarks

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[81] See Daybell, *Material*, p.33.

become more common, which perhaps accounts for the larger proportion of this watermark in the Cranfield papers.[82]

Pot and grapes watermarks feature on paper whose provenance is the Northern and Western regions of France, from which 98% of paper used in England was imported.[83] They are also often similar in size, with paper bearing grapes watermarks being in line with foolscap paper sizes, which are only slightly larger than pot paper (foolscap = 420mm x 320 mm per sheet, whilst pot = 400mm x 310 mm per sheet).[84] The majority of documents studied in the course of this thesis that fall into folio format measure somewhere between 195mm x 300mm (a leaf) and 210mm x 320mm (a leaf), so the benefit of using a standard type of paper is uniformity of size.[85] Ordinary paper would cost around four pence a quire, and this is the most common price recorded in the financial documents used within this thesis – chamberlain's accounts for the corporation of Lydd, and household and steward's accounts for Lionel Cranfield's estates.[86] For the most part, then, the institutions, households, and scribes studied purchased ordinary paper around four pence a quire for everyday use.

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[82] Edward Heawood notes the prevalence of the grapes watermark after 1620. Heawood, 'Paper Used', p.292.

[83] Heawood, 'Paper Used', p.292; Coleman, pp.13 and 21; Daybell, *Material*, p.33; and Mark Bland, 'Italian Paper in Early Seventeenth Century England', *Paper as a Medium of Cultural Heritage: Archaeology and Conservation*, ed. by R. Graziaplena (Rome: Istituto Centrale Per La Patologia Del Libro, 2004), pp.243-55 (p.244).

[84] Daybell, *Material*, p.34; and Biden, 'French Paper', p.590.

[85] The size of most documents studied has been measured and recorded for the purposes of this thesis. See Appendix Four 'Manuscript Materials Database' for information in the 'manuscripts' table.

[86] See, Lydd Chamberlain Accounts, KHLC, LY/2/1/1/3 – LY/2/1/1/8, and for Lionel Cranfield's estate accounts see: KHLC, U269 A418/5-A418/9, U269 A20/1-2, U269/1 AP43, and U269/1 AB 2 and AB 4. This is from sixty-five examples of quires of paper being purchased from the mid-sixteenth century to the mid-seventeenth century. This is in line with Heather Wolfe's findings about the price of paper, from sixty examples taken from the 1570s to the 1640s and also in line with some of James Daybell's examples of paper purchases. Heather Wolfe, 'Was Early Modern Writing Paper Expensive?' on *The Collation* (February, 2018) <https://collation.folger.edu/2018/02/ writing-paper-expensive/> [accessed 20 /9/2018]; Daybell, *Material*, p.35.

Type	Count
Luxury Paper Types	203
Ordinary	716

Table 1.1: Number of occurrences of luxury and ordinary paper types across documents studied for this thesis, where it is possible to record them (recorded once per document).

Type	Arms-drawers	Clerks	Officeholder	Servants
Luxury	41	10	5	160
Ordinary	22	88	31	562

Table 1.2. Number of occurrences of luxury and ordinary paper use across manuscript-making contexts studied for this thesis (recorded once per document).

Luxury paper types, or paper in large sheets of Crown or Royal sizes are found far less frequently than ordinary writing paper (see Tables 1.1 and 1.2). As Mark Bland remarks, 'when a printed book is not on pot, it may be of interest', and although the use of ordinary writing paper in particular contexts is interesting in terms of understanding consumption and importation of paper, the use of luxury paper suggests discretion in paper consumption within manuscript-making contexts.[87] High-grade or good quality paper would be defined by its white colour and even texture.[88] Some of the best paper was imported from Spain

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[87] Mark Bland, *A Guide to Early Printed Books and Manuscripts* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2010), p.27.

[88] Hunter, p.224; and Hills, p.2.

and Italy, where there was a very long tradition of papermaking, though paper from these regions only made up around 2% of all paper imports to England.[89]

Luxury paper – mainly from France and Holland, but also occasionally from Spain and Italy – is found frequently in the heraldic manuscripts studied for Chapter Two, and in documents made within the context of the elite household considered for Chapter Five. In this sense, paper use might be considered as tied to social and economic status, with higher grades appearing more frequently in contexts where there is an audience of elevated social status. However, it seems to also be attached to manuscript type, with heraldic manuscripts being more likely to be on luxury paper than ordinary (65% of the sample). Since some of the heraldic manuscripts were skilfully constructed and decorated in large volumes, they would likely have been kept within gentry status houses as objects to be displayed, evoking the longevity of their patrons' high social status to visitors. Consequently, the high proportion of luxury paper used within this context is not surprising, as it would tie into the purpose for which the manuscript was owned and used.

Table 1.3 shows motifs in watermarks found within documents studied for this thesis, and the number of times they appear (if a manuscript is made of the same stock, the motif is only counted once). Pot paper makes up 43% of documents studied, and paper bearing a grapes watermark 28%, demonstrating the dominance of these two kinds of paper within the scribal contexts explored. Paper bearing heraldic watermarks – particularly the arms of Burgundy – is also common. Paper bearing the Burgundy arms is a frequent crown size of high-grade paper, used by Canfield's servants and arms-drawers in particular. Other

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[89] Bloom, p.9; and Bland, *A Guide*, p.43.

heraldic achievements that appear are the arms of Navarre and – towards the mid-seventeenth century – the arms of Amsterdam. Paper bearing heraldry is particularly interesting because of its strong association with its place of origin. Heraldry as a common language of place and person means that paper bearing arms' provenance would be readable for a consumer with an understanding of heraldic motifs. An interesting watermark for fine Italian paper, the anchor, appears in only four documents, all associated with the Lydd Corporation.[90] Due to Lydd being a coastal port, and part of the cinque port of New Romney, use of luxury paper with an anchor watermark (occurs four times) could suggest the choice of fine paper that is in line with Lydd's economic association with fishing, and as a port. Greater varieties of paper are used within arms drawing contexts, but also within the elite estate where the use of fine paper types is more common. Greater variety of paper types suggests the purchase of fine paper for the writing of certain documents, as well as possible access to a metropolitan area where larger quantities and greater varieties of paper might be sold and imported.[91]

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[90] See this contemporaneous example, and Briquet description on the Gravell watermark database: <http://www.gravell.org/record.php?&action=GET&RECID=5264> [accessed 25 /9/2018].
[91] See Chapter Five for a discussion of Cranfield's purchasing of paper from London and moving paper to the provinces.

Watermark Type	Number	Percentage of Whole
Pot	399	43%
Grapes/post	258	28%
Coats of Arms	98	10%
Flag	51	5.50%
Crown	29	3.10%
Unicorn	29	3%
Foolscap	11	1%
Fleur-de-lis	10	1%
Initials	7	0.70%
Swords	7	0.70%
Hand	6	0.60%
Anchor	4	0.40%
Three Circles	2	0.20%
Total	914	100%

Table 1.3. Watermark features and number of occurrences (if appearing multiple times within one manuscript, they are only counted once) across sample. These are marks recorded more than once on the database.

Watermark placement has long been known to be an important indicator of the folding a sheet has gone through to create a manuscript: folio books hold their watermarks on one side, quartos have their watermarks in the centrefold of a book, octavos at the top of the inner margins.[92] The ability to fold without snapping is an important intrinsic quality of paper, and watermarks are important in interpreting the process of folding that has been applied to paper. All of the manuscripts discussed in Chapter Four, and the majority discussed in Chapter Two, are in book form. Large folio volumes (where the sheets used have been folded once) are very common for armorials and accounts in particular and, in total, 129 manuscripts studied for this thesis take this form. Most of the correspondence explored within this thesis is on bifolia, with the content usually written on one side and the address on the other, though there are some smaller examples.[93] Fifty-five manuscripts are in quarto form, and these are a mixture of types of document including commonplace books, notebooks used within a corporation setting, and some heraldic manuscripts. Very few octavo volumes appear across the manuscript contexts studied, perhaps suggesting that they are not common within administrative contexts, but the few that have been studied are mainly used by the officeholders explored in Chapter Four. Octavo sized notebooks are commonly used during this period in the grammar school, and John Brinsley suggests in *Ludus Literius* that octavo paper books are appropriate

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[92] Ronald McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), pp.166-167.
[93] Bifolium folds are the most common form of correspondence. Daybell, *Material*, p.2; and Wiggins, *Bess*, p.189.

notebooks.[94] By far the most common document-size across all contexts studied, apart from the officeholders in Chapter Four, is the folio form (as sheets).

There are, however, a vast number of documents – particularly those produced by the Lydd clerks and by the elite household servants – that are on loose sheets of paper or unbound collations of two or three sheets. Folding is a way of protecting loose sheets, which makes them resilient to tearing and easier to organise and transport. The importance of folding styles has recently gained a lot of attention in studies of early modern correspondence, particularly within the 'letterlocking' project led by Jana Dambrogio and Daniel Starza Smith.[95] However, folding is an act important to all kinds of loose paper, and important to administrative archives in terms of creating a sense of organised space and protecting documents from being lost. Multiple folded documents in a sequence were filed in bundles, with paper formed into small parcels.[96] Folds can be read from the distinct lines left in paper, and the manner in which parts of a sheet on the exposed outer folds are darker in colour.[97] These traces are a material memory through which the narrative of loose paper's movement and storage can be told. Throughout this thesis, particularly in Chapters Three and Five, various kinds of folds are explored in relation to hands, furniture, and filing practices.

Scribes' use of the flexibility of paper is central to many of the interactions presented within this thesis, ranging from the creation of creases to guide them in the positioning of text or images on the page, the storage of loose

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[94] John Brinsley, *Ludus Literius: or, The Grammar Schoole* (London: Thomas Man, 1612), p.150.
[95] Jana Dambrogio and Daniel Starza Smith, 'Letterlocking', <http://letterlocking.org/about>. [accessed 25/9/2018]. See also Wiggins, *Bess*, p.190.
[96] See Heather Wolfe and Peter Stallybrass, 'The Material Culture of Record-Keeping in Early Modern England', in *Archives and Information in the Early Modern World*, Proceedings of the British Academy: 212, ed. by Kate Peters, Alexandra Walsham, and Liesbeth Corens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp.179-208 (pp.192-196).
[97] Daybell, *Material*, p.218.

paper, or the making of books. Folding relies on the affordances paper holds as a material. Paper, as the most commonly used surface for writing studied here, is flexible, alkaline, can take different forms, can be used for wrapping as well as writing, and comes in different sizes and qualities. Although parchment does sometimes appear, paper is overwhelmingly used in the documents studied. Throughout the chapters, paper is considered within each of the four occupational contexts, and its extrinsic meanings to the scribes using it are explored in conjunction with its intrinsic values.[98]

1.3.ii. *Ink, Script, and Hand*

The other components of manuscript-making introduced in this chapter are ink and handwriting. Here the education of professional scribes is considered, and their use of scripts and innovation within expected forms of handwriting is discussed. Scribes might purchase ink or they might choose to make it themselves, and although this is discussed at length in Chapter Four, an introduction to ink is given in this section. This introduction also gives context to the Image Processing experiments based around handwriting that are placed within each chapter, and after this section the method is introduced, and the results of the first experiment comparing handwriting across the four occupational groups are explained.

The scribes represented do have some overlap in terms of the kinds of scripts they chose to use, and this overlap can be attributed to their similar educations in literacy. Their expectations regarding letterform appearances are

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[98] Other aspects to paper are addressed in each chapter, like cutting and reusing.

exemplified by writing manuals published throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, where, as Jonathan Goldberg argues: 'renaissance writing masters' were 'intent upon having their pupils replicate as perfectly and as exactly as possible the hands that they taught'.[99] There is, then, a sense of the expected appearance of handwriting within printed educational texts of the period. Handwriting tended to be taught through copying letterforms, and John Brinsley in *Ludus Literius* argues that students should learn letterforms without ink by tracing shapes with a quill.[100] Learning to write involved replicating letter shapes, because reading was taught separately and most students were able to read and spell proficiently before learning to write.[101] Writing, then, was considered, in educational practices, as a skill not connected with reading, but with painting.[102] Brinsley goes on to suggest that students draw 'the letters as the painter'.[103] This notion separates the practice of writing from the information it communicates and accounts for the use of copybooks in the education of writing during this period, where a student might learn to recreate the letterforms before them.[104] The practice of copying phrases during the process of learning to write can be seen in some manuscript examples of the period.[105]

Similarities can often be seen between the handwriting of young men and women during their education in writing, and the script of the person who educates them. For example, Theophilia Carey – in her correspondence to her mother, Elizabeth, who educated both of her children – demonstrates an italic

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[99] Goldberg, 'Hamlet's Hand', p.316.
[100] Brinsley, p.36.
[101] See Cressy, *Literacy*, p.20, and see p.22 for exceptions to this rule. See also Schultz, pp.381-425.
[102] Goldberg, *Writing Matter*, pp.179, 195-197, and 199-203.
[103] Brinsley, p.316.
[104] Nicholas Orme, 'An Early-Tudor Oxford Schoolbook,' *Renaissance Quarterly*, 34 (1981), 11-39.
[105] CCAL, CCA-DCc/AddMS/220/1; Bod. L, MS Ashmole 51; and BL, MS Sloane 1203.

hand with similar features and flourishes to her mother's.[106] Likewise Peter Beal suggests that the children of Lionel Cranfield copied features of their tutor John Langley's script, and Ann Bowyer, a middling woman of the early seventeenth century, demonstrated features reminiscent of Jehan De Beau-Chesne's copybook in her italic hand, especially on her 'th's.[107] Paying attention to the aesthetic qualities of another's hand, and trying to replicate them, is a practice attuned to the material world, involving practical skill. The focus of writing education involves two aspects beyond copying: knowing how to use the tools and materials for writing, and then acquiring the skill of shaping letterforms for clear communication.[108] What marks the scribes included in this study is that they have acquired the skill of writing to a professional level.[109]

The scripts taught to children in the late sixteenth and into the seventeenth centuries were italic and secretary hands.[110] Secretary hand was the principal cursive hand used for records during the period, but italic hand gained popularity from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, overtaking secretary hand as the most widely used by the late seventeenth century.[111] Drawing a distinction between the two hands can sometimes be tricky in practice, with scribes often using a mixed or rounded hand that combines italic and secretary letterforms, and

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[106] Theophila Carey, correspondence, BC, GL 4/1/6.

[107] Langley and children: Maidstone, Kent History and Library Centre, U269/1/F36. For Peter Beal's attribution see 'Sir John Suckling' *CELM*. Ann Bowyer, Bod. L, MS Ashmole MS 51 and Jehan De Beau-Chesne, *A Booke Containing Divers Sorts of Hands* (London: Thomas Vatrouillier, 1571).

[108] Indeed, many writing manuals of the period separate these two aspects, with sections on tools and materials, letterforms, script, and in written communication See Brinsley, Richard Mulcaster, *The First Part of the Elementarie* (London: Thomas Vatrouillier, 1582); and Peter Bales, *The Writing Schoolemaster* (London: Thomas Orwin, 1590).

[109] This is remarkable in a society with low levels of literacy, where, depending on a family's economic situation, a child may not have achieved more than very elementary education. Cressy, *Literacy*, pp.20-24.

[110] Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton, pp.8 and 9.

[111] Ibid., p.9. A significant turning point was in 1588, where the Court of Common Pleas made it illegal for writs to be returned in secretary hands due to its illegibility in comparison to italic styles. Secretary's dominance then, was being contested. See 'Secretary Hand', *DEMT*.

this is one of the first places where the examples followed in an educational setting might not have carried into a scribe's writing life.[112] Italic style's newness across literate contexts outside of humanism during this period means that it is not used as frequently in practice as secretary hand. It was a hand associated with women and humanism in the sixteenth century, though it appears very frequently in titles, Latin text, and for emphasis.[113] Each script also demanded a different quill nib, with italic hands either needing a straight edge (for Palatinian style) or a pointed end (for Crescian style), with secretary hand needing a narrow, rounded end. Changing between two different quills, although possible, does not always happen in practice, with many scribes using the 'wrong' pen nib for the kind of script they are using.[114] Some scribes also learn other styles later in their professional lives, once their time at grammar school finishes, and they might learn 'set hands', like legal hands, or a particular court hand. Set court hands or legal hands are the signatures of institutions or occupations, with those trained in law often using a legal hand. In practice, although there were these norms in terms of script – which people of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries took very 'seriously' – within these templates there were differences between individuals and their handwriting development in context.[115]

So within handwriting there is the sense of continuity between contexts in terms of styles of script, tools and materials (ink, quills, paper) used, as well as

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[112] 'Mixed script' and 'rounded script', *DEMT.*

[113] Thomas Scott uses this technique to great effect: KHLC, U951 Z17. For proficiency in both see Chapters Two and Three. For further reading on switching between these hands see: Jonathan Gibson, 'From Palatino to Cresci: Italian Writing Books and the Italic Scripts of Early Modern English Letters', in *Cultures of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by James Daybell and Andrew Gordon (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2016), pp.38-39. Gibson's chapter goes into great depth about the provenance of the Italic hand from Palatinian and Crescian styles, and how they developed in England.

[114] Gibson, 'From Palatino', pp. 30 and 37.

[115] Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton, pp.9, 10, and 48.

their affordances.[116] However, there is a tension between this sense of continuity of scripts and styles, and the actual practices of individuals, who might innovate deliberately or by habit whilst writing. Malcolm Parkes argues that 'handwriting is a versatile medium that has always allowed scribes opportunities for self-expression', but that it is defined too by 'the limitations of the pen, and the finite number of its possible movements'.[117] Movement, in this sense, can be seen as socially determined in that the use of the pen is a process guided by a set of recognisable signs of communication. Learning the 'technique' of writing can be considered one of the movements Mauss describes as being taught through copying.[118] In this sense the 'biological' factors of materiality, that Daniel Miller argues have to be considered in studies of objects, impact on the appearance of handwriting.[119] Although scribes are following set patterns, they are also expressing themselves both deliberately (though decoration) and accidentally in the manner in which they write that might suggest their level of education, or even their health.[120]

In the tension between the individual and the occupational context in which scribes write, there is also a question as to what individuality actually means when a writer is expected to carry out certain forms of text using set scripts. For example, often flourishes and decorative touches repeated across pieces of writing can assist in the identification of a hand, and a large number of

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[116] Malcolm Parkes points out that 'handwriting is a conservative medium defined by the limitations of the pen and the finite number of possible movements, as well as the functions of written language that the medium has to fulfill', and here surmises the tension between the individual scribe and expectations of form. Malcolm B. Parkes, *Their Hands Before Our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), p.101.
[117] Parkes, *Their Hands*, p.144. Albertine Gaur expresses something similar: 'Calligraphy cannot be acquired simply by learning; it demands insight and individuality, but individuality expressed within strictly prescribed boundaries'. *A History of Calligraphy* (London: The British Library, 1994), p.19.
[118] Mauss, 'Techniques'.
[119] Miller, *Materiality*, p.4.
[120] See, for example, Thorpe and Alty, 'What type of tremor', pp.3123-3127.

scribes use handwriting that looks visually different from their peers and is therefore recognisable. But even so, flourishes can be problematic indicators of individuality if they fall into the definition of calligraphy, which is based on 'definite, often mathematically based rules, which guide the construction of letters and the relationship between line and space'.[121] Distinguishing between calligraphy and individuality in writing can prove difficult. Personalisation, however, can be considered as an important aspect of a scribe's work, as it means their hand can be associated with their work and distinguished from that of their peers.[122] Consequently, the aims of the Image Processing experiments throughout this thesis are to statistically analyse letterforms in order to understand exactly how a hand might be personal and how it might be occupational, and how these two sides of handwriting can function in conversation. It is important to evaluate how skill might develop within social contexts, and how, materially, a manuscript converses with the environment in which it was made through shared practice, education, and imitation. This is what the Image Processing experiments allow us to comprehend.

All scribes within this thesis have gained a level of skill at writing that distinguishes them as people who can use this skill to earn a living. Therefore, it is also worth touching on what was considered 'good' scribal practice during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Today, handwriting skill is measured through 'legibility and speed', the first of which leads to written communication, and the latter of which allows one to process information quickly, from speech or thought, onto the page.[123] These two skills were also

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[121] Gaur, *A History*, p.143; and Parkes, *Their Hands*, p.149.
[122] See Gibson, 'From Palatino to Cresci', p.38.
[123] See Laura H. Dinehart, 'Handwriting in Early Childhood Education: Current Research and Future Implications,' *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy*, 15 (2015), 97-118 (p.98).

valued in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with swift and nimble hands being the scribe's aim. John Brinsley writes in *Ludus Litererius* that students should aim 'to write clean fast and faire' and that they should 'practice their hands to run upon the paper, either with ink or without, until they be very nimble and cunning to glide upon the paper'.[124] Although this is a printed writing manual and therefore its instructions are difficult to apply to actual practices, it is clear that these qualities are valued in manuscript writing, with scribes seeking to avoid blotting and transfer oral material to text in a courtroom, in a meeting, or as an amanuensis – all tasks that would demand a quick hand. Good handwriting, too, relies on a scribe's conversation with the tools and materials of writing and adaptation to a writing environment, something that is often forgotten when we detach the 'hand' from the person writing and the material trace it leaves.[125]

In practice, a scribe would have to adjust to changing tools, environments, and materials across manuscript forms, for example between paper or parchment; italic or cursive hands; new quills; extreme cold; perhaps noise or interruption; illness or injury; poor quality or different writing materials. A scribe might have to make a quill attuned to their own hand, for as Peter Bales, author of a sixteenth-century writing manual suggests, the pen must be 'fit for the hand'.[126] When linking the notion of making a tool fit for an individual's hand with a scribe having to adapt to changing environments, it is useful to draw in Tim Ingold's notion of a practitioner finding rhythm in the making process

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[124] Brinsley, p.36.

[125] See Goldberg, 'Hamlet's Hand' and 'Writing Matter', Chapter 5 for a discussion of the hand's disembodiment. David Cressy points out that mastering the tools and materials of writing would prove an extra hurdle to written communication, even perhaps proving a 'disincentive' for teachers due to the 'debris of ink, blottings, penknives and goose feathers'. Cressy, *Literacy*, p.24.

[126] Bales, *Writing Schoolemaster*, sig. Q3ᵛ.

through 'continual sensory attunement' of movement.[127] This statement helps contextualise the importance of learning through the materials of writing in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, where writing was an artisanal skill and perceived as such by those employing scribes of various occupations to make documents and manuscripts for them. Although children learnt a set of scripts during their education, the ways in which these scripts developed during their occupational lives were varied, with manuscripts offering a representation of the individual's correspondence and practice with the materials and tools of writing. Acquisition of proficiency in secretary and italic hands would have been essential for those seeking service as secretaries within elite households, clerks, officeholders, arms-drawers, scriveners, lawyers and those wanting a career in the church.[128] Throughout this thesis, then, scribes and their handwriting are thought of in context: adapting to the tools and materials of writing and the expectations of their occupations. From these contexts emerge scribes' deliberate and accidental innovations in handwriting.

No investigation of handwriting, however, would be complete without a consideration of ink. Principally, during this period, scribes used black ink for their work, which often appears brown due to its fading over time. The second most common colour for ink was red, though even so this does not appear particularly frequently, with only 22 examples of manuscripts using red ink recorded on the database.[129] As an industry, ink making did not evolve until the mid-seventeenth century, at which point Adrian Johns estimates that ready-made

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[127] Ingold, *Making*, p.115.
[128] Schultz, pp.381-386.
[129] See Appendix 4 'Manuscript Materials Database'.

ink for handwriting became more freely available in England.[130] Before the mid-seventeenth century, it is very difficult to judge the proportion of bought ink in comparison to handmade varieties. There is certainly plenty of evidence that suggests ink could be purchased before the mid-seventeenth century for writing.[131] Some printed texts describe the selling of ink by stationers. Thomas Blount's *Glossographia* defines a stationer as one that sells 'paper and paper-books, ink, wax, &c', and an earlier 1636 printed educational dialogue, *Corderius Dialogues Translated Grammatically,* sets out a conversation between a schoolmaster and student in which it is indicates that ink would be available to buy in a market.[132] This kind of street selling is also suggested by prints of the period depicting itinerant ink sellers. For example, an early Italian example depicts a seller carrying a barrel of ink, a funnel and a flask over his shoulder, and the earliest English example, although dating to 1688, depicts a remarkably similar figure with funnel, flask, barrel and quills (Figures 1.1 and 1.2).

Although there is evidence for ink being purchased before the mid-seventeenth century, there are plenty of printed and manuscript ink recipes that suggest ink-making often took place within the home, with individuals making ink for their own use. Within some of the paper books of officeholders, ink recipes are prevalent as commonplaces.[133] This prevalence, and the variety of recipes compiled within paper books, suggests that manuscript writers took a keen interest in perfecting the practice of making ink. In studying some of these

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[130] Adrian Johns, 'Ink' in *Materials and Expertise in Early Modern Europe: Between Market and Laboratory* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), p.105. Steven May and Arthur Marotti comment on how ink was 'not really commercially manufactured until the mid-seventeenth century.' *Ink, Stink, Bait, Revenge and Queen Elizabeth: A Yorkshire Yeoman's Household Book* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2014), p.213.
[131] Accounts used in Chapters Three and Five of this thesis, for example.
[132] See Thomas Blount, *Glossographia: or A Dictionary Interpreting all such Hard Words of whatsoever Language now Used* (London: Thomas Newcomb, 1661), p.598, and Mathurin Cordier, *Corderius Dialogues Translated Grammatically* (London: A. Griffin, 1636), p.199.
[133] See for example, BL, MS Sloane 1203, fol.39ʳ, Add MS 82370, fol.1ʳ, MS Egerton 674.

manuscript recipes, it is possible to find a way into the ink-making process and think about what qualities and practices were important to its making.

Figure 1.1. Marcellus Laroon II, ***The Cryes of the City of London Drawne After the Life*** **(London, 1688).**[134] **© Trustees of the British Museum.**

[IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 1.2. Francesco Villamena, 'The Ink Seller' (Italy, ca. 1597-1601).[135]

The core ingredients of ink were oak galls, copperas, and gum and these were readily available for purchase through apothecaries. Evidence of this lies in apothecaries' price lists where various kinds of gum, copperas and galls are

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[134] BM: 1972, U.370.12.
<http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3061977&partId=1&searchText=cries+of+london&page=1> [Accessed 9/10/2018]
[135] San Francisco, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco: 1963.30.37001.
< https://art.famsf.org/francesco-villamena/ink-seller-19633037001 >[accessed 9/10/2018].

itemised. An early seventeenth-century example lists gum 'carama', 'draganth' and 'masticke' in addition to 'cop[er]is' and 'gaules', and a London stock book records galls as part of its saleable goods.[136] Other ingredients used in ink recipes varied, demonstrating that knowledge of how to make ink was individualistic, and relied on practice and improvisation. From the perspective of Pamela Smith's 'artisanal literacy' or Tim Ingold's 'personal knowledge', ink-making is a skill that is practised and developed over time, where recipes, although they cannot specify making actions and perceptions as they are physically experienced by the ink-maker, do demonstrate the role of discretion and taste in their verbal expression.[137] Telling a recipe or writing down an ink-making process reduces the interrelationship between time, the body, ingredients and environment to a material trace upon a page that is difficult to unpick. Through the situation of ink on a page within an environmental and individual context, it is possible to begin to explore some of the factors that are important to these person-specific making practices. James Daybell has used this idea of subjectivity and applied it to a writer's skill, saying that 'a runnier ink' would suit 'a fast hand', whereas a 'blacker more viscous ink' would be appropriate for a 'presentation text' where care is taken in the appearance, or for a slower scribe.[138] Thickness in practice, then, is dependent on an individual's discretion, in making ink appropriate to their hand and for the kind of document they are producing. In Chapter Four ink-making at home is discussed in detail using the particular example of Thomas Davis. For the purposes of this introductory chapter, though, it is important to state that like handwriting, ink use is

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[136]KHLC, U269/E80/2; and WL, MS 7646, fol.132ᵛ. Galls are growths on trees, usually oak trees in this case, caused by parasites.
[137] Ingold, p.115; and Smith, p.8.
[138] Daybell, *Material*, p.38.

determined by a scribe's discretion, and the type made or bought could have an impact on handwriting, as much as a quill or type of paper could.

In order to continue the analysis of handwriting as it is situated in occupational contexts, it is now possible to turn to the final aspect of this thesis, Image Processing, in order to explore how this digital method can assist in our understanding of occupational and scribal identity in a quantitative manner.

1.4. Image Processing, Handwriting, and Occupation

1.4.i. *Introduction*

The introduction of personal photography in reading rooms has allowed the use of digital tools on handwriting. One of these tools, MatLab, has been used in order to apply measurements to letterforms drawn by those working in the four occupational contexts studied. Central to the use of this method are the questions: how did a scribe's occupational world impact their handwriting, and how can this be quantitatively as well as qualitatively investigated? How does handwriting develop within occupational contexts, and how is an individual scribe in conversation with these contexts? To approach these questions, data is extracted from handwriting using measurements (or 'RegionProps' in MatLab terminology) applied in MatLab, in order to put the qualitative and quantitative worlds of handwriting analysis in conversation.

Image Processing has been applied to historic handwriting in multiple ways; principally to move towards automatized transcription, for the restoration of damaged texts, and for the identification of scribes.[139] 'Image Processing' can

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[139] Peter Stokes, 'Palaeography and Image-Processing: Some Solutions and Problems', *Digital Medievalist* 3. <DOI: http://doi.org/10.16995/dm.15>; Dino Buzzetti, 'Image Processing and the Study of Manuscript Textual Traditions', *Historical Methods*, 28 (1995), 145-154; Y.Liang, M.C. Fairhurst, and R. M. Guest, 'A Synthesised Word Approach to Word Retrieval in Handwritten

be used to describe a range of image manipulation techniques, from the enhancement of an image using editing tools to the use of analytical techniques to measure features of images.[140] The ways in which this method can be applied are vast, and involve a varied level of scientific knowledge. For example, Meg Twycross has used the image manipulation tools on Photoshop in order to make legible damaged sections of early dramatic manuscripts: a simple yet important way in which an image can be enhanced using digital tools.[141] At the other end of the spectrum are analytical methods. The analysis of historic handwriting has been influenced in recent years by developments in the field of forensic handwriting examination, for which the application of Image Processing tools has been essential.[142]

Peter Stokes has deployed Image Processing methods on medieval hands in order to explore how this technique could help identify individual scribes across multiple documents. He used five measures, which focused on Caroline Miniscule and Insular Miniscule scripts: run lengths (horizontal and vertical), autocorrelations, edge-directions, and hinge-directions.[143] He gained some useful results in terms of automatic identification of scribes using these measures, but states that 'even an untrained person would have had little difficulty in

Documents', *Pattern Recognition*, 45 (2012), 4225-4236; Arianna Ciula, 'Digital Palaeography: Using the Digital Representation of Medieval Script to Support Palaeographical Analysis', *Digital Medievalist*, 1. (2005) <DOI: http://doi.org/10.16995/dm.4>; Jayanthi Natarajan, Indu Sreedevi, 'Enhancement of Ancient Manuscript Images by Log Based Binarization Technique', *International Journal of Electronics and Communications*, 75 (2017), 15-22.

[140] Melissa Terras, 'Image Processing in the Digital Humanities', in *Digital Humanities in Practice*, ed. by Claire Warwick, Melissa Terras, and Julianne Nyhan (London: Facet Publishing, 2012), p.71.

[141] Meg Twycross, 'Virtual Restoration and Manuscript Archaeology,' in Greengrass, Mark and Hughes, Lorna (eds.), *The Virtual Representation of the Past* (Burlington and Farnham: Ashgate, 2008).

[142] Fairhurst et al., 'A Synthesised', 4225-4236, Mats Dahllöf, 'Scribe Attribution for Early Medieval Handwriting by Means of Letter Extraction and Classification and a Voting Procedure for Larger Pieces', *22nd International Conference on Pattern Recognition* (2014), 1910-1915.

[143] Stokes, 2008.

classifying any of the samples which have been tested here'.[144] Using the technique to identify hands is problematic when differences can be spotted by eye. Consequently, this thesis looks at a sample of 837 letterforms in total to go beyond what the eye can see by comparing features across occupational groups and individuals, with the aim of identifying writing practices, not scribes. Applying this method to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cursive handwriting can be challenging due to letter-joins and overlapping lines, which can make it difficult to retrieve clear samples of individual letters. As a result, letters have been segmented in a way that includes the leading and finishing strokes of the forms. This thesis also uses an array of measures on sampled letterforms that are different to those that Peter Stokes uses, in order to look beyond the micro-historical study of identifying the likelihood that two hands are the same, and into a broader study of occupation and handwriting. These measurements are described in the 'Measurements Applied' subsection of this chapter, and are repeated in Appendix One for ease of reference.

Within this thesis, the Image Processing method is applied speculatively, in order to try a new approach to understand how individuals used handwriting techniques within the four contexts studied. As such, the intention is not to provide a definitive conclusion about how handwriting is used in early modern England, which would involve building a larger database of examples including hundreds of individuals and words as well as letterforms, but to begin to explore how Image Processing can be deployed to analyse large samples of letterforms. The results displayed show that this method does have promise for comparing handwriting techniques across demographic groups, and future studies might

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[144] Stokes, 2008.

look at geographical area, gender, or educational background, though this thesis focuses on occupational contexts and individuals.

In order to apply the measures using MatLab, I worked with computer scientist and forensic Image Processing specialist Richard Guest, due to the expert knowledge that is needed to work with this software. I completed the sampling and then processed the data into readable forms in order to compare letterforms across occupational groups and apply the data to questions surrounding occupational and scribal identities.

1.4.ii. *Sources, Images, and Samples*

Before the measurements can be applied, sources need to be selected, images taken and then sections sampled for analysis. One of the issues with using hand-held photography in archives is that the same conditions cannot be achieved every time, and as such images are edited to make them of equal resolution before analysis.[145] All of the images used in this experiment take advantage of the manner in which scholars can now take images away from archives. Each of the manuscripts from which letterforms have been sampled, have been selected by the occupation of the scribe. The four types of scribe – corporation clerks, arms-drawers, officeholders, and stewards – all had to achieve a high level of literacy in order to fulfil their role within a corporation or household. Although each would have achieved a similar early education, the way in which their handwriting developed within their working environments would vary depending on the kinds of documents they worked on and their

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[145] Stokes, also did this, but chose to make the minims the same size too in order to eliminate bias due to size of hand. Here we chose to use size of hand as a measure, but took the same size samples (2 pixels squared) in order to create continuity. Stokes, 2008.

audience. The Lydd clerks, for example, not only worked in a closed geographical area, but also an intimate social one, whereas the arms-drawers, although making similar manuscripts to one another, might not come into as close contact due to their geographically disparate nature. The officeholders making personal manuscripts and the stewards within the sample worked within a household context, rather than in a corporation, guild or workshop, and this again would have an impact on the kinds of manuscripts they produced and how they might have gone about making them.

The following experiment compares both majuscule and minuscule letterform samples from digital images of manuscripts in the hands of those working in the four occupational groups studied.[146] In total, 799 letterform samples from the whole (837) have been used for this experiment, and these samples cover majuscules and minuscules for five letters: A, H, L, M and P.[147] These letters were taken and saved with an identifying filename containing metadata about their provenance: what manuscript they were taken from, the letter, capital or lowercase, person attributed to, and date. Forty-eight separate documents, twenty individual hands, and six different genres of manuscript (accounts, correspondence, armorials, commonplace books, diaries and original wills) are represented within the sample. The breakdown of occupations and letterforms can be seen in Table 1.4, with a larger table of all groups and samples contained in Appendix Four.

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[146] Captial and lowercase, hereafter modern terms as well as majuscule and minuscule are used.
[147] See Appendix Four 'Image Processing Data, Tables and Charts' for a breakdown.

Occupation	Uppercase					Lowercase					Total
	A	H	L	M	P	A	H	L	M	P	
Lydd Clerks	23	20	20	9	24	31	31	31	36	34	267
Arms - Drawers	6	5	3	6	2	11	9	9	127	11	189
Officeholders	12	4	7	9	8	21	21	18	32	20	152
Stewards	14	11	15	23	11	20	24	24	28	21	191

Table 1.4. Table showing the samples taken across letterforms and occupations.

The letters A, H, L, M, P have been chosen for their variety, with 'p' featuring a descender, 'h' and 'l' featuring ascenders, and 'm' being made up of minims. 'A' and 'H' are also useful letters to study because their uppercase forms are aesthetically different from their lowercase appearance, thus making them useful to the exploration of capitalisation. Although there are uneven numbers of letterforms sampled across each occupational group, the numbers across all categories are enough to provide a useful comparison. The inequality in the sample numbers produced across categories is due to the nature of the wider project from which this data is collected, where samples of letterforms across many groups have been taken, and can be seen broken down in Appendix Four. This experiment acts as a useful starting point for using the standard MatLab 'Region Props' – defined later – to explore differences between scribes' letterforms on a large scale. Equally, there are difficulties in sampling letterforms from pre-modern manuscripts, principally the issues with gaining a 'clean' letter sample without overlapping lines, something that is especially common in the use of cursive scripts.[148] Consequently, some processing of samples taken using editing software has been applied, before the measurements taken, in order to get an accurate result.

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[148] This is a difficulty often encountered by pre-modernists. See for example, Arianna Ciula, 'Digital Palaeography'.

Before exploring the results of the first experiment of this thesis, which compares handwriting across the four occupational groups studied, the measurements applied are outlined, in order to define the 'RegionProps', or the measurements applied to the letterform samples, and how data is extracted from the forms. Before these measurements are applied, the letter samples are binarised in order to prepare them for data extraction (see Figure 1.3).[149] A full step-by-step breakdown of the process involved in Image Processing as applied to these letterforms can be found in Appendix One.
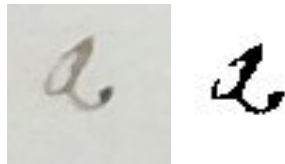
Figure 1.3. John Langley, 'a' sample in colour and black and white, from KHLC, U129/1 E128.

1.4.iii. *Measurements Applied*

The following surmises all of the measurements, or 'Region Props', applied to letterforms, before moving into a discussion of the first experiment. The full list of 'Region Props', including their mathematical definitions, can be found on the MatLab Support website, but definitions of each Region Prop analysed in this thesis are now provided with their mathematical definitions and an explanation that uses non-technical language for humanities scholars.[150]

a. Area

The area measurement is a count of the pixels that make up the letterform. In the binarisation of letters, this is a count of the pixels in the black area. This is a useful measure when thinking about the amount of space a letter inhabits on a

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[149] Binarisation means turning into back and white.
[150] 'Region Props', <https://www.mathworks.com/help/images/ref/regionprops.html>.

page, and for understanding how majuscules might be used to draw attention to certain sections of text, or used within a particular occupational context.

Figure 1.4. Capital letter 'A' sample taken from: BL, MS Egerton 874. The blue line represents the convex area perimeter.

b. Convex Area

This is a count of the number of pixels in the area where the letter is contained. See Figure 1.4 for a visual representation of the area counted. This measurement, when compared with the area category, can measure the thickness of strokes a scribe applies when making letterforms.

c. Eccentricity

This is where an ellipse is drawn around a letter and used as a measure of how thin a letterform is. The measurement is given as a ratio between the height and width of the ellipse. The closer the ratio to 0, the closer to a circle the ellipse is, and the closer to 1, the closer to a single line.

d. Euler Number

This is a measure of the number of objects in an image minus the number of holes in those objects. Figure 1.4 is a single object with one hole, so the Euler number is calculated as: 1-1=0. This is a measure of the form of the letter and should be consistent across a letterform for a single scribe.

e. Extent

A bounding box is a box drawn around a letter to represent the minimum and maximum x and y coordinates. The ratio between the area of a bounding box and the area of the letter within it gives the extent value. As such, this is a measure of

the amount of ink used to create a letter shape: the ratio between the letterform and the bounding box is higher when less ink, or a thinner line, is used.

f. Filled Area

This measurement fills in all of the holes in a letterform and then counts the number of pixels within the whole area. When compared with the area category it can be used to understand the space between strokes and within letters.

g. Major or Minor Axis Length

MatLab defines these as the 'length (in pixels) of the major [or minor] axis of an ellipse that has the same normalised second central moments as the region, returned as a scalar'.[151] When an ellipse is drawn around the letterform then, this measures the longest axis and the shortest axis of the shape. This is useful for comparing the spread of a letterform on the page, and thinking about what visual features might alter this measurement, like cadels and loops.

h. Orientation

MatLab defines this as the 'angle between the x-axis and the major axis of the ellipse that has the same second-moments as the region, returned as a scalar. The value is in degrees, ranging from -90 degrees to 90 degrees'. Below this definition on the MabLab definition page, there is a useful illustration.[152] In other words, this measures the angle to which the letterform slants, with a − value meaning a lean to the left, and a + value meaning a lean to the right.

i. Perimeter

This is a count of the number of pixels around a letterform.

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[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.

j. Solidity

The solidity is calculated by dividing the area of the image by its convex hull. The resulting number is a measure of how solid the shape is, or how dense the ink appears within a letterform shape.

Not all of these measurements are discussed in the results of every experiment written up within this thesis, only those that tell the most information about the similarities and differences between the handwriting of scribes and the impact of occupational environments. The first experiment compared results between occupational groups to answer the question: does occupational context have an impact on handwriting? The most useful measures to answer this question are the results for area, major axis length, minor axis length, extent, solidity and orientation. The results of these measurements are analysed and results are followed by a wider discussion section in which these results are placed in the context of occupational manuscript-making, in order to think through the similarities and differences which emerge.

1.4.iiii. *Results*

How do Occupational Contexts Impact Handwriting Features?

The following results explore the similarities and differences that appear in letterforms studied across the four occupational contexts. The median and mean values are presented for each Region Prop. The use of both the median and the mean values is so that outliers and anomalies that might skew the mean result – presenting a larger difference between occupations and writing styles than the

reality – can be identified and discussed. Each chart represents the comparison of the four occupational groups introduced in this chapter. The question applied to the data to gain the following results is always: how does occupational context impact handwriting features?

When analysing the results, it seems that there are marked differences between scribes working in certain occupations and their letterforms. In the area category, where the pixels that make up the letterforms are counted, it seems that the Lydd clerks' letterforms 'h', 'l' and 'p' are larger than those from other occupations (see Chart 1.1 and Chart 1.2).
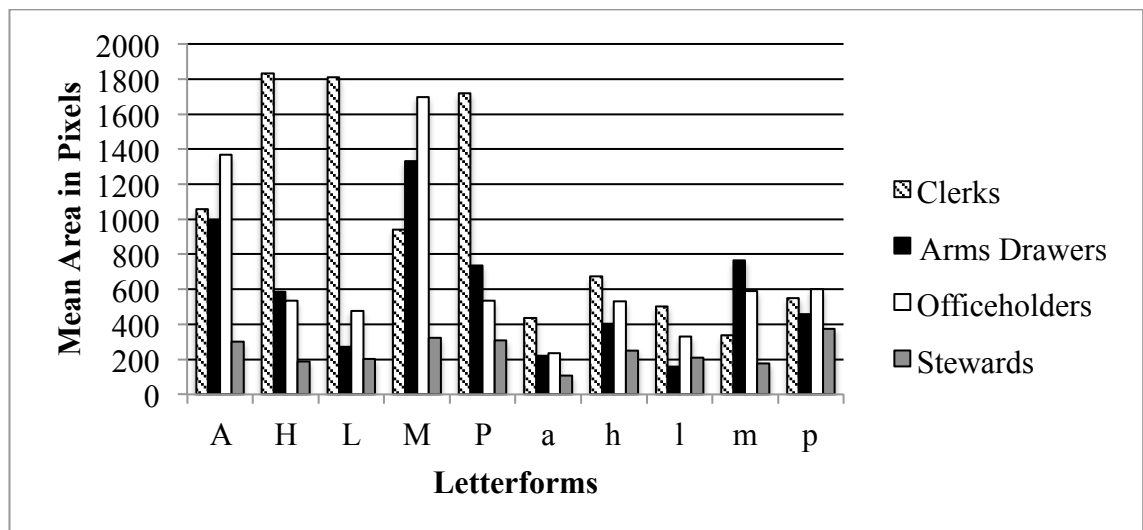
Chart 1.1. Mean Areas of Letterforms Across Occupations.
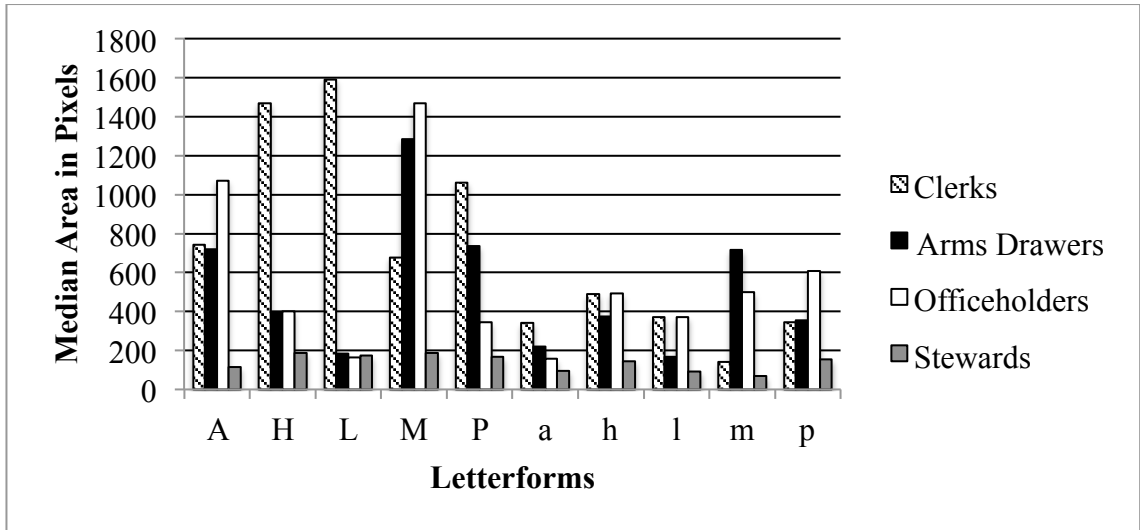
Chart 1.2. Median Areas of Letterforms Across Occupations.

The median and mean values are similar for the majority of letters, suggesting that any outliers have not skewed the overall results. The most exaggerated result for the Lydd clerks is for the letter 'L' and this is important due to the geographical area in which these clerks work. For the Lydd Corporation documents, often the 'L' of Lydd, placed at the beginning of each year's chamberlain accounts, is large and decorative, clearly denoting the town these accounts pertain to.
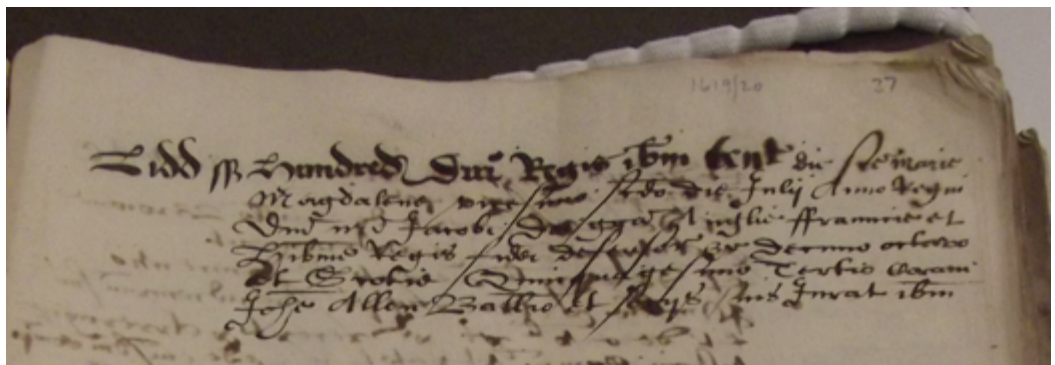
Figure 1.5. Lydd Chamberlain Accounts 1619/20, KHLC, LY/2/1/1/8, fol.27[r].

In Figure 1.5's example, 'Lydd' is separated from the rest of the introductory material to the accounts, with the 'L' including a loop embellishment, and a mixture of the thin end and the wide edge of the quill to

produce the letter. This kind of practice across documents would contribute to an 'L' sample with a high area value. Andrew Butcher has discussed the practice of emphasising significant capitals in corporation documents in a qualitative manner in his study of Hythe.[153] However, it is interesting to see how the use of decorative capitals in a consistent manner across documents can have such an impact on the quantitative results. Due to the number of samples of this capital for the Lydd clerks, and the way in which the capital 'L's are so exaggerated, this letter can be seen as a significant material marker of a clerk's geographical and corporation identity. In drawing attention to the place in which the document has been produced, the clerk expresses an intimate connection to their social environment, as well as a link to their predecessors from whom they continue the practice of decorative capitalisation.

The practice of emphasising capital letters is used for other letterforms like 'H' and 'P' too (in Figure 1.5) and this demonstrates how the use of different sides of a pen, as well as an exaggerated size of letterform could contribute to the separation and emphasis of a section of text within a document. The standard deviation for all capital letters within the clerk sample is very high compared with that for the other three occupational contexts, and this suggests that there is variation in the way capital letters are executed by clerks. The variation with which these letters are executed could be due to the difference between using a capital letter in a title or for emphasis, or it could be due to individualisation of text through capitalisation. Here, then, the capital letters within the sample can suggest scribal innovation through their decoration or exaggeration. This high standard deviation is also the case (though not to the same degree) for the arms

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[153] Andrew Butcher, 'The functions of script in the speech community of a late medieval town 1300-1500' in *The uses of script and print 1300-1700*, ed. By Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

drawer and officeholder samples, again suggesting the use of emphasis and innovation in the writing of majuscules.

The standard deviation for the steward sample for the area of capital letters is not as high as in the other three groups, and this is interesting because it suggests continuity between stewards in their handwriting. This is perhaps symptomatic of their manuscript production, where stewards tend to be working in an intimate household context, and so are not as likely to be making presentation copies of documents – instead using clerks or scriveners for this kind of work.[154] The samples for this group of scribes have principally been taken from correspondence to their employer. These letters would not demand elaborate presentation, as stewards would be more concerned with the contents, and legibility and speed at which a letter could be written. Such concerns may be more pressing to them than innovation in handwriting.[155]

The lowercase letters' area measurements demonstrate less variation between occupations than for the capital letterforms. When a One-Way ANOVA is applied to the data for the lowercase letters, comparing the means of each area, and measuring the significant differences (using Levene's test of equality of variances where the mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level), statistically only the lowercase letter 'a' measurements for area between occupations are significantly different. This suggests that the continuity between each occupation in the way this letter takes up space is particularly marked. When comparing this to other letters, particularly lower-case letter 'h' where the median value for three

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[154] See, for example, Henry Rose steward to Sir Thomas Temple at Burton Dasset who uses clerk William Harte for legal documents, due to his better hand. e.g. Inventory at the HL, STT CL&I Box I.

[155] Letter-writing was routine for stewards. Felicity Maxwell writes that 'service' is 'inseparable from epistolarity'. Felicity Maxwell, *Household Words: Textualising Social Relations in the Correspondence of Bess of Hardwick's Servants, c. 1550-1590* (Glasgow, Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2014), p.79.

of the occupations (stewards, officeholders and town clerks) is the same, it seems that lowercase letter 'a' might be a useful letter to use for investigating qualities of script size.

Equally, when looking across the median and mean results, in terms of consistency across letterforms, officeholders demonstrate the most even profile across lowercase letterforms. This consistency in terms of letter size could be due to the kinds of manuscripts sampled. Letterforms sampled for officeholders are largely from lengthy texts taken from manuscripts compiled within a household context for personal perusal. Consequently, unlike the clerks and arms-drawers – who would be working from expected legal and aesthetic forms in their manuscript presentation – these officeholders would be working for a different purpose: to compile material for a smaller audience of friends and family. As such, clerks and arms-drawers in particular, made a variety of manuscripts for varying audiences, and this diversity demanded an adaptable hand that could transform depending on the kind of manuscript that was being made – whether a draft account or fair copy, for example. Consequently, the larger distinction between letterforms that is statistically indicated for these two groups is in line with the varied ways in which their hands were put to use.

When looking at the other Region Props, more differences and similarities between occupational groups of scribes emerge. For the measurement for Major Axis Length and Minor Axis Length, an interesting parallel between arms-drawers' and stewards' letterforms emerges.
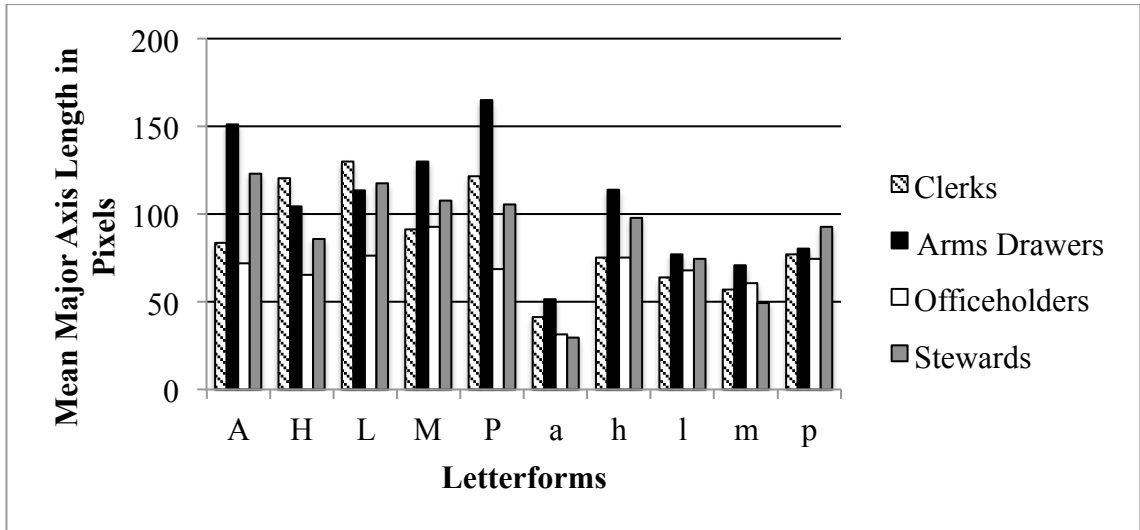
Chart 1.3. Mean Major Axis Length for Each Letterform in Pixels.
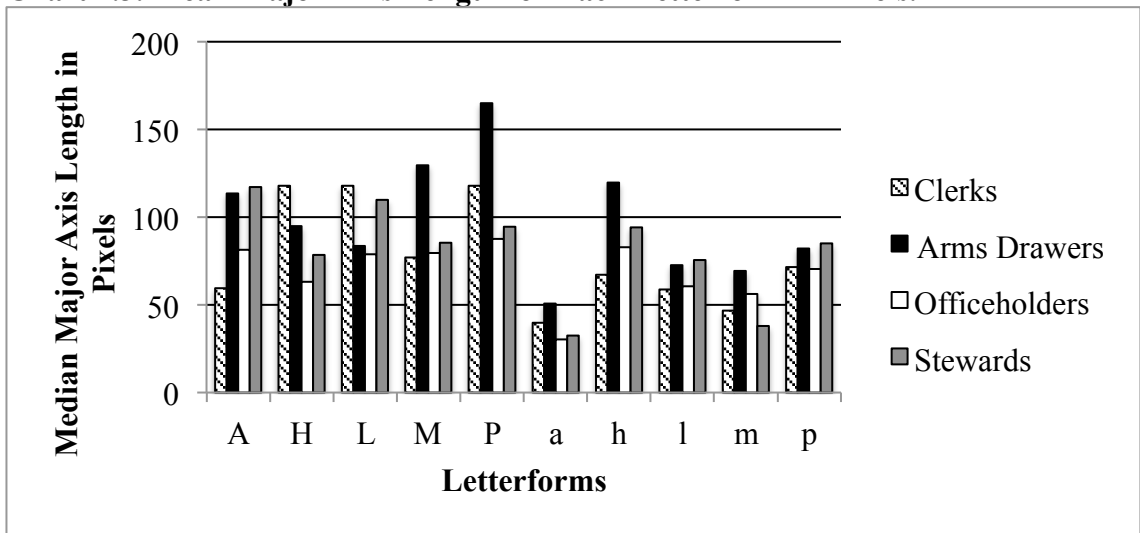
Chart 1.4. Median Major Axis Length for Each Letterform in Pixels.
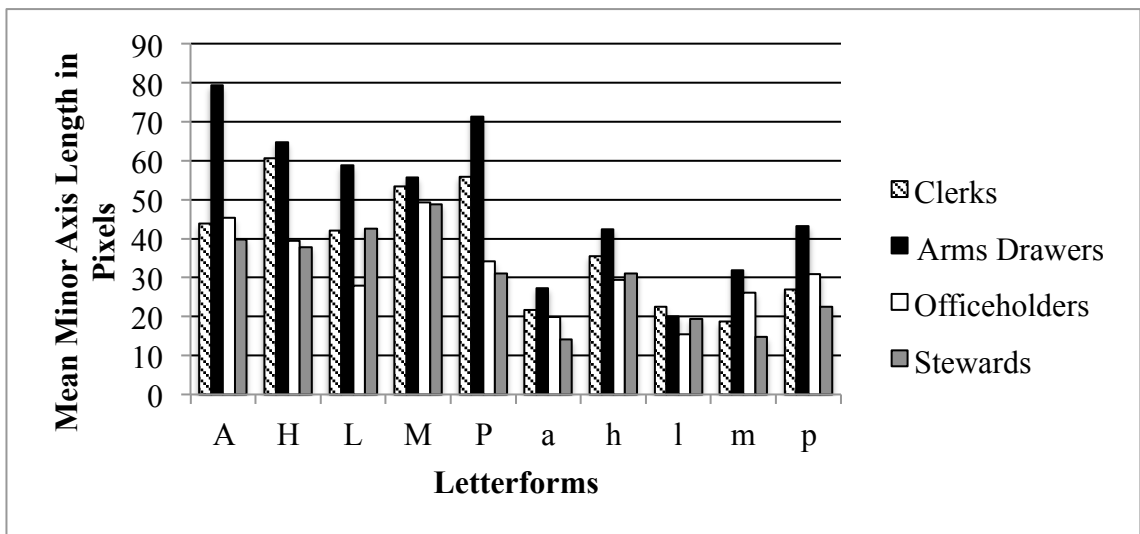
Chart 1.5. Mean Minor Axis Length for Each Letterform in Pixels.
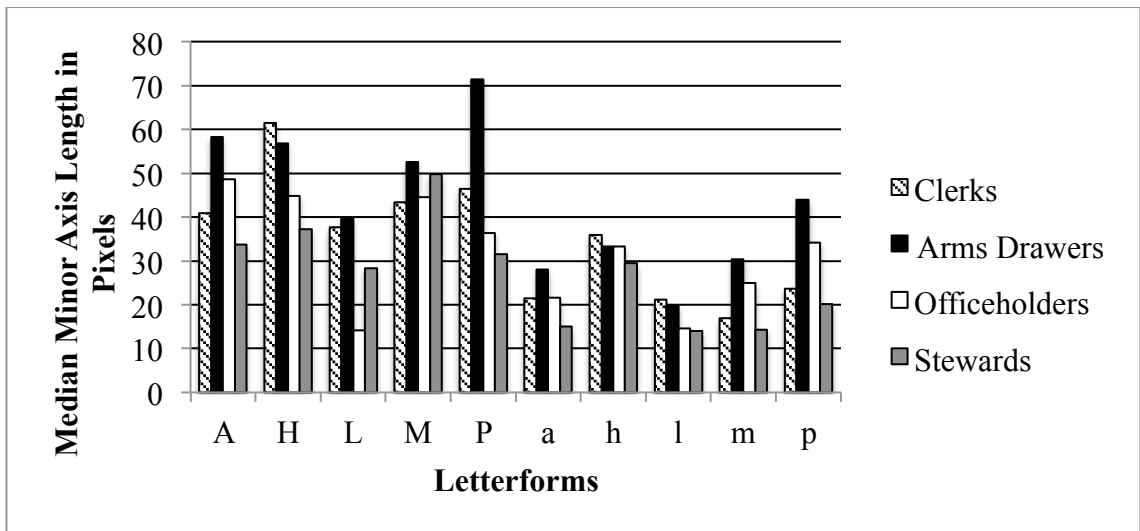
Chart 1.6. Median Minor Axis Length for Each Letterform in Pixels.

The major axis length measurements for the means and medians are similar across all categories, suggesting that there are no anomalies that skew the results. Arms-drawers, and, at points, stewards have the highest result for major axis length. This means that the longest lengths within these letters are on the whole bigger than those of the clerks and officeholders. The major axis length is a particularly useful measure of the elongation of ascenders and descenders, and so a higher value in this category suggests the use of these extended forms within certain occupations. The officeholders' sample displays shorter measurements, particularly in the use of capital letters than the other occupations, and this does imply that they are using capital letters in a different way from the scribes working in the other three contexts. This is interesting because the officeholders' manuscripts, studied for Chapter Four, were made in a domestic context, kept in their homes and used by their immediate social circle. A high major axis length appears for scribes working in contexts where the manuscripts are being made for an elite audience – the household stewards and the arms-drawers. This suggests that there may have been an aesthetic trend to handwriting in these

contexts that included elongated letters, and that this quality is something that scribes working within these contexts internalised.

When comparing the results for Minor Axis Length, the measurement again comes up largest for the stewards and arms-drawers across the majority of upper and lowercase letterforms. Since this trend does not pervade into the area measurements, it seems that although scribes working as stewards and arms-drawers do not have letterforms with a particularly large overall area, they do take up more space upon a page overall, with wider and longer letters. This kind of difference could be formed through the kinds of quills these scribes were using in comparison to the officeholders and clerks. Using a thin-tipped pen could mean that the overall area would be small, whilst enabling the major and minor axis length values to be high, with thinner pen strokes creating a smaller overall area. In comparing the major and minor axis length measurements, then, qualitative readings about a scribe's use of a quill can be drawn, with stewards and arms-drawers using a slightly thinner nib than officeholders and clerks. In the following chapters, quill-type is an important indicator of social context, with scribes working in similar contexts using similar kinds of quills to write.

The results for the axis lengths demonstrate a slight difference in the profile of letters in middling administrative contexts in comparison to elite manuscript-making environments. Lowercase letters are longer and wider for arms-drawers and stewards who are, for the most part, making manuscripts for the consumption of an elite audience. Shorter and squatter lowercase letters emerge for those clerks and officeholders working in middling administrative contexts. Although the sample has only been taken across a small number of occupational groups, it seems that the manner in which handwriting techniques

have been transferred within these four contexts differs. This transmission is physical and material, a kind of artisanal communication between those working within the same occupational contexts. It is also interesting that some of these scribes might work between two contexts. For example, William Hill, steward at Lionel Cranfield's Forthampton estate, acted simultaneously as town clerk of Tewkesbury, providing a good example of a scribe working between elite and middling contexts of writing.[156] Future studies could explore scribes working in these complex mixed contexts.

The next result that demonstrates interesting differences is the extent category, which measures the ratio of letter pixels to pixels in the bounding box around the letter.
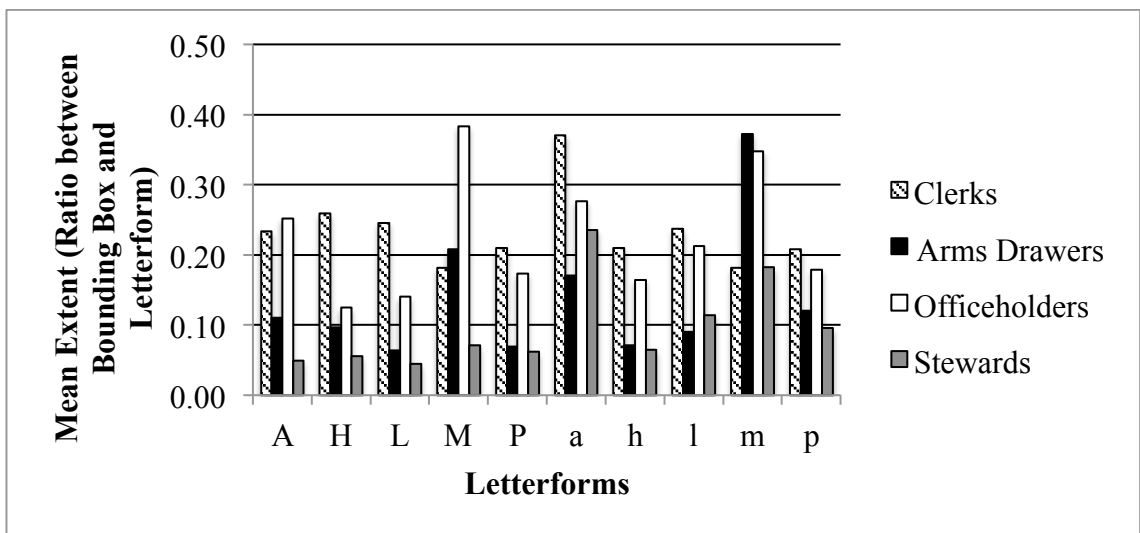
Chart 1.7. Mean Extent for Letterforms Across Occupations.

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[156] See correspondence for William Hill, KHLC, U269/1/E175. See May and Marotti, *Ink, Stink,* for another example of a scribe working across contexts.
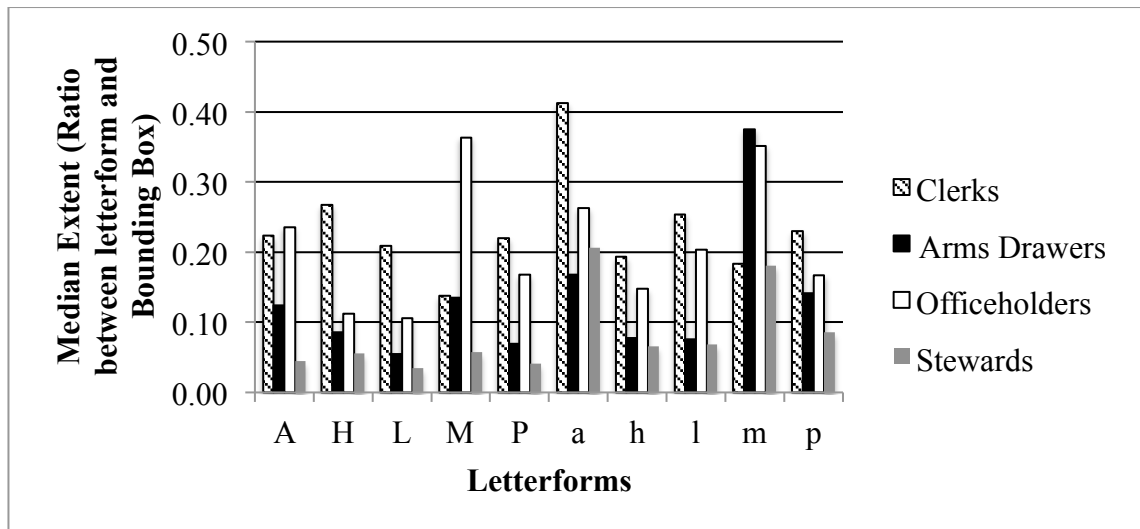
Chart 1.8. Median Extent for Letterforms Across Occupations.

For the majority of letters, clerks and officeholders demonstrate a far higher extent value than the arms-drawers' and stewards' categories, with lowercase letter 'm' being the exception. This suggests that there are more background pixels (paper) within the bounding box around a letter for the samples made for the clerks and officeholders. On the whole, it appears that the samples taken for these two occupational groups use far less ink to write than those taken for the stewards' and arms-drawers' samples. When this finding is compared with the Major and Minor Axis Length measurements and Area, the Extent value suggests that clerks are more economical with the use of ink. This economising could be linked to the context in which they are writing, where they are working quickly and so might not need to stop as frequently to refill a pen. Equally, the making of squat cursive letterforms, rather than long italicised forms, would entail the use of less ink. The use of the extent measurement, then, is a useful measure to reveal subtle differences in occupational writing practices across a large sample that are difficult to access with the eye.

When comparing the extent values to the overall solidity results across occupations (the density of the ink as it appears on the folio), the economising of

clerks and officeholders is reinforced. Although clerks and officeholders are producing small, squat letterforms, they are also producing the most solid letterforms, or those with the densest ink concentration.
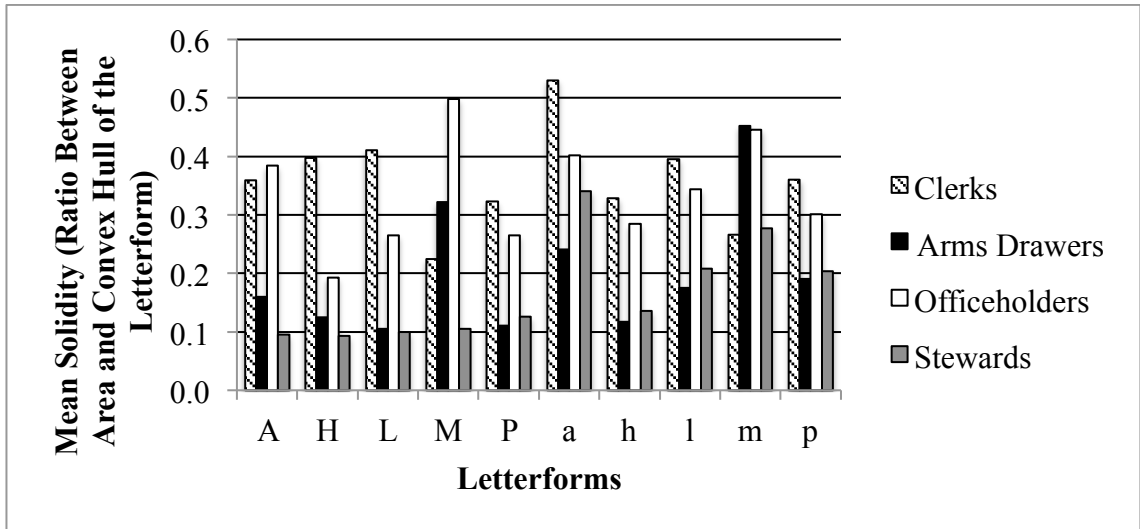
Chart 1.9. Mean Solidity for Letterforms Across Occupations.
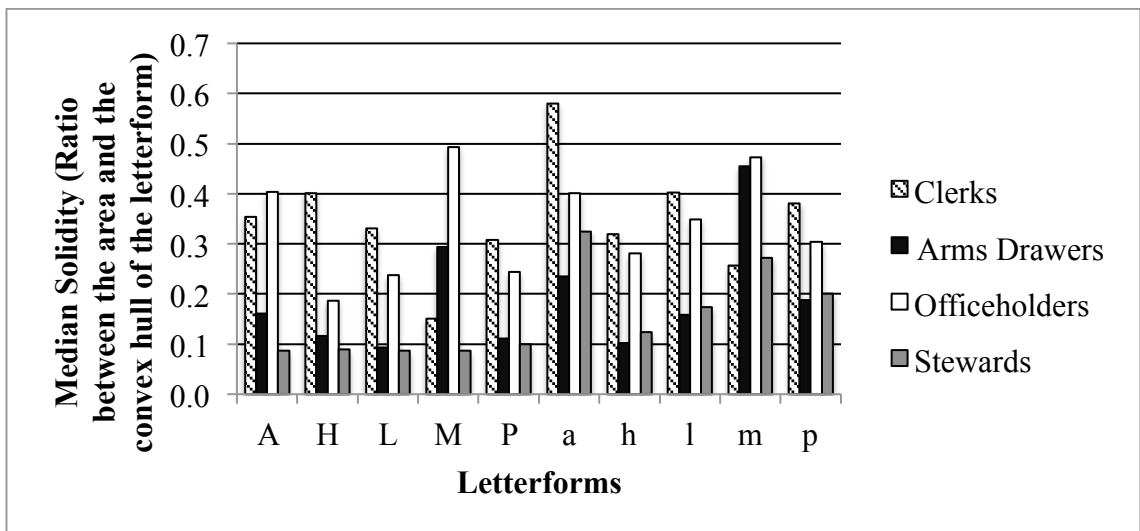
Chart 1.10. Median Solidity for Letterforms Across Occupations

The only exception to this is, again, the letter 'm' in both upper and lowercase forms, where arms-drawers are also coming out with high values. But for clerks and arms-drawers this result seems to relate to their script style, where, in the production of small, squat letters, they create a denser ink line leading to a higher solidity measurement. Indeed, the sample across the board for clerks is so high,

that it comes across as an aesthetic preference for the scribes working in Lydd at this time. Again, the kind of handwriting used within each of these occupational contexts could result in the higher density of ink apparent in the officeholders' and clerks' manuscripts. For example, the manuscripts studied in Chapter Four often come in small formats, being octavo booklets of between 155mm by 205mm in height and 100mm by 115mm in length.[157] Often, lots of writing is fitted into this small space on each folio, and as a result the handwriting can appear cramped. The use of space could contribute to a higher ink density, caused by smaller letterforms that are closer together. Conversely, stewards and arms-drawers tend to be liberal with their paper use, clearly leaving blank space on folios, which would give them more space over which they might spread ink across a page.

The final Region Prop measurement demonstrating significant differences between occupational groups is orientation, and this measures the angle, in degrees, to which a letter slopes.
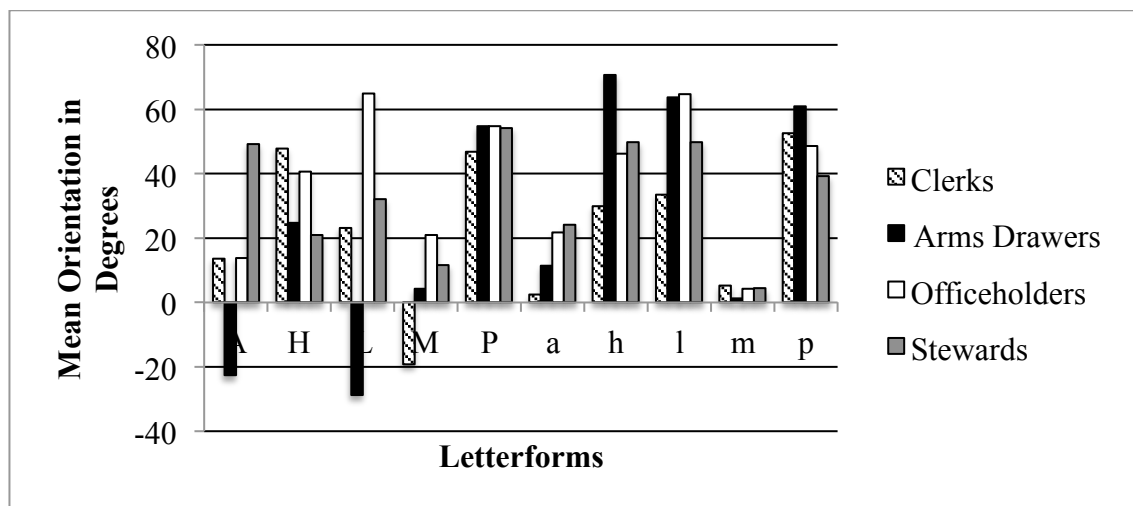
Chart 1.11 Mean Orientation Across Occupations and Letterforms in Degrees.

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[157] Daybell, *Material,* p.34. Here Daybell estimates the standard size of pot paper was 400mm x 310mm.
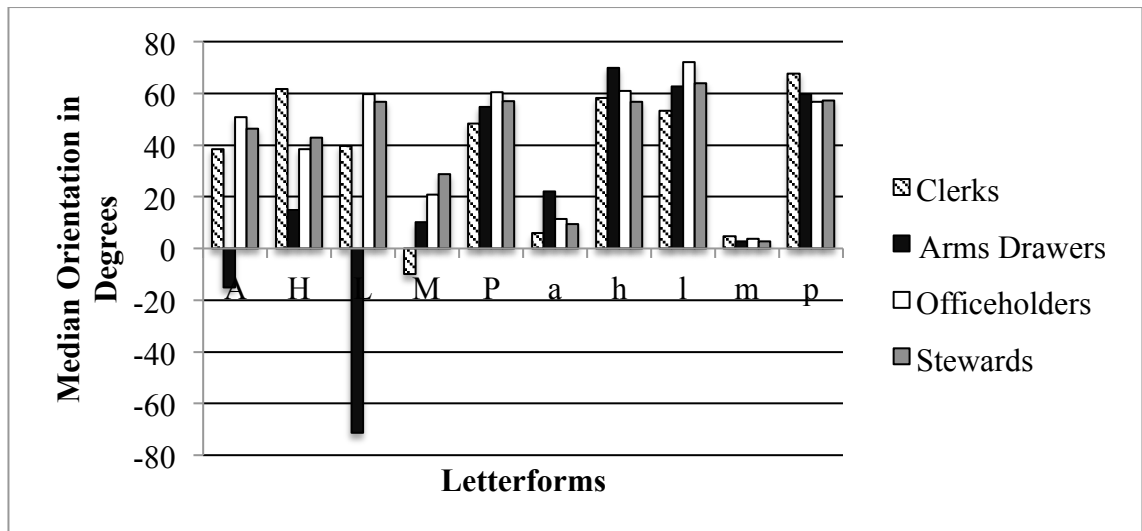
Chart 1.12. Median Orientation Across Occupations and Letterforms in Degrees

For Orientation, the letters holding an ascender or descender tend to present the most exaggerated slope to the left or right ('H', 'L' and 'P'), due to a scribe's ability to pull the line to change the ascender's or descender's relationship with the mid-line. The most common slope is also to the right. This is in line with the use of a quill and ink. When in the right hand, a quill would be easier to angle in a manner to create the right-leaning letter – in comparison to a left-leaning one – because the scribe would likely complete the lines to the left of the letter first, moving gradually right so as not to smudge the ink as they make their way along the page. Malcolm Parkes also defines a slope in handwriting as being characteristic of: '(a) when a scribe was writing rapidly letters could develop a slope from top right to bottom left; (b) letters sloping from top left to bottom right are indicative of the angle of the page on a desk'.[158] This is plausible, accounting perhaps for the severely left-leaning capitals for arms-drawers, who, due to their drawing as well as writing, might be more likely to move the page, and utilise more of the available angles for writing. However, it

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[158] Malcolm Parkes, *Their Hands*, p.154.

is also a problematic definition when looking at the results, because although some of the capital letters in the arms drawing samples are left-leaning, most of the lowercase letters slope to the right. Although this is similar for all the occupations sampled, arms-drawers tend to come out at the higher end of the scale in terms of right-leaning letters. This is interesting, because it would be unlikely that an arms-drawer would be writing faster than, for example, a corporation clerk due to the fact that they are making presentation manuscripts for an elite market. Therefore, although a right lean *can* be influenced by speed of writing, it is probably not the only reason a scribe's hand might lean to the right. The extent to which they do so might be more to do with the aesthetic expectations upon handwriting within their occupational environments. Another aspect to remark about the variation displayed across most of the capital letterforms for the orientation measurement in Charts 1.11 and 1.12 is that in the drawing of capital letters in comparison to the lowercase forms there is room for scribes to innovate. This might be done through the addition of cadels and flourishes, or the changing of the letter's angle.

1.4.v. *Discussion*

To summarise, from these results it is clear that using an Image Processing method of applying Region Props to measure features of letterform samples can enable scholars to compare features of scribes' handwriting on a large scale. Key differences in area emerge in relation to the social context in which manuscripts are produced, with the Lydd clerk's decorative 'L' at the start of documents being expressed within the data, for example. Indeed, across categories, capital letters can be seen as markers of occupational practice, with

the stewards' and arms-drawers' samples for major and minor axis lengths being higher than that for the clerks and officeholders. This result expresses a difference in the manner in which stewards and arms-drawers create letterforms using thinner pen strokes that create wider and taller letters. This comparison would not be possible by eye, since measuring aspects such as ink distribution across such a large number of letterforms with any precision would be very difficult. An Image Processing approach, in this sense, has enabled us to take a closer look at the generation of letterforms by scribes working in different contexts.

The solidity and extent results are particularly useful for exploring the materiality of the substance used on the page. It is interesting that the clerks and officeholders, although using less ink to write than the stewards and arms-drawers in the sample, also created denser ink distribution on a page. This suggests that in using a pen to make smaller letters, the ink distributes differently on the page, making less ink go further. The differences could also relate to the kind of ink being made or purchased by the scribe – for we know that although many bought ink, recipes involving varied ingredients were circulated in printed books and manuscripts. It is also clear that some scribes used local ingredients within their ink, with Thomas Davis, an office-holding yeoman in Somerset who used wort he brewed himself to make ink.[159] In future, it would be useful to approach ink with other kinds of colour analysis using images taken under controlled conditions, or use other methods – like merging practice-based forms of experimentation with digital approaches – in order to explore exactly how ink varies by geographical location or occupational context.

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[159] BL, MS Lansdowne 674. See Chapter Four for a discussion of this manuscript.

One of the key aspects of handwriting that emerges in this experiment is the impact of education on practice. Many of the lowercase features, particularly area, major and minor axis lengths, and orientation are similar across all occupations. This finding indicates the impact of the expected standards of script that scribes were taught, and which they followed in order to communicate clearly. This statistically reinforces Malcolm Parkes' suggestion that a scribe would try to follow a mental script 'model' whilst writing, something that Peter Stokes also agrees with.[160] If this is the case, then there was a degree of continuity between different modes of education that meant scribes would internalise shapes of letters in certain styles in order to fit within social expectations of how a hand should look.[161] Within this framework of expectation in style and forms of script, however, there is clearly room for improvisation when a scribe enters an occupational context. This is expressed in the results, particularly for capital letters. In the orientation category, this can be seen with the 'A' and 'L' of arms-drawers' capital letterforms orientating in a different direction to the other letters, and in the case of the Lydd clerks' 'L' in the area category. These occupational 'quirks' in handwriting represent the influence of a scribe's immediate working environment on their practices. An example of this emerges in the case of the Lydd clerks, for whom 'L' may have been an established engrossed letter within documents made for the corporation.

In conclusion, analysing script using quantitative methods alongside qualitative information has great potential for understanding more about the transference and learning of handwriting, how scripts might change over time, and how innovative practices might develop within occupational contexts. The

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[160] Stokes, 2008; and Malcolm Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands 1250-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p.xxvi.
[161] Perhaps, in this way, this reinforces Goldberg's argument about the 'socialisation' of the hand.

merging of the quantitative with the qualitative is essential to our wider understanding of the transmission of manuscript practices of the period. It also provides an avenue for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century scripts to be given the same detailed attention as their medieval predecessors. Ink, pens and their material traces can tell us much about the mind of the scribe and their decisions about handwriting. A programme like MatLab can read the differences in letterforms and pick up on nuances in their shape, and digital forensic handwriting techniques in this sense demonstrate a lot of potential, not only in terms of achieving automatic transcription, but also in enabling the analysis of handwriting between contexts. Subsequent experiments within this thesis start to unpick how individuals write within their occupational contexts, and there is a case study included in each chapter, which explores how an individual's scribal identity communicates with and innovates within a wider context of manuscript-making. Scribal innovation is set against an occupational identity forged through handwriting that sees scribes working in similar contexts using comparable quills, letter sizes, and scripts.

1.5. Argument and Methods Summary

This introduction has laid out a material, textual, and digital approach to manuscripts made by scribes who write for a living in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This combined approach is used throughout, in order to interpret scribal practice, and understand how the spaces in which a scribe works and the materials they use to write with shape their practice. The central argument of this thesis is that a consideration of working scribes' document-

producing practices is essential to our understanding of early modern textual culture, due to the prolific way in which they write and engage with text.

Scribes are shown in each chapter to be embedded within a social and material context, where they must negotiate with the people and materials they encounter. Consequently, not only is their craft verbal – in the sense scribes are making documents for the purpose of communication – but it is also artisanal. These scribes hold what has been discussed in this chapter as 'artisanal literacy', after Pamela Smith, or 'personal knowledge', after Tim Ingold – a manner of 'telling' that is non-verbal and rests on their negotiation between their hands and the materials of manuscript-making. A scribe's technical skill is expressed within the material traces they leave, touches which are used as evidence for how scribes negotiate their spaces of writing, document use, and making. Alongside a qualitative approach to these traces I also use a quantitative one, in order to generate a sense of patterns of material practice. This approach has been laid out and seen in this chapter through the analysis of paper, and the Image Processing experiment on handwriting and occupation, in particular. These patterns of practices are compared with the work of individual scribes in order to gain a sense of how practices evoke occupational or scribal identities.

The methods for approaching manuscript-making practices introduced in this chapter are brought into specific contexts, and applied to examples within each of the subsequent chapters. Scribes are imagined embedded within their occupational worlds, but also within their familial and social contexts, in order to consider them as rounded individuals, not disembodied hands. Essentially, this thesis seeks to explore how patterns of practices, individual and occupational, are entwined, and how scribes writing for a living negotiate their environments and

materials of work. All four contexts, seen in subsequent chapters, have much in common in terms of their practices, but each have their own hierarchical structures of work, demands on document production, and access to materials and skills which make them ripe for comparison and for close investigation. In its approach and subject matter, this thesis contributes a new scribally and occupationally focussed approach to early modern manuscript-making in the material texts field.

Arms-Drawing

2.1. Introduction

Figure 2.1. CCAL, CCA-LitMS/A/14, fol.107^r. Reproduced with permission rom Canterbury Cathedral Archives (and all images of this MS hereafter).

This chapter focuses on arms-drawing and the manuscript-making practices of heraldry. At its centre is CCA-LitMS/A/14, or 'Burch's Book of

Drawings', a folio from which is displayed in Figure 2.1.[1] CCA-LitMS/A/14 is an encyclopaedic manuscript principally compiled by scribe William Burch alias Ellis. Stretching to 165 folios, it contains diverse antiquarian images and texts. Figure 2.1 displays the kind of antiquarian imagery used in this manuscript. Roman and Greek medallions are copied into the two central columns surrounded by coats of arms of European nobility.[2] Here, Burch displays his skill at rendering heraldry and at copying and compiling antiquities, expertise that he developed at the King's Bench prison under the employment of John Nettleton, an elite prisoner and scholar. The fact that William Burch is named within this manuscript at all is remarkable, because many antiquarian compilations do not acknowledge their scribes.[3] Knowing Burch's name, and some biographical information about him, means that his individual experience as an arms-drawer can be explored.[4]

This chapter begins by outlining the background to the making of heraldry in England during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, situating Burch within this context. It then turns to arms-drawers' manuscripts more broadly to investigate the practices, materials, and tools that go into their making. Its aim is to explore the techniques used in the production of heraldic manuscripts in order to characterise arms-drawing as a practice, and to place William Burch within this framework.

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[1] CCAL, Lit-MS/A/14. Many thanks to Cressida Williams head of Canterbury Cathedral Archives and Library for allowing high quality digital images of this manuscript to be taken.
[2] CCAL, Lit-MS/A/14, fol.107ʳ.
[3] Woudhuysen gives the example of Sir Peter Manwood, a Kentish antiquarian, as being one of the only antiquarians to identify his scribes. Woudhuysen, pp.130 and 133.
[4] 'Arms-drawing' is used to describe heraldic drawing and the drawing of coats of arms in this chapter. It is used in sixteenth and seventeenth century manuscripts, and by Burch to describe the craft. CCAL, CCA-LitMS/A/14, fol.16ʳ.

Heraldic miscellanies (made by individuals not working for the College of Arms) and heralds' manuscripts are often made for the delineation of genealogies, for marking ceremonies, or for institutional displays.[5] Often, coats of arms are ordered by rank, and achievements can be drawn and coloured, or sketched.[6] Many heraldic manuscripts also contain a range of other antiquarian contents like coins, seals, historical writing, and copied images from other manuscripts or printed texts.[7] Heraldry is associated with the gentry, and with institutions such as livery companies and corporations. Coats of arms were granted to individuals by the College of Arms, which remains the regulatory body.[8] Displaying a coat of arms in a space – upon walls, on objects, bindings, and in manuscripts, or temporarily on ceremonial regalia – branded and associated a place or ceremony with a certain individual. It was through this display that a coat of arms signified these individuals' ownership of spaces and inherited right to govern. Arms-drawers' skills, then, would be sought after in the generation of heraldic art for spaces, ceremonies, and manuscripts. John Nettleton would have employed William Burch due to his developing expertise at this craft.

Although some scholars have begun to unpick the individuals and crafts behind these heraldic displays, the means of their creation has been neglected.[9]

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[5] For a background to heraldry see: Stephen Friar, *Heraldry: For the Local Historian and Genealogist* (Stroud: Sutton, 1992); and A.C Fox Davis, *Complete Guide to Heraldry* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1951).

[6] For another definition of these features see 'armorials', *DEMT*.

[7] Outside of the Burch manuscript these include manuscripts such as: HL, EL 20/E/14; John Philpot's workbook BL, MS Harley 2917; and Ralphe Starkey's manuscripts BL, Add MS 39851 and HL, EL 35/B/50.

[8] Friar, *Heraldry*, p.3. Here Friar explains the military origins of heraldry, which transferred into 'marking territory'.

[9] For more on herald painting see: Robert Tittler, *Portraits, Painters and Publics in Provincial England* (Oxford: Oxford University press, 2012), pp.102-125; Robert Tittler, 'Early Stuart Chester as a Centre for Regional Portraiture,' *Urban History*, 41 (2014), 3-21; Robert Tittler and Anne Thackray, 'Print Collecting in Provincial England Prior to 1650: The Randle Holmes

Elizabeth Goldring argues that this is for three reasons: the opinion that these images demonstrate a 'lack of artistic skill', that many examples of this kind of painting 'no longer survive', and because of the subject's 'vastness', in the sense that it took so many forms in books, art, and architecture.[10] Tara Hamling also comments on the immense range of the subject, which, due to 'standards of assessment' in art 'formalised in the eighteenth century', has led scholars to primarily focus on 'works of art considered to be technically or historically exceptional'.[11] In other words, heraldry is replicated across so much of early modern visual culture that it has not been perceived as special enough to warrant attention as a craft.[12] In manuscript studies, the sheer number, scope, and diversity of these heraldic books that so frequently appear within archives have yet to be realised, utilised, and understood. Numerous scribes (professional and amateur) were clearly engaged in the culture of arms-drawing, disseminating heraldic images across manuscripts. As a result, this chapter focuses specifically on arms-drawers engaged in making miscellanies containing various types of heraldry, rather than architectural renderings, though it acknowledges dialogue between different mediums.

Album,' *The British Art Journal*, 9:2 (2008), 3-10; Jim Murrell, 'John Guillim's Book: A Heraldic Painter's "Vade Mecum"', *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, 57 (1993/1994), 1-51; Ann Payne, 'Sir Thomas Wriothesley and his Heraldic Artists,' *Illuminating the Book: Makers and Interpreters, Essays in Honour of Janet Backhouse*, ed. by Michelle P. Brown and Scott McKendrick (London: The British Library, 1998), pp.143-161; David Carlson, 'The Writings and Manuscript Collections of the Elizabethan Alchemist, Antiquary, and Herald Francis Thynne,' *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 52 (1989), 203-272; Tarnya Cooper, Aviva Burnstock, Maurice Howard and Edward Town (eds.), *Painting in Britain 1500-1630: Production, Influences and Patronage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); and Hamling, 'Visual Culture,' pp.75-102.
[10] See Elizabeth Goldring, 'Heraldic Drawing and Painting in Early Modern England', in *Painting in Britain 1500-1630*, pp.262-278 (p.262).
[11] See Hamling, 'Visual Culture', p.90.
[12] See also, Torsten Hiltmann, 'Arms and Art in the Middle Ages: Approaching the Social and Cultural Impact of Heraldry by its Artisans', *Heraldic Artists and Painters in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times*, vol.1, ed. by Torsten Hiltmann and Laurent Hablot (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2018), pp.11-23. He argues that heraldry is not a marginal art, as it has often been perceived but 'a widespread means of communication', p.12.

There were several kinds of scribes making manuscripts with heraldry during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: heralds, who needed to be able to research and verify arms as well as render them for their work; scriveners or highly skilled penmen; and interested amateurs, who copied arms into their manuscripts.[13] So ubiquitous is heraldry that every one of the subsequent chapters in this thesis engages with it on some level. Chapter Three begins with the Lydd Corporation paying herald John Philipot 86 shillings for a visitation, a gratuity, and a fee for entering their seal into his book of heraldry. Lionel Cranfield's steward in Chapter Five records a payment to the same John Philipot alongside Philip Holland for the rendering of coats of the King's arms for £14.[14] William Whiteway, in Chapter Four, draws coats of arms into his diary and commonplace book.[15] These examples mark arms-drawing as a commercial craft, where large sums of money could be paid to heralds – and their unofficial counterparts (scriveners and arms-drawers) – for the rendering of heraldry.

The commercial aspect of arms-drawing created competition between craftsmen and institutions engaged in rendering arms. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there were frequent debates between the College of Arms and the Painter-Stainers' Company over who had the authority to draw arms. All of these institutions relied on the making of heraldry as a large part of their work during this period, making arms-drawing a competitive craft.[16] In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the decline in the use of heraldry for military purposes gave rise to a new fashion for branding space with heraldic

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[13] Woudhuysen writes of herald's needing skill at painting in *Sir Philip*, p.120. Scriveners are not often recognised or named for their work, which makes them difficult to spot, though William Burch is probably trained as a scrivener when he makes CCA-Lit/MS/A/14 and this is discussed later in the chapter.
[14] KHLC, U269/1 AB4, fol.15[r].
[15] BL MS Egerton 784, fol.1[v]; and CUL, MS.Dd.73.11, fols 2[r] and 146[r].
[16] Goldring, pp.262-278.

decoration in homes, churches, and institutions. Many aspirant middling sorts, as well as the nobility, had arms made for them and placed about their houses and in portraits.[17] This trend made heraldry a desirable mark for anyone wishing to display their social and economic power, and created work for craftspeople like painters, plasterers, and carpenters who realised these images across material mediums.

However, whilst arms-drawing became one of the most lucrative business ventures for painter-stainers, it also created anxiety within the College of Arms, the administrative body authorised by the royal court to make sure those bearing arms were from legitimate lineages. In an environment where arms were so readily being sold in painters' and stationers' shops, fake and illegal arms were inevitable, and some surprising symbols appear in coats of arms given legally or illegally to new, and aspirant, gentry families.[18] As Henry Peacham, in his early seventeenth-century *Gentleman's Exercise*, describes:

> Excellent has beene the conceit of some Citizens, who wanting Arms, have coined themselves certaine devices as neere as may be alluding to their names which wee call Rebus […] These and a thousand the like, if you be a diligent observer you shall finde in both city and country.[19]

The use of images in order to represent a family name extends from heraldry into other kinds of pictures, which could act in place of arms but hold the same effect of spatial branding and genealogical expression.[20] Peacham's book was first published as *Graphice, or the most Auncient and Excellent Art of Drawing and*

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[17] See, for example, Robert Tittler's example of John Isham, who had illegitimate arms placed in his portrait, and about his house in, *Portraits*, pp.105-107. See also: Richard Wagner and George Squibb, 'Deputy Heralds,' in *Tribute to an Antiquary: Essays Presented to Marc Fitch*, ed. by F.G. Emmison, and Roy Stephens (London: Leopard's Head Press, 1976), and Tara Hamling, '"Wanting Arms": Heraldic Decoration in Lesser Houses', in *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare's England*, ed. by Nigel Ramsey (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014), pp.201-219.
[18] See Hamling, 'Visual Culture', pp.105-106.
[19] Henry Peacham, *The Gentleman's Exercise* (London, 1612), pp.166-167.
[20] See Tara Hamling, 'Wanting Arms', p.217, for examples of this.

Limning, and, due to its popularity, it was printed in multiple editions, morphing into *The Gentleman's Exercise* in 1612 and then into the second part to *The Compleat Gentleman* in 1634.[21] Its transition from a book titled as a painting manual to a tract about gentlemanly behaviour attests to how important it was for those who wished to elevate their status to that of a gentleman to understand the visual world of the gentry. On the other hand, this growing awareness and dissemination of illegal heraldry caused anxiety for the College of Arms. The College limited the rights of painter-stainers and scriveners, and stopped those handing out illegitimate arms in order to protect the status of the craft and to increase the revenue of heralds.[22] Having a coat of arms enabled an aspirant individual to partake in the visual branding of their property to appear as if they had the right to bear arms, and to signify power within their domestic spaces.

The restrictions placed on painter-stainers and skilled penmen to stop rendering arms were difficult to regulate, particularly because their skills overlapped with those of heralds employed by the College of Arms.[23] The College of Arms' desire for monopoly rested on their role in regulating arms-owning, as a herald would have to establish whether the arms were legitimate before copying them into a record, and this was expertise that a scrivener or arms-drawer did not always hold.[24] In 1618, after many years of dispute between the Stainers and the College, the College's commissioners ordered that painters should not depict arms without permission from the Kings of Arms.[25] This regulation continued to 1620, when it was agreed that certain painters working in

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[21] Henry Peacham, *Graphice or The most auncient and excellent art of drawing and limming disposed into three bookes* (London: John Brown, 1612); then *Gentleman's Exercise*; and *The Compleat Gentleman* (London: John Legat, 1634).
[22] Goldring, p.272.
[23] Tittler, *Portraits*, p.109.
[24] Ibid., pp.108-112.
[25] Richard Wagner and George Squibb, 'Deputy Heralds,' in *Tribute to an Antiquary*, p.236.

particular locales could be trained to recognise and have knowledge of the elite families in their area, allowing them to be employed as herald-painters. This created a legitimate standard for arms-drawing.[26] Before 1618, then, painters were legally more able to create drawings of arms. However, it is difficult to know how successful this legislation was in practice, and it has certainly been overstated in work on Painter-Stainers and Herald-Painters. As Elizabeth Goldring argues, there were many points of collaboration between the two institutions, where the College employed painters as arms-drawers.[27] William Segar, who became Garter King of Arms in 1607, began his working life as a scrivener, and his skill at rendering arms and scripts was so excellent that he was noticed by the College of Arms and employed in 1585.[28] Indeed, this legislation, in practice, probably did not prevent patrons employing painter-stainers to render arms, particularly if they were highly skilled at their work. Moreover, this focus on the College of Arms and Painter-Stainer's Company dispute has led to the neglect of arms-drawing by individuals such as William Burch, who may have been being trained to become a scrivener whilst in Nettleton's service.[29]

Consequently, it seems that the trade in imagery and the performance of crafts used to render arms across mediums was contested throughout the period. Its popularity in the visual world of early modern England led to arms-drawing becoming a commercial craft, with those skilled at rendering coats of arms selling their work to elite patrons. Burch's writing with multiple set scripts, meticulous copies of images, and work for an employer, mean that he may be

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[26] Tittler, *Portraits, Painters*, p.108. See also Nigel Ramsey and and Ann Payne, 'William Smith, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant, with an Edition of Smith's MS Tract on Abuses Committed by the Painters and Others to the Detriment of Heralds', in *Heralds and Heraldry*, pp.26-44.
[27] See Goldring, p.277.
[28] Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip*, pp.34, 43, and 58.
[29] This is discussed in detail in subsequent sections. There is no evidence for Burch's professional life that I can find outside of the manuscripts he made in Nettleton's service.

considered a scrivener with an interest in arms-drawing.[30] As an arms-drawer displaying skills characteristic of a scrivener with no connection to the College of Arms, William Burch falls into the category of the unofficial renderer of arms, who, in the employment of an antiquarian, carries out similar manuscript work to that of a herald. Burch is a scribe in the service of John Nettleton, a scholar and antiquarian who needs the skill that Burch holds in drawing and handwriting in order to compile CCA-LitMS/A/14.

2.2. William Burch, and CCA-LitMS/A/14's Provenance

William Burch alias Ellis compiled CCA-LitMS/A/14 between 1590 and 1592 for his master, John Nettleton, and the manuscript has received very little scholarly attention.[31] Burch's and Nettleton's identities have, until now, proved elusive, due to a tendency to look only for Burch, for whom no identifying records outside of manuscripts connected to John Nettleton have been located. I have found that it is John Nettleton who provides the gateway to this manuscript's context: the King's Bench Prison in Southwark, where Nettleton was a prisoner until his death in 1597.[32] Nettleton employed Burch to collect antiquarian information from print, manuscripts, objects, and architecture into

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[30] 'Scrivener' (n) 1a., *OED*. 'A person employed to copy or transcribe documents, or to write documents on behalf of someone else'. By 'set scripts' here I mean hands that carry the distinctive features of script styles like secretary hand, italic hand, and chancery hand, all of which Burch uses.

[31] CCAL, CCA-LitMS/A/14, 'Burch's Book of Drawings.' This manuscript has gained a footnote mention in Jessica L. Malay, *Prophecy and Sibylline Imagery in the Renaissance: Shakespeare's Sibyls* (New York: Routledge, 2010), p.163. For the bird drawings contained within it see: N.F. Ticehurst, 'On Some Sixteenth Century Bird Drawings,' *British Birds*, 17 (1923), 12-16.

[32] We know the manuscript was made whilst Nettleton was a prisoner due to the numerous references to the prison, and most tellingly in his Will, made in 1597 where he describes himself as being 'of Cranswick in the coun[ty] of Yorke gente and prisoner of the kings benche in Southwork.' LMA, DW/PA/05/1597/075 (Diocese of Winchester collection). Also noted in a footnote in: Andrew G, Watson, *Medieval Manuscripts in Post-Medieval England* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), p.8 of section on Henry Savile's Manuscripts.

CCA-LitMS/A/14 from his own library and collection. [33] Although the relationship between Nettleton and Burch is discussed in detail in section 2.4, it is important to state here that Burch describes himself as Nettleton's apprentice and servant. [34] Consequently, Burch's apprenticeship, presumably as a scrivener – though this would have been unofficial as there are no subsequent records of his membership of a livery company – took place within the King's Bench prison, though there is no evidence that he, like Nettleton, was imprisoned.

The King's Bench Prison microcosmically mimicked wider social structures in sixteenth-century society, with regards to status-appropriate living conditions. [35] Prison guards were open to bribery, and rich, elite prisoners such as Nettleton would have been able to live to a high standard and bring their servants and families with them. [36] Nettleton was no exception, bringing his wife Elizabeth and employing William Burch within the prison. [37] Nettleton is likely to have been imprisoned for recusancy, and CCA-LitMS/A/14 does engage with Catholic iconography including trinity shields, and a rendering of Christ's Passion. [38] This iconography is related to the manuscript collection Nettleton built at his home in Hutton Cranswick Yorkshire, where he held an inherited collection of manuscripts passed down from his father John Nettleton the elder. Nettleton's

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[33] This is the only context in which Nettleton has been discussed – as a collector of medieval manuscripts, rather than maker of manuscripts. See in particular: Michael A. Hicks, 'John Nettleton, Henry Savile of Banke and the Post-Medieval Vicissitudes of Bland Abbey Library,' *Northern History*, 26 (1990), 212-217; Claire Cross, 'A Medieval Yorkshire Library,' *Northern History*, 25:1 (1989), 281-290; and Watson, *Medieval*.

[34] CCA-LitMS/A/14, fols 1[r] and 78[v].

[35] Ruth Ahnert, *The Rise of Prison Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p.13.

[36] See Cambers, 'Godly', p.216; Peter Lake and Michael Questier, 'Prisons, Priests and People,' in Nicholas Tyacke, *England's Long Reformation, 1500-1800* (London: UCL Press, 1998), pp.195-235 (p.197); Molly Murray, 'Measured Sentences: Forming Literature in the Early Modern Prison,' *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 72:2 (June, 2009), 147-167 (p.149); and Deborah E. Harkness, *The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp.181-211.

[37] We know this because Clement Draper, a fellow prisoner, got recipes regularly from Nettleton. See British Library MS Sloane 3690.

[38] See CCAL, LitMS/A/14, fols 103[r]-104[r].

father was gifted these manuscripts by Robert Barker, vicar of Driffield, who saved them from Byland Abbey during the dissolution.[39] Although it is difficult to know how many of the 149 books came into Nettleton's possession from his father, he gave at least 31 to Henry Savile of Banke, suggesting he had access to at least these whilst at the King's Bench.[40]

It is through Savile that this manuscript is likely to have arrived at Canterbury Cathedral.[41] Savile's correspondence with Isaac Casaubon about their antiquarian interests led to their exchange of books when he visited England.[42] During Casaubon's visit, it is likely that the Burch manuscript was gifted to him.[43] Casaubon's son Meric then inherited the manuscript. Meric gave his collection to John Bargrave in the mid-seventeenth century, and then Bargrave passed his antiquities on to Canterbury Cathedral. The earliest witness of the Burch manuscript is Bargrave's 1671 catalogue:

> A book wherein are curiously drawne […] ye shapes of beasts, birds, fishes, monsters, trees, herbes, flowers, with Coates of Armes: Coynes, Meddells, The Triumph of Death, The Signes before the Day of Judgement with Mon[e]y After Histories in Picture by William Burch in 1590.[44]

This entry echoes the titular inscription on the first page of the manuscript by Burch, and draws attention to its antiquarian content, which would have been used by Bargrave and other antiquarian scholars in their own research.[45] This

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[39] This is clear from John Barker's will where he says: he wishes 'john netleton haue the keepinge of them until such tyme as some one or more of my naturall blod be able to understand them.' Cross, 'Yorkshire Library', p.281.
[40] Hicks, p.212.
[41] For more information on Savile's collection see: Watson, *Medieval*.
[42] See Mark Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon 1559-1614*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
[43] CCAL, CCA/DCC-LA/1/24. Stephen Bann, 'John Bargrave', *ODNB*.
[44] CCAL, CCA/DDC-LA/1/16, fol.5ᵛ.
[45] CCAL, CCA/Lit/MS/A/14, fol.1ʳ. 'A Book of drawing of the shapes and formes of diverse beastes foules & birds fishes monsters and serpents, trees, herbes, plantes with diuerse accidents of antiquities and armory drawne by me William Burch alias Ellis vicar of the King's Benche in

provenance also places CCA-LitMS/A/14 in an antiquarian context, where the compilation of coats of arms, alongside devotional, historical, and alchemical materials was routinely practised and shared.[46]

Whilst employed by Nettleton at the prison, Burch's scribal work extended into at least one other manuscript that is extant: British Library MS Sloane 3655, a medicinal and alchemical manuscript.[47] This manuscript also includes the hand of Nettleton's wife, Elizabeth, and that of his nephew Samuel Broddinge. This is the first time Burch's writing has been located in another manuscript, and it provides vital context to Nettleton's and Burch's activities in the prison, where it seems Burch was routinely completing scribal work for Nettleton that extends beyond CCA-LitMS/A/14. One of the sources for Sloane 3655 is a fourteenth-century book from Watton Abbey, which demonstrates how Nettleton used copies of the medieval manuscripts he inherited after the dissolution of the monasteries.[48] Nettleton's desire to preserve medieval manuscripts through transcription also comes through in his description of the British Library manuscript's purpose, in which he writes that it is transcribed from his 'owne custody', and it is 'full of goodly experyments fownd in an olde howse in watton abbay in Yorkshire casten by […] and rotten away in there by the year of our lord 1552'.[49] This understanding of the manuscript's provenance, and Nettleton's distress at it being cast aside and left to rot, also shows his care

Southwarke this xxth August 1590. Anno XXXIInd Elizabeth Regina w[hi]ch booke p[er]tenes to John Nettleton gent. being m[aster] to the sayd W[ilia]m Burch 1.5.9.0'.

[46] I am very grateful to Karen Brayshaw, formerly librarian at Canterbury Cathedral and now Manager of Special Collections at the University of Kent. Her assistance in the research for this paragraph, where she guided me towards past catalogues for the library's collection from the sixteenth century to the present day, has enabled the suggestion of this manuscript's provenance. For the circulation of antiquarian information see Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp.141-182.

[47] BL, MS Sloane 3655.

[48] BL, MS Sloane 3655, fol.72^r.

[49] BL, MS Sloane MS 3655, fol.79^r.

for the books he inherited from abbeys in the East Riding of Yorkshire. The practice of compiling antiquarian material, then, through copying texts and images from medieval manuscripts, is a way of saving these items from decay. This is the background to Burch's scribal work.

2.3. Manuscript-Making at the King's Bench Prison

The second contextual aspect to Burch's manuscript making is the King's Bench Prison as a space and social environment. The two manuscripts that include his hand are part of the many extant texts made at the King's Bench Prison during the late sixteenth century. These survivals point to a rich literate culture at the prison and provide some evidence as to the environment of the King's Bench, for which sparse documentary evidence survives. Due to the lack of surviving documents for the prison's administration during the late-sixteenth century, those seeking to uncover the lives and writing of prisoners, like Deborah Harkness, Molly Murray, Peter Lake and Michael Questier, have been forced to rely on the writings of those imprisoned.

Prisons have recently been explored as sites of textual production and dissemination for religious reading, literature, and alchemical texts.[50] As living environments, prisons were run for profit with prisoners paying for board and privileges.[51] Consequently, although prisons could be dark, crowded, and dirty for most prisoners, those with the means to pay could gain rooms with windows,

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[50] See, Harkness; Cambers, pp.212-241; Ahnert; Murray; William H. Sherman, 'Patents and Prisons: Simon Sturtevant and the Death of the Renaissance Inventor,' *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 72:2 (2009), 239-256; Lake and Questier; T.P. Connor, 'Malignant Reading: John Squier's Newgate Prison Library, 1642-46', *The Library*, 7 (2006), 154-184; and Thomas S. Freeman, 'Publish and Perish: The Scribal Culture of the Marian Martyrs' in *The Uses of Script and Print,* pp.235-254.

[51] Ahnert, p.17. 'Prisoners would effectively pay rent, which would cover their bedding, food and drink; additional fees would buy coal and candles, furniture and furnishings, and greater freedoms, such as use of the gardens, admittance of visitors, and even permission to conduct business outside the prison walls'.

time outside, and the company of servants and families.[52] It is clear from Burch's writing within CCA-LitMS/A/14 that Nettleton forced him to abide by the same rules as other prisoners, but he did pay for Burch to use the garden and, at times, leave the prison on errands.[53] The prison's shared spaces are essential to its uniqueness as a space of textual production. Indeed, Molly Murray has suggested that the early modern prison 'ought to be considered alongside the court and the university as a place of significant textual, and literary, production', where literary relationships among inmates could develop.[54] In comparing the prison to the court and university, Murray draws attention to its significance as a site of sustained social interaction, where relationships could develop within limited geographical confines and where writing was a vehicle through which prisoners could communicate to the wider world. It is clear from the many names and annotations within CCA-LitMS/A/14 that Burch and Nettleton lived in a social environment, and that the confines of the prison facilitated the sharing, and production, of texts. If the manuscript is seen as 'materially anchored' (as is an aim of this thesis) in its space of production at the King's Bench, then its production is dependent on both access to materials (discussed later in this chapter) and access to other books and objects from which its contents are compiled.[55]

Andrew Cambers imagines the reading environment of the prison as permeable, but restricted, with texts and writing materials hidden in dark corners.[56] Within the Burch manuscript, a more open impression of textual production at the King's Bench can be gained. There is no sense of Burch's

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[52] Ahnert, p.17; Cambers, p.216.
[53] See CCAL, LitMS/A/14, fols.40^v and 41^r.
[54] Murray, p.150.
[55] Reckwitz, p.251.
[56] Cambers, pp.216 and 221.

scribal activities being hidden from prison authorities: the Burch manuscript in itself is a very large volume, and a lot of time has gone into compiling it. Nettleton, as an elite prisoner, seems to have been well respected and falls into the category of prisoners who were able to keep their library with them during their imprisonment, which is evinced by the varied contents of CCA-LitMS/A/14 and also in the transcription of the medieval medical manuscript MS Sloane 3655.[57] Burch worked within a rich textual environment, where he would be able to use books, wander the grounds, and sometimes complete errands, but would also be restricted due to his apprenticeship and service to Nettleton.

One of the key contacts of Burch and Nettleton within the prison was Clement Draper, alchemist and prisoner at the same time as Nettleton, who left notebooks that contain recipes and notes and who displays interests that, at times, overlap with Nettleton's own curiosity about alchemy.[58] Deborah Harkness, in her work on Draper, says that these notebooks demonstrate that the prison 'could serve as an important site for the production, evaluation, and propagation of natural knowledge in Elizabethan London'.[59] As a close social world, where prisoners would be able to seek out and socialise with those holding similar interests, the prison facilitated the dissemination of texts and information. Draper, for example, describes the handling of fifteenth century manuscripts from Yorkshire Abbeys in one of his notebooks, suggesting a sharing of texts between him and Nettleton during their time at the prison.[60] In this sense, Nettleton's library functions as a resource for literate prisoners to use, discuss,

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[57] 'Some prisoners could have significant libraries in the prison: 'Francis Tregian the younger was able to keep his library while imprisoned in the Fleet Prison, where he died in 1619. Stephen Vallenger, who had been imprisoned for printing Catholic literature, had a personal library of more than a hundred volumes in the Fleet in the late sixteenth century.' Cambers, p.224.
[58] See Harkness, pp.181-211.
[59] Harkness, p.184.
[60] Harkness, p.201. BL MSS Sloane 1423, 3657, 3748.

and share. His library could have supported the manuscript-making culture at the King's Bench during the late 1580s and into the 1590s.

A secure connection between Draper and Nettleton is expressed within Draper's notebooks, where he mentions John Nettleton multiple times as the source of some recipes; on occasion, Nettleton's wife Elizabeth; and once, 'William [Burch alias] Ellis'.[61] Another connection can be perceived in annotations to both Nettleton's and Draper's manuscripts by 'Richard Kent', who places his name or initials within all manuscripts. His annotations are dated 1593, suggesting he is a fellow prisoner.[62] This citation and annotation practice builds a picture of a literate circle, which shared knowledge, within the prison. Burch was a scribe with access to materials to compile, and his social surroundings facilitated the distribution of texts. As a manuscript-making context, the King's Bench Prison provided a social space where materials and texts were shared. This manuscript was embedded within this particular spatial and social context.

2.4. William Burch as Scribe of John Nettleton

Due to the lack of documentary evidence about Burch, outside of the manuscripts in which he writes, the relationship between him and John Nettleton has to be reconstructed from Burch's perspective. Burch describes his role as servant to Nettleton using three terms within CCA-LitMS/A/14: 'servant', 'apprentice', and 'vicar'.[63] It is through these terms that Burch's position can be understood. 'Vicar' is a shortening of 'vicegerent', meaning an administrator or

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[61] BL, MS Sloane 3690, fols 73^r, 74^r, and 88^v.
[62] CCAL, CCA-LitMs/A/14 and BL MSS Sloane 1423, 3657 and 3748.
[63] CCAL, CCA-LitMS/A/14, fol.78^v.

clerk.[64] Burch seems to take on this role in Nettleton's service as part of an apprenticeship, in which he is developing scribal, antiquarian, and alchemical knowledge. Burch is bound to Nettleton for twelve years, and writes in 1592 of having served him: 'now 4 yeres & haue 8 yeres to serue my sayd m[aste]r of Barlemew day next'.[65] Twelve years would be at the upper end of the scale for the length of an apprenticeship, and suggests that Burch would have been young, perhaps as young as twelve, when his parents placed him in Nettleton's service.[66] This timeframe would mean that Burch compiled the majority of CCA-LitMS/A/14's contents between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. Burch aligns himself with the skills displayed by scriveners who also render arms, and he allies his work with this culture in a memorandum that reads: 'Memorandum one Dekines allis Dakine of Hull a drawer of armes and one Woode with him were at the Kings Bench w[i]th my m[aste]r 20 may 1591. By me William Burch.'[67] Dakine's visit seems to have held enough significance for Burch to record it, perhaps due to the fact that he too was developing the skills in order to work as an arms-drawer outside of the prison. Although it is difficult to know what Burch did after his apprenticeship without any evidence for his employment, it is possible he entered the Court of the King's Bench as a clerk, became a scrivener, or worked as an arms-drawer, due to his expertise at image-rendering and handwriting.

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[64] 'Vicar' (n) 5a, and 'Vicegerent' (n) 1b, *OED*.

[65] CCAL, CCA-LitMS/A/14, fol.78[v].

[66] Ann Yarbrough, 'Apprentices as Adolescents in Sixteenth Century Bristol', *Journal of Social History*, 13 (1979), 67-81.

[67] CCAL, CCA-LitMS/A/14, fol.16[v].

Burch's relationship with Nettleton, like many apprentices' relationships with their masters, was not without conflict.[68] It is Burch's records of these conflicts that give the greatest insight into his activities, and difficulties in living away from his family, who resided, within walking distance, in the Lambeth area of London.[69] Ann Yarbrough, in a discussion of Bristol apprentices and conflict, observes that: 'contracts, guild ordinances, and court cases refer to apprentices running away from their masters and returning home [to their parents]'.[70] Burch is one such apprentice, who often absconds whilst completing errands for Nettleton. He is forced to confess these betrayals in writing. In CCA-LitMS/A/14, Burch writes his confessions in tiny handwriting, legible only with a magnifying glass or high definition image, which suggests his shame at being forced to record his deviances. On the 17th July 1592:

> I wm Burch saruant and apprentyse to John Nettleton gent did most ungratefuly being sent to mr homes his howse ran away from my said m[aster] and went to my mothers howse at Lambeth and compleynd of my m[aste]r. Yet I wanted meate, drinke & sherte and my fayther and mother browght me againe t[he] same day to my sayd m[aste]r.[71]

Burch is unhappy enough to run to his mother and father for comfort, and to escape Nettleton's service, though his parents persistently return Burch to work. These confessions give Nettleton a means of knowing what Burch has done in his absence, and Burch provides a testimony at the end of each that he will not 'do the lyke again'.[72] Burch is a young boy placed, through his skill at writing,

[68] Ibid., and Peter Rushton, 'The Matter in Variance: Adolescents and Domestic Conflict in the Pre-Industrial Economy of Northeast England, 1600-1800', *Journal of Social History*, 25 (1991), 89-107.
[69] CCAL, CCA-LitMS/A/14, fol.53v.
[70] Yarbrough, p.72.
[71] CCAL, CCA-LitMS/A/14, fol.53v.
[72] CCAL, CCA-LitMS/A/14, fol.54r.

into Nettleton's service.[73] This is in line with research on master-apprentice conflict, where: 'reality often failed to match the expectations' of both parties, and a young apprentice might fail to gain security and comfort in their master's home.[74] For Burch, this feeling would certainly have been amplified by the uncomfortable, crowded, and harrowing environment of the prison, where he may have been exposed to the harsher realities of being a sixteenth-century prisoner, despite being in the service of a wealthy, privileged resident. The choice of Burch's parents to have him apprenticed within the prison might also have been to do with their faith, as prisons facilitated the practice of Catholicism. As a result, children from Catholic families were sometimes sent to gain an education within these environments.[75]

Burch, then, is in a subordinate position to Nettleton, and is in scribal service to him. Nettleton dictates the texts and images he wants rendered in CCA-LitMS/A/14 to Burch. For example, above a timeline of 'notable thinges that haue chancyd since the beginning of the worlde to this Present', Burch writes that the information has been: 'gathered by John Nettleton gent my m[aste]r and writ by me William Bowrgh'.[76] Here, Burch attributes authority over content to Nettleton, and does this visually as well as verbally in signing his name and 'writ by me' in much smaller handwriting. The relationship here is one of master-servant with Burch deferring to Nettleton's authority, seeing his expertise as related to the execution of images and texts within the manuscript.

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[73] On another occasion, Burch is given leave 'to playe in the yarde and gardene' but instead Burch 'went w[i]th my bowe and arrows into st.gorge felde […] and shott there from ii to past vi of the cloke at night & lost all my arrows.' This is another indication of Burch's young age. CCAL, CCA, LitMS/A/14, fol.53ᵛ.
[74] Yarbrough, p.72.
[75] Cambers, p.231.
[76] CCAL, CCA-LitMS/A/14, fol.143ʳ.

Burch's ownership of his developing skill as a scrivener is displayed in his signing of the manuscript's contents. He refers to his role as 'delineator' or 'lineator' within images, terms that acknowledge his role as scribe whilst making clear that the pictures are copied from other sources. To 'delineate' had a variety of uses in the sixteenth century, but was always used to denote a copy made either through drawing or writing.[77] This reproduction could be made from nature as well as extant works of art and architecture, and was often used in a heraldic context to denote the laying out of formats for a variety of heraldic motifs: plants, animals, patterns, and genealogical tables.[78] For example, Burch uses 'delineate' in a copy of William Roger's 'Eliza, Triumphans', a print to commemorate the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1589. Burch alters his copy of the strapwork border from 'Guilielmus Rogerus sculp ao 1589' to 'Guilielmus: Burch lineator', acknowledging the source and his own labour in copying it.[79] Another time Burch uses 'delineate' is in a large spread of antiquarian coins that take up the central section of the manuscript, where again he uses 'delineate' not only to indicate he is laying out a copy, but to identify the source as Nettleton: 'by me John Nettleton gathereyed and delineated by me William Burch.'[80] In doing this, Burch is able to claim a hand in the labour

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[77] 'Delineate' (v.) 2 and 3, *OED*.

[78] Certainly not just used in heraldic context but for example John Guillim uses delineate regularly in: John Guillim, *A Display of Heraldrie* (London: William Hall, 1610).

[79] CCAL, CCA-LitMS/A/14, fol. 106[r]. Burch's copy is significant due to there being only one extant copy of William Roger's engraving at the British Museum, which is certainly not the first impression, and Burch's copy has marked differences, particularly in the pattern on Elizabeth's dress. The fact Burch made his impression on 7th September 1591 suggests he used an early print; maybe even earlier than the extant one in the British Museum, making his delineation an exciting indication of how Rogers' image might have circulated. See Roy Strong, *Gloriana* (London: Pimlico, 2003), pp.113-4, Arthur M. Hind, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Part 1 The Tudor Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), p.264.
For image of extant print see:
<http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1503317&partId=1&people=108929&peoA=108929-3-17&page=1> [accessed 29/4/2016].

[80] CCAL, CCA-LitMS/A/14, fol.107[r].

involved in the making of the manuscript, and acknowledge the source of the material at the same time. This practice means that, whilst Burch defers to Nettleton as his master, he is also present as a personality within the manuscript and there is no evidence that he wishes his labour to go unnoticed.

Figure 2.2. CCAL, CCA-LitMS/A/14, fol.1[r].
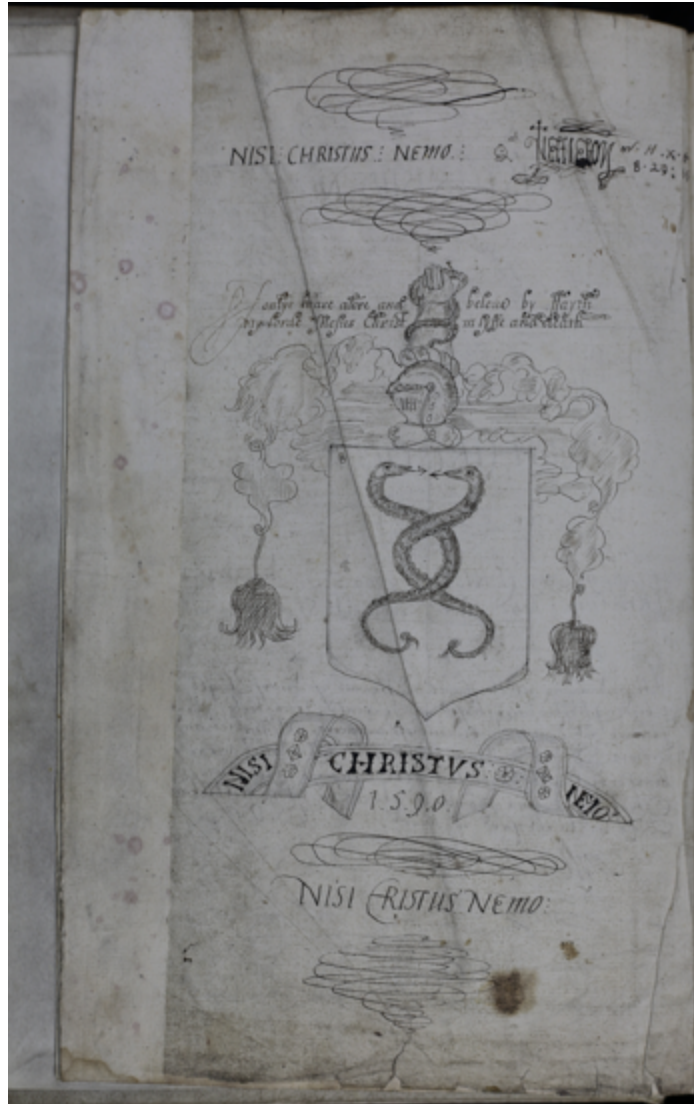
Figure 2.3. CCAL, CCA-LitMS/A/14, fol.1ᵛ.
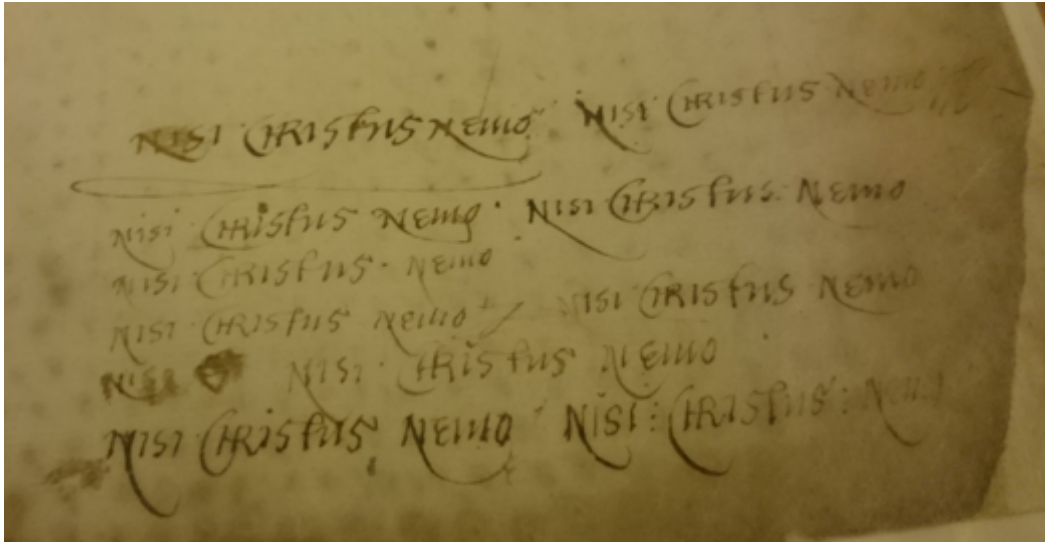
Figure 2.4. BL, MS Sloane 3655, fol.130ʳ.

Burch's manuscript-making experience rests on his access to text through Nettleton, and Burch's deference to him is clear in his repetition of Nettleton's coat of arms and motto. Figures 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4 are examples of Burch's copying, and the example in Figure 2.4, from the British Library manuscript, demonstrates Burch's inscription of the motto: 'nisi christus nemo' (I am nothing without Christ) at the bottom of the folio.[81] Burch's habitual writing of this phrase is a devotional action and an affirmation of his faith, but it is also connected to Nettleton's earthly status. Here, Nettleton's authority is entwined with God through his ancestral motto and is materialised through Burch's reiteration of it across both manuscripts. In doing this, Burch physically enacts his desire to flatter and please Nettleton. The rendering of heraldry upon tombs, in churches, and in houses connects those bearing arms to divine authority and, in repeating the motto, Burch makes a similar association between his master and God.[82] In Burch's execution of this heraldic imagery, he creates consistent

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[81] BL, MS Sloane 3655, fol.130ʳ.
[82] See Tara Hamling, 'Visual Culture', p.100.

pictures that affirm Nettleton's identity as a gentleman, and his superior status to Burch. The branding of arms within CCA-LitMS/A/14 would also have the ability to bring into the prison space a personal and powerful indication of Nettleton's right to bear arms.

Burch's position as scribe is in service to Nettleton as an apprentice. As such, although it is clear Burch's skill at drawing and writing is useful to Nettleton's endeavours in the copying and preserving of antiquities and coats of arms, he is of lower status and working to satisfy Nettleton's demands. In order to explore Burch's manuscript making further, this chapter moves from the spatial and social context in which CCA-LitMS/A/14 was made and into a wider context of arms-drawing during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Using the context built within Chapter One, the next sections aim to gain a sense of material practices in action within CCA-LitMS/A/14, through an exploration and comparison of techniques as they are expressed within other heraldic miscellanies.

2.5. Material Patterns in Arms-Drawing

Heraldry's power as a visual language was enhanced by the surfaces it appeared upon, whether in an architectural setting, where a family could display their connections to a local area and their genealogy, or in a manuscript.[83] There are examples of armorials given as gifts to those bearing arms, and many of these contained dedications, were bespoke, and were personalised compilations of arms made to gain the favour and patronage of powerful landowners. This

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[83] For architectural settings see, Hamling, 'Wanting Arms', pp.205-209.

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section continues exploring arms-drawing from the perspective of those engaged in heraldic texts, by comparing Burch's practices to other arms-drawers. To do this, I use examples and patterns in the use of manuscript materials across a range of miscellanies and armorials, comparing those made as gifts with arms-drawers' workbooks, in order to unpick the processes that go into rendering heraldry in manuscripts.

Armorials presented to noble individuals or to institutions as gifts tend to contain achievements that depict lineages either chronologically or hierarchically, thus presenting a clear narrative about the person or institution to whom they pertain.[84] They often contain colour and very clear renderings of coats of arms. Workbooks differ in that they contain a range of information: from accounts about renderings of arms and materials; to copies of arms and images from manuscript, print, or architecture; to memoranda about genealogies. They also tend to contain sketches of arms, rather than full renderings.[85] Arms-drawers' workbooks can be considered part of the early modern 'commonplace book culture' described by Adam Smyth, where 'fragments' are collected and ordered into compilations of texts and images.[86] Arms-drawers could use these workbooks as drafts and records of their research to use in the kinds of presentation armorials that are so often the focus of research on heraldry. Workbooks, then, offer a less ordered, messier, and complex perspective upon arms-drawing than the formal renderings of coats-of-arms in armorials or upon grants of arms.[87] The Burch manuscript falls closer to the workbook in its

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[84] See 'Armorials', in *DEMT.*
[85] See for example, COA, IB 22, 23, and 24, discussed later in the chapter.
[86] Smyth, *Autobiography*, p.123.
[87] See, in particular, recent studies that focus on architectural and manuscript renderings of arms, but not the material practices or research that are part of the process: *Heralds and Heraldry,* ed.

construction: intended as a compilation of antiquarian research, arms, and memoranda, that was, at the same time, created for a patron and made use of luxury materials in its construction. By looking at heraldic gift manuscripts and arms-drawers' workbooks, the relationship between them can be explored.

2.5.i. Heraldic Gifts and Material Luxury

Armorials intended as gifts to elite patrons, who often also held positions of governance, appear very commonly within the archive. These are often characterised by addresses from the arms-drawer or herald at the start of the manuscript. Figure 2.6 displays the first folio of a manuscript made for Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, by the Chester Herald, Robert Cooke.

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by Nigel Ramsey; and *Heraldic Artists and Painters*, ed. by Torsten Hiltmann and Laurent Hablot.

[IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 2.5. HL, HM 68350, fol. 1ʳ. Robert Cooke's Armorial for the Dudley Family.

The address is evenly laid out and carefully presented, and Robert Cooke speaks of the labour involved in making the book. He writes that he has 'gatheryd from a number of vollomes antiqueteyes and regesters' the arms of the houses where Dudley is 'lineallye descended' as a 'token' of his 'good wyll'.[88] Similarly, Francis Thynne writes in an address at the start of a manuscript of the arms of the Lord Chancellors of England, to the current Chancellor Sir Thomas Egerton, that he makes the manuscript for Egerton to recognise his 'worthynesse to possesse

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[88] HL, HM 68350, fol.1ʳ.

the place and to knowe the names and armes' of his noble predecessors.[89] Similar addresses, extolling the nobility of the person for whom the manuscript is intended and making clear the research and labour involved in collecting the arms into a personalised manuscript, comprise the beginning of many comparable documents.[90] An introductory statement for unspecified readers is placed at start of CCA-LitMS/A/14, where Burch writes that the manuscript 'pertaines' to Nettleton who is his 'master'.[91] Burch's address, however, differs from those in heraldic gift manuscripts in that it is not a dedication. Rather, it is a declaration of his and Nettleton's work, and a record of the manuscript's contents. Burch's manuscript address, then, differentiates CCA-LitMS/A/14 from heraldic gifts, establishing it as a 'book of drawings' compiled by Burch, which 'pertain' to his master, in that they have been selected by Nettleton for Burch to copy.

Arms-drawers gifting heraldic albums would have had to demonstrate discretion in their use of writing materials in order to create a manuscript tied to the displays of luxury and wealth through which high social status was projected. Arms-drawers, in this sense, were responsive to the environments and audiences for which their manuscripts were made, and the materials they used were embedded within this particular social world. As seen in Chapter One, 65% of the sixty-three manuscripts containing heraldry studied for this chapter were made with luxury stocks of paper. Luxury paper was intrinsically light in colour and often came in large sheets.[92] The manuscript pictured in Figure 2.5 is an example of one made using parchment. Parchment's longevity, expense, and

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[89] HL, EL 26/A/6, fol.1[r].
[90] For example, HL, EL 34/B/11, EL 1045, EL 1117, EL 1137, EL 34/B/12, HM 174, HM 743, and HM 73538. BL, MS Sloane 3836, MS Egerton 2642.
[91] CCA-LitMS/A/14, fol.1[r].
[92] Dard Hunter, 'Papermaking', p.224

links to the past, means that its use in Robert Cooke's creation for Dudley holds multiple layers of meaning. Parchment's long life echoes the posterity of the Dudley family running through the genealogy displayed within the manuscript, and signals its future longevity as an elite and powerful name. In choosing a writing surface, then, arms-drawers demonstrated a particular sensitivity to their audience and convention. This was especially important for heralds, who would often visit the houses of those families they were charged with delineating in manuscripts. Dedicating a manuscript to an elite patron could result in a favourable reference and support to advance at the College of Arms.[93] The absence of such an address in the Burch manuscript immediately sets it apart from armorials made as gifts to noble patrons, and establishes Burch's position as a kind of administrator employed by – and in the service of – Nettleton.

Another instance of gifted armorials displaying signs of material luxury is their frequent use of gold and silver leaf.[94] Gold, as 'the most precious metal', is entwined with perceptions of status during this period, and unsurpassable in value when used in illumination.[95] Elizabethan Sumptuary Laws and the 'Enforcing Statutes of Apparel' also specifically limit the use of gold and silver materials to the nobility, associating the use of this material not only with wealth, but also with social status.[96] A type of heraldic gift manuscript that often made use of gold and silver gilding was the patent of arms. These patents were used to grant or 'confirm' arms and to act as a record of their bearers' right to hold

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[93] Ramsey, p.36.
[94] See for example: HL, HM 743; HM 68350; HM 182; HM 116; EL 34/B/12; EL 34/B/11; EL 26/A/6; EL 1114; KHLC, U269/1 F2.
[95] 'Gold', (n) 1, 2a., and 3, *OED*.
[96] 'Enforcing Statutes of Apparel', 15th June 1574, <http://www.elizabethan-era.org.uk/enforcing-statutes-of-apparel.htm> [accessed 17/10/2018].

arms.[97] The example in Figure 2.6 is the patent given to Lionel Cranfield in 1622. William Segar, who began his career in heraldry as a scrivener and limner, made it.[98] The use of gold leaf in the coat of arms and upper border is striking, and it provides the principal decorative colour used in the patent. Clive Cheesman notes that these documents were designed to be 'eye-catching' and on 'vellum', and that the borders were frequently decorated in addition to the large rendering of the grantee's arms to the left of the patent.[99] These grants and gift manuscripts act as a manifestation of a person's status, and these large, official grants clearly proclaim the status and right to arms of their holders. The use of gold and silver leaf ties into this context of grants and confirmations, materially signifying the high social status of the manuscript's bearer.

Figure 2.6. KHLC, U269/1 F2. Lionel Segar's grant of arms for Lionel Cranfield.

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[97] Clive Cheesman, 'Grants and Confirmations of Arms' in *Heralds and Heraldry*, pp. 68-104 (p.76).
[98] Ibid., p. 84.
[99] Ibid., pp.77-84.

The final significant feature of armorials granted as gifts – which is discussed here – is the use of space within these manuscripts. The significance of blank space in letter-writing of the period has gained scholarly attention, with the placement of the signature to the bottom right-hand corner of a letter, with plenty of space in between the end of the letter and the signature, acting as a visual signifier of deference.[100] Many armorials contain copious blank spaces, and due to their prevalence within manuscripts of this kind, the use of blank space can be considered as a significant practice for arms-drawers.[101] Figure 2.7 displays a particularly clear example of an arms-drawer leaving blank space around each coat of arms and explanation.

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[100] A.R. Braunmuller, 'Accounting for Absence: The Transcription of Space', in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts*, vol.107, pp.47-56 (p.54); Jonathan Gibson, 'Significant Space in Manuscript Letters', *The Seventeenth Century*, 12:1 (1997), 1-10; Daybell, *Material*, pp.90-95.
[101] And indeed in all kinds of manuscript writing as Braunmuller writes: 'Textual Space is not accidental but deliberate, the result of an intended act', p.49.

[IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 2.7. HL, EL 3/1/8, fol.2^r. Arms of Kings and Nobles, dated to 1605-

1612.

Figure 2.7 is an example from the Egerton collection: a manuscript containing the arms of Kings and Nobles made for Sir Thomas Egerton (the arms drawer is not known). The folios are large – the manuscript measures 292mm x 432mm – and the book is heavy, meaning it was probably kept on a shelf for reference. The arms-drawer's leaving of blank space enables the manuscript to

be added to in the form of annotations in the space under each coat of arms, and in Figure 2.7 there is another hand that annotates each entry. The use of blank space could also be read as a sign of deference, like in letter writing.[102] The leaving of blank space reveals care in planning the layout of arms within a manuscript and marks the relationship between the text and the achievement it pertains to. The leaving of blank space as a pattern of practice in arms-drawing, then, is a significant way through which meaning is materially generated. It can signal the drawer's deference to a patron, and also suggest the work that has gone into planning the use of space within a manuscript.

Within armorials given as gifts there is a clear use of materials to make meanings associated with luxury and material wealth. This is particularly apparent in the generous use of space, presence of luxurious and expensive paper or parchment, and in the employment of colour, in particular gold and silver leaf. These patterns of occupational practice within presentation manuscripts also appear in other kinds of manuscripts employing heraldry, like antiquarian compilations and also herald-painters' workbooks. Arms-drawers employed by the College of Arms, however, differentiated themselves by using presentation conventions to signify the labour and luxury of their work, by addressing elite patrons and giving armorials as gifts.

2.5.ii. *Workbooks, Occupational Identity, and CCA-LitMS/A/14*

In contrast to carefully crafted heraldic gift manuscripts are workbooks, used by arms-drawers to aid in their identification of coats of arms and to compile historical and genealogical information (and sometimes notes) about

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[102] Daybell, *Material*, pp.90-95; Gibson, 'Significant', pp.1-10.

commissions and materials. Workbooks appear messier than gift manuscripts, frequently contain insertions, multiple paper stocks, and sketched – rather than precisely executed – arms in trick.[103] There is, however, dialogue between workbooks and gift manuscripts, not only in types of content, but also in their concern with material luxury. CCA-litMS/A/14 is entwined with the culture of workbooks, where other information and images are frequently included alongside coats of arms as a compilation of research from other volumes. In workbooks, there is a sense of heraldry 'in action', where incomplete images, annotations, and notes allow an insight into arms-drawing processes. Workbooks have not received attention in studies of heraldic painting, beyond the work of Robert Tittler on Randle Holmes, herald painter of Chester, and his 260 extant manuscripts.[104] As a result, this section seeks to look at workbook features and situate CCA-LitMS/A/14 within this culture.

One aspect that is consistent between heraldic gift manuscripts and workbooks is their use of fine paper. Good quality paper was important where colour and dense ink was used, as well-prepared fine paper would be less likely to blot.[105] Within the King's Bench prison, Nettleton and Burch were able to access fine French paper.[106] A 1616 pamphlet, although published almost twenty years after Nettleton's death in prison, suggests that the prison was a site where writing materials could be prepared and traded: this explains scribes' ready

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[103] See for example BL, Add MS 26704; MS Harley 1091; MS Harley 5955; Add MS 4965; MS Stowe 709; MS Lansdowne 870; Add MS 14298 and 14299; MS Sloane 3836; and Add MS 26680; NA, MS12/283a; Bod. L. MS Ashmole 856; NAL, MS L.1774-1935; COA IB 22, 23 and 24.
[104] See Tittler, 'Early Stuart Chester', and Tittler and Robert Tittler and Anne Thackray, 'Print Collecting in Provincial England prior to 1650: The Randle Holmes Album,' *The British Art Journal*, 9 (2008), 3-10.
[105] See Chapter One, section 1.2.i.
[106] Molly Murray has observed that: 'A surprising number of early modern prisoners had access to paper, ink, books, and messengers to convey letters and other communications in and out'. Murray, p.156.

access to fine paper within the prison. *The Orthographical Declaration* is an advertisement for prepared writing paper sold and processed within the King's Bench Prison:

> A brief aduertisement of two new inventions called Lineage and Fortage whereby writing-paper and parchment are decently ruled and inlined for to ingross or write upon […] paper, parchment, and writing-bookes thus forted and inlined, are sold in the *Kings Bench* in *Southwark.*[107]

The preparation and exchange of writing materials was one of the ways in which contemporary prisoners might make money under the prison-for-profit system, which depended on guards allowing activities that could increase their pay. The King's Bench, then, would still be able to act as an appropriate material environment for the creation of manuscripts using luxury paper, due to its role in the trade of prepared writing materials.

CCA-LitMS/A/14 uses paper made by the Le Bé family of Troyes, specifically Nicholas Le Bé, whose name adorns the scroll beneath the watermark.[108] Variations of this watermark appear in manuscripts between 1561 and 1602, but this particular mark — with 'Nicholas Lebe' written backwards in the scroll that can be seen in Figure 2.8 — is estimated by Briquet to have been produced between 1582 and 1596.[109] A diagram of a watermill drawn by Nettleton is the earliest entry to CCA-LitMS/A/14, dated 1589.[110] This date is contemporary with the production dates for this paper, and suggests that the book

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[107] Anon, *The Orthographiall Declaration* (London: S.N, 1616). Sherman, 'Patents and Prisons', p.234.

[108] See Louis Le Clert, *Le Papier: Recherches et Notes pour Server a l'histoire du Papier Principalement a Troyes,* vol.2 (Paris, 1926) pp.351-380 ; Briquet, *Les Filigranes,* Vol. 3, p.437. Watermark number: 8081.

[109] Briquet, p.437. This comparison would have been made more specific in measuring the size of each individual occurrence and width of surrounding chainlines, which was beyond the scope of this project, but is a future avenue for research.

[110] CCAL, CCA-LitMS/A/14, fol.163ᵛ.

was not stored for a great amount of time before use, and may have been

purchased with Burch in mind.

BR 8081

198 x 303 Pixel, 100 dpi = 50 x 77 mm
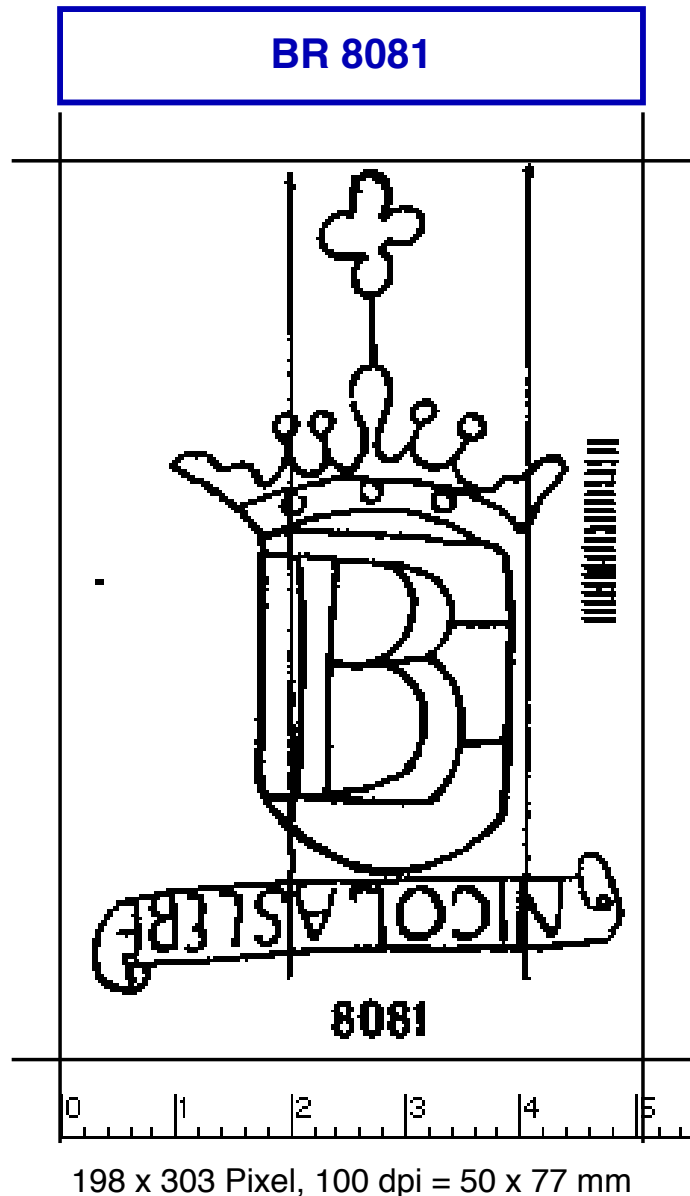
Figure 2.8. Nicholas Le Bé watermark of the kind that appears in CCA-LitMS/A/14. Watermark BR 8081: Charles Briquet, *Les Filigranes,* **<http://www.ksbm.oeaw.ac.at/_scripts/php/BR.php> [accessed 19/10/2018].**

Paper quality can be understood further by comparing CCA-LitMS/A/14

with other examples where Nicholas Le Bé paper is used. Known examples from

this mill appear in poetry collections from elite houses dated to the late sixteenth

and early seventeenth centuries. Within the manuscripts studied for this chapter, the watermark appears twice.[111] Le Bé paper occurs in large sheets, with CCA-LitMS/A/14 measuring 205mm x 382mm in folio form. As it also stretches to 165 folios in length, this manuscript is a very large volume, and enables the compilation of a vast amount of material.

Other arms-drawers' notebooks provide textual evidence for the choosing of fine paper amongst those making heraldry, and these can elucidate how arms-drawers thought of paper quality. For example, The College of Arms holds a series of three early-seventeenth-century workbooks – IB 22, 23, and 24 – all by the same arms-drawer, who is not named within any of the manuscripts.[112] These manuscripts are made up of tricked arms, accounts, and memoranda. The arms-drawer records numerous instances where he purchases paper, and often distinguishes between paper stocks. As well as fine paper, he purchases blue and marbled paper, which, for the early 1620s, demonstrates unusual diversity in paper use.[113] Further, it is suggested he purchases his writing materials from a stationer, 'Mr Pigeon', who is the source of the diverse paper he uses. This arms-drawer's distinguishing between paper types is clear in the adjectives he uses to describe the stocks he purchases. For example, he lists together:

For 2 quier of blew paper – 0 -2 – 0
For 3 quier of lesser blew p[a]per – 0 – 2 – 0
For 6 quier of large royall paper – 0 – 9 – 0[114]

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[111] See Mildmay-Fane manuscript: FH, MS. F2 (1623-50); Philip Sidney: BL, Add MS 61821; and Sir John Harrington: FSL, V.a.249 (1605). For more on use in Sidney MSS see Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip,* p.394. BL, Add MS 26680.

[112] COA, IB 22, 23, and 24.

[113] Only 233 reams of blue paper were imported into London in 1626, contemporary to this manuscript. As such, it is a rare paper type at a time where 61,952 reams of white paper were imported. Coleman, p.13.

[114] COA, IB 24, fol.81ʳ.

Here the arms-drawer expresses an awareness of the qualities of the paper he is purchasing, with three quires of 'lesser' blue paper costing the same as two quires of better quality blue paper. Per quire the standard blue paper amounts to 12p per quire, the lesser blue 8p per quire, and the large royal 18p per quire, which amounts to a very large difference in price between paper types.[115] Equally, he describes the royal paper he purchases as 'large', which shows his sensitivity towards the size of sheets. He also most frequently buys royal paper, 6 quires at a time at 9s. This is a large quantity of paper, and frequently the arms-drawer pays over 4d a quire, the average price for ordinary paper.[116] His purchases of these luxury and decorative stocks suggest a concern with the quality of materials he is consuming for his work, and the importance of using large, fine sheets of paper in arms-drawing. Fine paper also had the added advantage of being very light in colour. As such, one of its affordances would be its lightness (of colour), which could enable the tracing of images through the sheet – something that Burch may have practised when transferring complex copies of printed and manuscript images into CCA-LitMS/A/14. The use of fine paper then, can be seen as characteristic of the craft, where manuscripts are being made for an elite audience as a display of luxury. Fine paper's affordances enabled the rendering of good quality images, and the use of large sheets aided in the flexible compilation of a large number of coats of arms.

Workbooks are also ostentatious in their material form, demonstrating the compilation of content from multiple sources without the clear sense of chronological or hierarchical narrative that characterises gift manuscripts. These

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[115] Although it is not clear what he is using blue paper for, it was likely to have been used in binding or covering books. See Paul Gaskell, 'Notes on Eighteenth-Century British Paper', *The Library*, 1:5-7 (March, 1957), 34-42.

[116] IB 22, fols 30ʳ and 31ʳ.

workbooks are clearly intertextual, and demonstrate the arms-drawer's materially engaged interaction with a range of manuscripts and printed texts, where information is taken from multiple sources as commonplaces. This kind of textual engagement is something Juliet Fleming has described as 'cutting', where reading is a practice that involves the removing of sections of text or images literally or metaphorically. [117] Burch's own compilation practice can be understood in this way: he is, metaphorically speaking, *cutting* out sections from manuscripts, printed texts, and objects, and placing them together within CCA-LitMS/A/14. For arms-drawers, this intertextual practice is often physical, and sharp objects used for cutting and piercing are part of the tools they use in their craft.[118]

IB 24 holds a list of objects the arms-drawer keeps in his trunk, presumably used to hold his belongings and equipment on trips where he has to render or gather coats of arms. Equipment kept within his trunk includes a box of glass pots and scissors.[119] He also lists a case of twelve knives.[120] Glass vessels are presumably kept for storing pigments and ink, but the scissors and knives are linked to another kind of practice that arms-drawers are involved with: the gathering of information. The way in which a herald, arms-drawer, or antiquarian might gather information was literal and physical, and scissors were kept to cut out arms sought out for compilation into ordered volumes, alphabets of arms, and

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[117] Juliet Fleming, 'Afterword', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73.3 (2010), 543-552 (p.545).

[118] For physical cutting and sticking of texts see the issue of *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* titled *The Renaissance Collage: Toward a New History of Reading.* Particularly: Juliet Fleming, 'The Renaissance Collage: Signcutting and Signsewing', *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 45.3 (2015), 443-456, where she describes 'cutting' as 'evidence of the unexpected openings and connections that circumstanced reading' (p.456); and Adam Smyth, 'Little Clippings: Cutting and Pasting Bibles in the 1630s', *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 45.3 (2015), 595-613. For further reflections on physically extracting parts of books see: Adam Smyth, *Material Texts*, pp.17-55.

[119] COA, IB 24, fol.81[v].

[120] COA, IB 24, fol.81[r].

genealogies.[121] In the cutting out of relevant information, arms-drawers practice a physical commonplacing and resituate arms, images, and information from past texts into new narratives and contexts.[122] By keeping scissors in his trunk, then, this arms-drawer indicates his association with his craft, and situates scissors as an essential tool to take on trips to render and gather arms. Knives would also be used in the sharpening and shaping of quills, and so sharp blades are essential in the reshaping of writing and reading materials in arms-drawing.

Not only are they useful in reshaping, sharp objects could also enable the copying of images. Pouncing – a way of piercing small holes around an outline of an image in order to transfer it into a new manuscript or sheet – is a common practice in arms-drawing.[123] A mid-late seventeenth-century volume of arms includes an instruction against some images stating: 'note these figures are pricked through & fit to pounce if occasion requires'.[124] Alongside this note there are pounced templates on brown paper, suggesting that lesser quality paper could be used to create templates to be transferred.[125] Workbooks, then, often show arms drawers' practice of research, compilation of arms, and commonplacing 'in action'. Later, this material could be used to create linear genealogical narratives for display in manuscripts or on buildings. Burch's practices within CCA-LitMS/A/14 are in line with this practice of removing and reordering texts and images from multiple sources and making them into another book. Although he uses copying rather than cutting and pasting as his compilation method, the two

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[121] See Fleming, 'Afterword', p.545.
[122] Adam Smyth writes that 'cutting' is 'part of the reading and writing experience of early modern England', *Material Texts*, p.51.
[123] 'Pounce' (v) 1., *OED.*
[124] BL, Add MS 31896, fol.124^{r}.
[125] See for example, BL, Add MS 31896.

systems are clearly in dialogue in Burch's intertextual technique, where materials from multiple sources are placed alongside one another.

Another aspect of arms-drawing that workbooks give insight into is the use of colour. It is unclear whether CCA-LitMS/A/14's colour is Burch's work, or a later addition. Some folios use a limited palette, principally of red, blue, and yellow. IB 24 and 22 include listings for pigments, principally yellow, various reds (vermillion and crimson), blues (blue bice and verditer blue), gold, and silver.[126] In addition, the arms-drawer compiles a recipe for black ink, buys pencils, 'tooles', size, glue, and oil to mix the pigments in.[127] These lists show the diversity of tools and materials involved in arms-drawing: pencils for outlines and drafts, instruments for precise renderings, size to prepare paper to hold ink and pigment, and pigments and oils to create colour. Colour in manuscripts of this period is striking because it occurs so infrequently. Principally manuscripts use black ink on cream paper, and so the use of colour distinguishes the extraordinary from the ordinary. This, paired with the gold and silver pigments used in arms-drawing, created a display of luxury befitting an elite audience. If the colour in CCA-LitMS/A/14 is Burch's work, then it shows that Burch fully understood how to mix pigments for use in arms-drawing, and attempted to implement in his own work some of the displays of colour used across in coats of arms.

One of the customers of the arms-drawer who compiled IB 22-24 was Sir Edward Dering, who purchased heraldic books from him. Edward Dering's own accounts for the same period are extant, which means that it is possible to understand a craft relationship between him and his arms-drawer, as well as the

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[126] COA, IB 22, fols 30^r, 30^v, 31^r; and IB 24, fol. 83^v.
[127] COA, IB 22, 23, 24.

reciprocal interest in antiquarianism and heraldry that characterises their relationship. In a similar way to Nettleton, Dering had a clear interest in antiquities and heraldry. This was partly due to his desire to prove his family's right to arms and create a genealogical basis for his name in the record by altering names in actual historical documents.[128] Like Nettleton, Dering paid for arms-drawers and painters to render arms in his property and in manuscript form, and bought books of heraldry from heralds working in the College of Arms. These activities are recorded in his account book.[129] The arms-drawer of IB 24 records making books of heraldry for Dering, including:

For a booke of paper ^folio^ bound with lether marbled cover 3-4-6
For a porter to cary those & a leter to the post – 0-6
For 3 more bookes in folio of better paper bound of the same 0-15-0
For fine cotton 0-2
For a box to put the bookes in and a porter to cary them to the carier 1-0
For halfe a reame of paper of the best sort 0-6-0[130]

Although it is difficult to know exactly which entry in Dering's account book relates to this work (as there are so many), entries in 1626 include a payment for heraldry books from the library of Ralph Brooke York herald – the most likely link to this listing in the workbook.[131] This entry in IB 24 also suggests that arms-drawers could provide fine paper to their customers too, meaning that, through communication with heralds, Dering could learn and attain the best materials for his own heraldry. Dering frequently lists purchases for pigments, red ink, paper and vellum specifically for heraldry, and this entry in IB 24 suggests the manner in which the craft expertise and skills that arms-drawers

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[128] See S.P. Salt, 'Dering, Sir Edward', *ODNB*.
[129] See *Sir Edward Dering, 1ˢᵗ bart., of Surrenden Dering and his 'Booke of Expences', 1617-1628*, ed. by Laetitia Yeandle, <http://www.kentarchaeology.ac/authors/020.pdf> [accessed 2/10/2018].
[130] COA, IB 24, fol.79ʳ.
[131] 'Paid for heraldry bookes part of ye library of master Brooke Yorke herald', *Sir Edward Dering*, p.345.

held could be used by their patrons in the provision, packaging, and sending of materials to be used at home.[132] The material understanding held by heralds and arms-drawers may have provided another way in which their relationship with their customers could be enhanced. Nettleton and Burch's relationship is centred on skill at writing and drawing, but also on Burch's knowledge of the materials of manuscript-making which Nettleton and Burch – like Dering and the arms-drawers he works with – share. Workbooks are manuscripts that give access to the relationships between craftsmen and their consumers, patrons, and employers.

Workbooks provide an insight into the processes involved in the making of coats of arms in manuscript form. By nature, they are complex gatherings of research by arms-drawers who commonplace materials either through copying or physically extracting and pasting contents into their manuscripts. Workbooks suggest aspects of an arms-drawer's expression of their occupational identity, since, as records, they indicate that there are patterns of practices performed by arms-drawers (including the choosing of luxury paper, the use of colour, and the use of image-copying techniques). From this, it is possible to see the Burch manuscript as a workbook, where texts and images are commonplaced in order to form a collection of arms, images, and texts for future reference. The next sections of this chapter focus on the techniques used to generate consistency within the heraldic craft, situating Burch within this context, and followed by an exploration of handwriting.

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[132] *Sir Edward Dering*, p.365, for example, where Dering lists heraldry books, blue pigment and red and black ink.

2.6. Generating Consistency in Heraldry

This next section explores some practices used by arms-drawers to generate consistency within the rendering of arms and images in manuscripts in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Heraldry's power when displayed within a space rests on its ability to be recognised and understood by its audience as a sign of authority, even if the viewer does not know the rules and language of signs that make up an achievement.[133] Central to heraldry's effectiveness as a visual language was its consistent rendering across surfaces and material mediums, where its stable appearance made it readable as a sign of power.[134] As Tara Hamling has observed, these coats of arms were more than identifiers for a family, since the 'iconographic categories' of heraldry were 'indissolubly linked in the visual and conceptual landscapes of early modern people' and reached status groups outside those families that had the right to bear arms.[135] Here, Hamling moves away from the simple connection between person and achievement and considers the impact of heraldry on its viewers – an essential consideration to make when thinking about its power and popularity in architecture, portraiture, and manuscripts. In understanding how this consistency is generated within manuscripts, it is vital to investigate the material practices behind the formation of images in these books. The craftsmen who make heraldry such a rich practice to study used techniques like tricking or folding and tools such as rulers, grids, frames, stamps, and print-manuscript hybrids in order to produce uniformity.

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[133] As Tara Hamling has observed: not many would have understood heraldry's 'complex rules, all would have recognised its power'. Hamling, 'Visual Culture', p.92.

[134] Heraldry, as a visual language, uses strict rules that 'govern' its 'use, display, meaning, and knowledge'. Fox Davis, p.1.

[135] Hamling, 'Visual Culture', p.92.

2.6.i. Tricking

A commonly used technique in heraldry was 'tricking': the 'sketching or drawing in outline' and 'delineation of armorial bearings in black and white' and colours identified by their initial letter. [136] Tricking was an occupational technique that enabled the fast compilation of arms into correspondence and notebooks by arms-drawers, in order to keep a record of coats of arms and their features. As a heraldic form, tricking was a widespread visual language used by arms-drawers for communicating and keeping a record of coats of arms and their features over the course of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[137] By scrutinizing the techniques used in creating arms in trick, a sense of the choices that Burch makes when laying out patterns for coats of arms and heraldic motifs becomes clear. Tricking was essential to the consistent appearance of fair copies of arms.

Figure 2.9. Richard Scarlett's arms in trick of the Chapter House of Canterbury Cathedral. BL, MS Harley 1366, fol.4[r].

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[136] 'Tricking' (n.) 3, *OED*.

[137] John Pincke, an arms-drawer based in Norwich during the mid-late seventeenth century compiled a collection of heraldry including correspondence, which includes a number of letters displaying tricks sent out to patrons. See BL, Add MS 31896, fols 32[v] and 129[r].
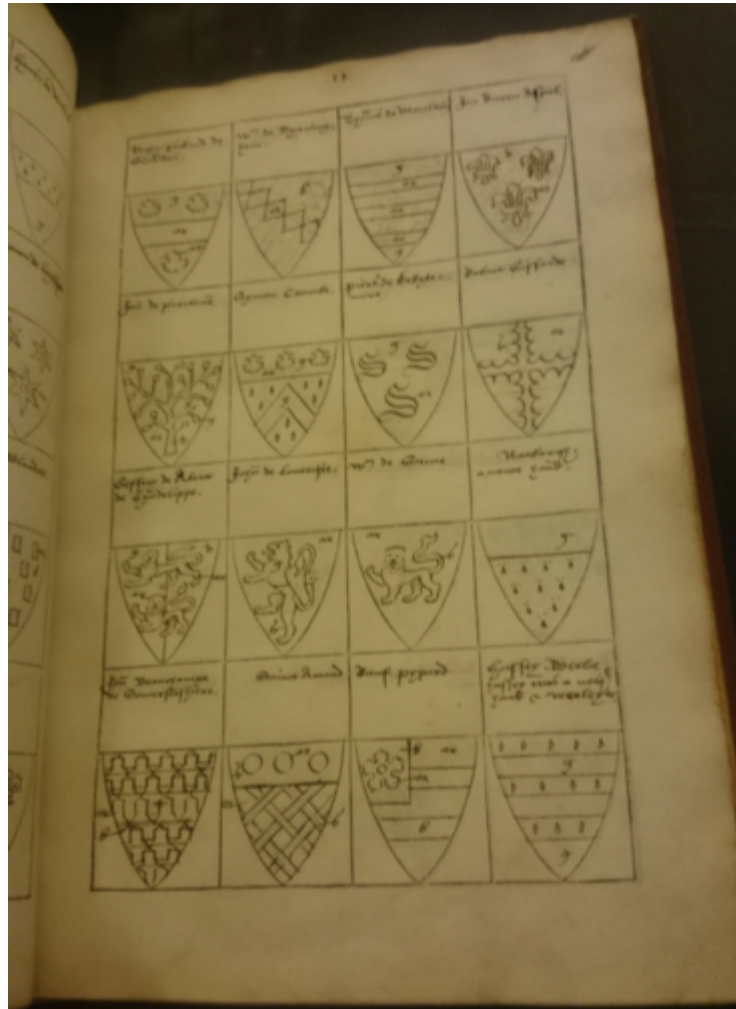
Figure 2.10. Richard's Scarlett's arms in trick: BL, Add MS 4965, fol.11ʳ.

Figures 2.9 and 2.10 are examples of tricking by Richard Scarlett, a London painter-stainer and arms-drawer.[138] Figure 2.9 presents freehand tricked shields using black ink and letters in place of colour to delineate coats of arms within the Chapter House of Canterbury Cathedral.[139] Figure 2.10 is also Richard Scarlett's work but is different in style.[140] These two styles of tricking characterise separate forms of working. Figure 2.9 could have been completed on

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[138] Richard Scarlett was a painter-stainer specialising in arms employed by the Merchant Taylor's Company and the Lethersellers' Company to render arms for their Lord Mayor Shows. Elizabeth Goldring, *Heraldic Drawing*, p.272.
[139] BL, Harley MS 1366, fol.4ʳ.
[140] BL, Add MS 4965, fol.11ʳ.

a visit to Canterbury, where Scarlett could quickly sketch arms into his notebook, whereas 2.10 is more neatly and evenly finished with Scarlett using a grid and a consistent series of shields in order to create a sense of order. Figure 2.9 – being copied from architectural arms – has the appearance of being in progress, in the sense that Scarlett might use these notes and tricks in order to create a fair copy at a later point. Conversely, Figure 2.10 is copied from another manuscript, as Scarlett makes clear:

> These names and Armes, next following from folio primo unto pagina 32 were truly written and copied in September a[nn]o d[o]m[ini] 1596 out of a very olde roule wrought in colours in velome which said roule was borrowed of Mr Arden of Kicklington in the county of Oxford Esquir by Richard Lea, esquire the clarencieux in whose custody it remained at the tyme of his deathe and afterwards amongst other books of the said clar. came to the office of arms.[141]

Figure 2.10 also involves travel by Richard Scarlett to gather arms, but this time to the College of Arms, where coats of arms were already placed in order in a roll. The roll's location at the College of Arms would also mean Scarlett could have access to the resources there to create a neatly tricked copy – rulers for creating grids, for example, which would aid in the delineation of tricked shields. Scarlett could later use the coats of arms he compiled in trick as a means of rendering arms on textiles, in fair manuscript copies, or painted in architectural settings. Tricking was crucial shorthand for arms-drawers during this period, used to quickly compile materials to draw upon in future projects.

Tricking, as a practice, gives insight into the thoughts and processes that comprise a rendered coat of arms. Tricks provide a useful way of understanding the kinds of craft-knowledge needed to make a coat of arms – processes, which, as explored later in this section, are visible within CCA-LitMS/A/14. Towards

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[141] BL, Add MS 4965, fol.12[r].

the end of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century a vast number

of these manuscripts of arms in trick were made, suggesting a growing interest in

the ways that heraldry could be expressed in short-hand for easy communication

between arms-drawers and their customers. The production of these tricks

coincides with the publication of many printed books about armoury. These

books sometimes appear in multiple editions, attesting to their longevity and an

interest in heraldry as a visual medium. Edmund Bolton's *Elements of Armory*

was first published in 1610, and John Guillim's *A Display of Heraldry* (again

published in 1610) ran into six editions over the seventeenth century but is still

used by today's arms-painters, attesting to its popularity as a manual about

heraldic signs.[142] It is these volumes that allowed literate men and women to

begin unpicking heraldic achievements and their symbolism. In addition, the

printing of manuals such as Henry Peacham's *Art of Drawing with a pen, and*

limning also went some way towards demystifying workshop practices by

explaining the processes involved in using and making the materials for painting.

William Burch transcribed from a painting manual that may have been a

manuscript treatise about limning in CCA-LitMS/A/14. [143] All of these

developments helped to democratise the language of arms, which could be used

by interested amateurs and heralds alike. This explains why, by the mid-

seventeenth century, herald-painters were able to send tricks as part of letters.[144]

This demystification of heraldic tropes and communication of heraldry in

the form of tricks is interesting because it demonstrates a desire amongst herald

painters to communicate their knowledge on paper. In this sense, the complexity

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[142] Edmund Bolton, *Elements of Armories* (London: George Eld, 1610) and Guillim.
[143] See also James Ayres, *Art, Artisans & Apprentices: Apprentice Painters and Sculptors in the Early Modern British Tradition* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014) for demystification of workshop practices into the eighteenth century. CCAL, CCA-LitMS/A/14, fol.161ᵛ.
[144] See BL, Add MS 31896 for examples of letters written by John Pincke with tricks to patrons.

of language within a trick means it could be considered a technical drawing

rather than a sketch. Within a trick is contained a visual representation of

impalements, quarterings, and cadency marks, and occasionally extra features

such as a helm, mantle, motto, and supporters.[145]
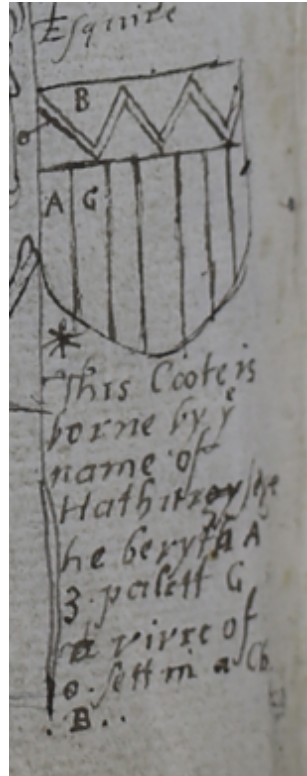
Figure 2.11. A close up of a trick by William Burch in CCAL, CCA-Lit/MS/A/14, fol.86ᵛ. 'This coote is borne by ye name of Hathway he beryth A 3 palett G vivre of 0 set in a C. B.'

Figure 2.11 shows Burch using a mixture of tricking and a technical

heraldic language called 'blazon' to render a coat of arms for the name

'Hathway'. The description is entwined with the coat of arms as it is drawn with

'palett', referring to the vertical lines down the shield, and 'vivre', the zigzagging

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[145] 'Impalements' are vertically divided shields, 'Quarterings' shields with four or more parts, 'Cadency Marks' are the heraldic charges in the shield, 'Helm' appears above the shield, 'Mantling' is a decorative frame issuing from the helm, and 'motto' (exterior to the arms) the family verse, and 'supporters' are figures to each side of shield. See Peter Summers and Anthony Griffiths, *How to Read a Coat of Arms* (London: Bedford Square Press, 1986), pp.6-11. See also A.C. Fox-Davis, *Complete Guide*; Friar, *Heraldry*, particularly 'Blazon: The Terminology of Armory', pp.169-201.

lines.[146] The small majuscule letters within the coat of arms and blazon below signify colours: 'B' for blue, 'A' for argent or silver (often depicted as white), 'G' for 'gules' or red.[147] By employing tricks, Burch demonstrated an understanding of heraldic symbols and their appearance within arms, participating in a practice that can be seen as part of the occupational identity of arms-drawers. By using precise symbols, letters, and description, tricks are technical in the sense that they demand readers to possess an understanding of the visual language of heraldry.

Tim Ingold, when writing about technical drawings in comparison with sketches argues that:

We could say that sketches are *on their way* towards proposition. But at the point where the sketch gives way to the technical drawing, all movement is stilled. The lines of the technical drawing may encode instructions on how to move, but convey no movement in themselves […] They establish a relation with the world that is optical rather than haptic.[148]

Arms in trick do 'encode instructions on how to move', by signifying a unique combination of symbols and colours to render for a personal or institutional coat of arms. In this sense, Ingold's description is helpful in understanding how tricks function. However, Ingold's idea that technical drawing is 'optical' rather than 'haptic' should be questioned because a technical drawing, such as a trick, involves many of the same movements and features as a full coat of arms. Furthermore, as Scarlett's examples in Figures 2.9 and 2.10 show, it can be loosely rendered or more specifically drawn.

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[146] 'Pallett' = 'Pale' or vertical lines down the shield, and Vivre means a kind of bend producing right angles as seen in the trick. Both definitions can be found in James Parker, *A Glossary of Terms Used in Heraldry*, first published in 1894, but available online at: <https://www.heraldsnet.org/saitou/parker/index.htm> [accessed 30/10/2018].
[147] For this I used the James Parker's dictionary and Robert Commandre's manuscript in which he explains each colour and feature in coats of arms. See BL, Add MS 2642, fol.40ᵛ.
[148] Ingold, *Making*, p.126.

**Figure 2.12. 'The Armes of the Seuentene Prouinces of the Foure Countries'
in CCAL, CCA/LitMS/A/14, fol.156ᵛ.**

Tricking is concerned with replication and the need to create consistent and recognisable coats of arms, but haptically it involves a similar relationship to the material world as sketching, with the arms-drawer making use of the materials they have at the moment they copy the achievement to render it in trick. Technical drawing in this sense, using consistent visual language, letters for colours, and even blazon, is a way in which heraldry can be replicated consistently across mediums.

Tricking is also a means through which artisanal or personal knowledge can be passed between practitioners. By naming visual components of coats of arms and standardising colour labels, arms in tricks communicate practical knowledge with a shared language. In practice, when an arms-drawer follows a trick or even blazon for rendering arms, the common language is then interpreted by the arms-drawer and materialised, and the success of the final drawing rests on understanding the language of heraldry and being attuned to the materials used in the rendering of arms.[149] It is an arms-drawer's technical experience that enables the transition of a coat of arms in trick into a fair copy. The relationship between arms in trick and full copies of arms is made clear when one looks at the complete coloured arms in Figure 2.12, which are also William Burch's work. Here, Burch shows a well-developed understanding of the components for each achievement, and an ability to replicate similar features multiple times in a recognisable manner.[150] Tricking enables the short-hand communication of features and the learning of heraldic language that can then be transferred into

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[149] Tricking, in this sense is a way of telling that is attuned to practical experience, laying a path to follow, which also involves technical knowledge. See Ingold, *Making*, p.109.
[150] CCAL, CCA-LitMS/A/14, fol.156ᵣ.

full colour renderings of arms within presentation manuscripts, architecture, textiles, and ceremonies.

Occupational identity can be established and maintained through tricking, in a demonstration of an alignment with the language of signs that form coats of arms. In this sense, there is in tricking a pattern of practice, and an attempt to share and compile in shorthand coats of arms for future reference. The language also enables the transference of coats of arms accurately, and generates uniformity in the craft.

2.6.ii. Consistent Coats of Arms

Aside from tricking, arms-drawers also used an array of tools and patterns of practice to generate consistent coats of arms and drawings of heraldry within manuscripts. These techniques could enable the even appearance of arms in manuscript form and also speed up the drawing process.

Herald painters' workbooks provide information towards understanding some of the tools and techniques used to create consistent achievements. British Library MS Stowe 709 is a workbook created in a workshop setting, with three hands writing information about arms-drawing commissions and tricks within the manuscript. Anthoni Maria Smith, a mid-seventeenth-century London herald-painter, is the most prolific scribe within the manuscript.[151] This manuscript is described at the front by its eighteenth-century collector John Holland as a 'painter's workbook' and, for Anthoni Maria Smith and some of the other painters within his workshop, it acted as a memorandum book – recording large

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[151] We know this from a copy of a warrant within the MS made in Whitehall in September 1658 for Anthoni to do some herald-painting on fabric for Oliver Cromwell's funeral.

orders, the details of the arms rendered, and whether these had been paid for.[152]

Smith's primary business seems to have been making coats of arms for various types of flags, to be placed on walls, on coaches, and to adorn musical instruments used in pageants or ceremonies. Smith's accounts and notes correspond with the kinds of tricks at the beginning of the manuscript, making a workbook that deals with the technical aspects of heraldry as well as notes about the execution of these arms on materials. One of the tools listed within the manuscript is 'ye escourching frames marked with 23 noches on each side of them'.[153] By 'escourching' Smith refers to an 'escutcheon' which is the shape of the shield upon which arms are depicted, and the 'noches' on either side of this frame would provide a means of attaching it to a surface.[154] The even number of notches on each side would help the painter measure equal sections within the coat of arms in order to create an even pattern. By applying a frame in the shape of a shield to their work, Smith and the other painters working within his workshop were able to replicate equal-sized and even-shaped shields across the textiles they were principally charged with painting coats of arms upon.

Although frames would be suited to larger renderings of arms, in manuscripts there are multiple ways in which coats of arms are made consistent and even. Armorials often use grids for coats of arms to be placed within. Figure 2.13 offers an example of Burch using this practice within CCA-LitMS/A/14 in the depiction of some antiquarian coins, seals and medals complete with their heraldry, which take up about 40 folios of the manuscript.[155] At the beginning of this section, Burch seems to draw around actual coins (on account of their

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[152] BL, MS Stowe 709, fol.1ʳ.
[153] BL, MS Stowe 709, fol. 41ʳ.
[154] 'Escutcheon' (n) 1a, *OED*. 'The shield or shield-shaped surface on which a coat of arms is depicted'.
[155] CCAL, CCA/LitMs/A/14, fol.56ʳ.

inconsistent size), but soon moves to a more standardised version where he folds the page in half, uses a ruler and pencil to make a grid, then employs a compass to make even circles. The laying out of multiple arms on a page makes consistency easier, while planning the use of space upon each folio enables an even distribution of pictures. Burch, like other arms-drawers of the period, laid out his grids and outlined his shields, coins, medals and seals first, before filling them in with patterns. In display manuscripts, this is sometimes done using pencil first, but often, grids are then placed upon each folio using black ink. There are many examples of manuscripts with grids and shields laid-out to be filled, which are incomplete, suggesting a pattern of practice involving the arrangement of grids and shields before the details.[156] This practice, aside from standardising the size and shape of shields, sped up the process of drawing, because the meticulous measuring of lines for grids and shields was completed prior to the rendering of arms. Furthermore, as a pattern of practice, grids and pre-drawn shields assisted with consistency across the craft, enabling an arms-drawer to learn through repetition the standard shapes for arms with the aid of tools like frames, rulers, and compasses.

Arms-drawers also frequently made use of hybrid forms using printed templates to fill with coats of arms and paste in printed arms. The use of these techniques was again important to the generation of a consistent craft, with printed templates minimising the labour involved in the drawing of grids and shields.[157] The cutting out of printed coats of arms and pasting into manuscripts also converses with the physical act of commonplacing in arms-drawing, where genealogies and volumes are formed through the taking of coats of arms from

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[156] For example, BL, MS Harley 1091, fol.10^r.

[157] See BL, ADD MS 31896; ADD MS 14299; and ADD MS 39851, for good examples of manuscripts using printed templates.

multiple sources and across visual mediums. In this sense, arms-drawing as a craft is characterised, in part, through the permeability between material forms, paired with a desire to replicate arms across visual culture. Where printed shields are used to generate consistency, the conversation these manuscripts have with print and its affordances in terms of easy replication and the fast production of text and images is clear, with it being a simple means of gaining consistency within arms-manuscripts.[158]

Arms-drawing as a craft, then, seeks uniformity, and this is important to its impact as a visual medium signifying the power of institutions, individuals, and families within space. Consistency would enable a reader to become familiar with certain coats of arms, which in turn would help establish an association between spaces, and the people and institutions that have power over them. Arms-drawers used a variety of means to generate this sense of uniformity in shield shapes and sizes within manuscripts to speed up the delineation of arms, and to standardise their appearance. These techniques generated a sense of occupational identity, because practices could be transmitted amongst arms-drawers as distinct markers of their craft and expertise.

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[158] John Philipot makes use of stamped shields in his compilation of arms from Kent churches, where all shields are organized evenly and using very thick ink lines. BL, Add MS 53782.

Figure 2.13. CCAL, CCAL-LitMS/A/14, fol.56^r.
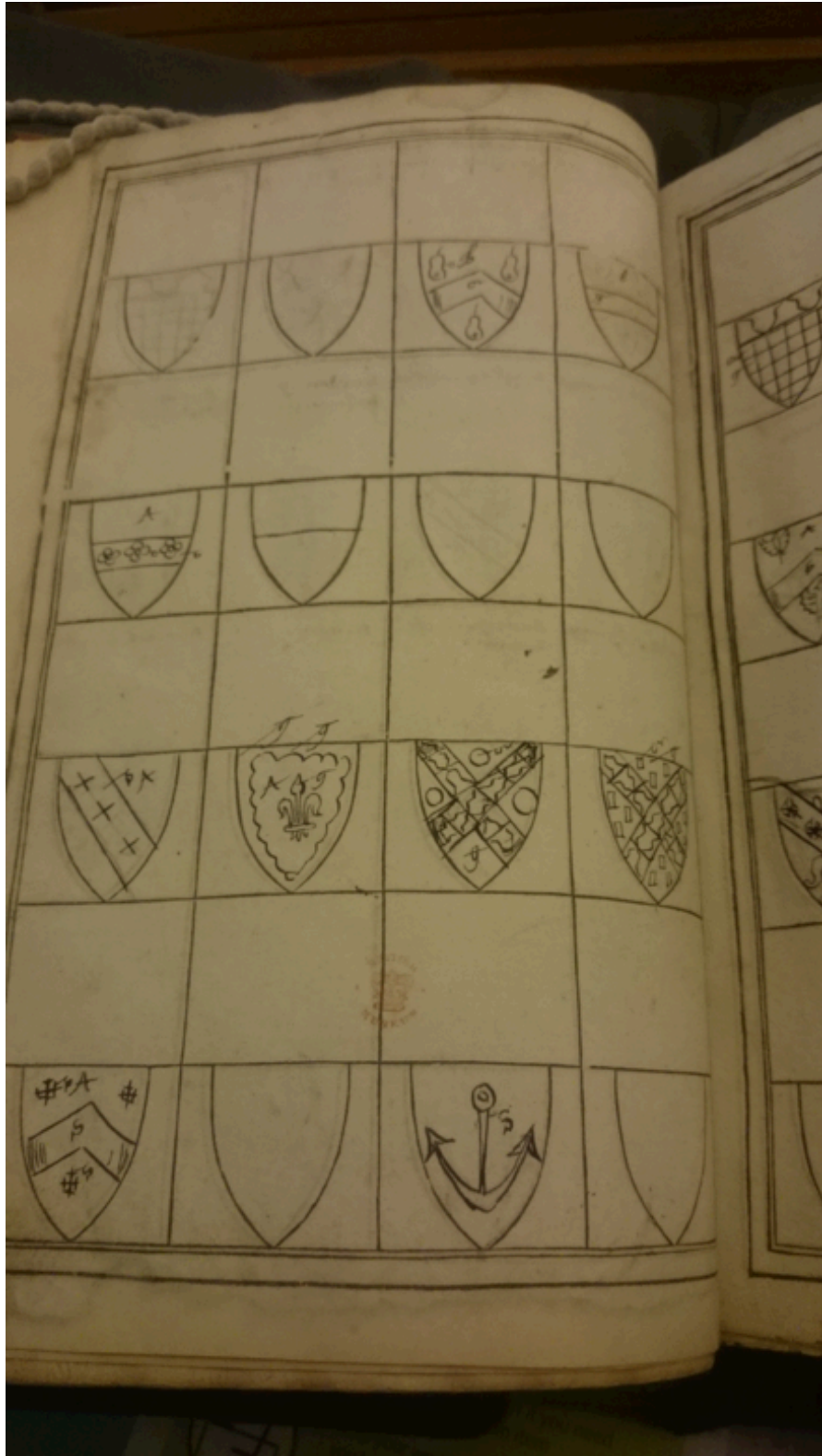
Figure 2.14. BL, MS Harley 1091, fol.10ᵛ. Blank shields ready to be filled.

2.6.iii. Cross-Hatching

Another technique used consistently by arms-drawers is cross-hatching. Those engaged with drawing arms and other kinds of images, like William Burch, often applied this technique across images. This offered a way in which arms-drawing could be linked to other visual and material forms, particularly objects like seals and coins, and symbolic imagery like emblems and *impresa*.[159] Cross-hatching in heraldry could be used for shading and as its own language, to symbolise colour or detail. Robert Tittler says of this technique:

> Hatching, or the drawing of fine, parallel lines to indicate shading, was particularly essential to heraldic painting. Different patterns of hatching were employed in heraldic sketches or "tricks", both to represent the different colours of the arms and as vital elements in the design of a coat of arms itself.[160]

William Burch used cross-hatching in all his images, both heraldic and non-heraldic, and did so with precision. Hatching is very ordered: it is a systematic way of implying shade or meaning, which in arms-drawing would be consistent across coats of arms. As such, it is a technique that could easily be taught and transferred between practitioners, and practised across imagery.

If we look at how Burch used hatching, we can again see how much thought went into the laying down of lines in his images in order to give them depth. Burch's antiquarian coin folios offer a suitable section in which to explore his use of cross-hatching.[161] This depiction of objects that use heraldry is

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[159] See Michael Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (London: Longman, 1994); and Mason Tung, 'From Heraldry to Emblem: a Study of Peacham's Use of Heraldic Arms in *Minerva Britannia*,' *Word and Image*, 3 (1987), 86-93 (p.87).
[160] Robert Tittler, *Portraits, Painters and Publics*, p.112.
[161] CCAL, CCA-LitMS/A/14, fols 41ʳ-83ᵛ.

common in both heraldic and antiquarian manuscripts, and the means by which

Burch executes them is through the use of tricking into pre-prepared shapes.[162]

Figure 2.15: CCAL, CCAL, CCA-LitMS/A/14, fol.55^r.
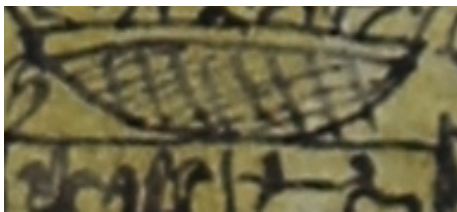
Figure 2.16: CCAL, CCA-LitMS/A/14, fol.55^r. Detail of cross-hatching in the crown.

Figures 2.15 and 2.16 come in the middle of the coin, seals and medals section.

The front of the seal (top left) depicts Henry VII with crown jewels and reads:

HENRIC DI GRA AGL FRANCIE HIBER REX. The reverse of the seal (right)

displays Henry VII's coat of arms and reads: SIHS AVTEM TRANSIES ER

MEDIVM ILLUR IBA.[163] The way in which Burch copies both sides of the seals

and coins in the manuscript is interesting because it demonstrates an attention not

only in the coats of arms or *impresa* which appear on the reverse, but also the

portraits depicted on the front: both the symbolic representation of the person

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[162] There are many examples of this but another one produced in London which focuses on the heraldry depicted on the seals attached to charters produced by a merchant Ralph Starkey is BL, Add MS 39851.

[163] The first inscription translates as: Henry by the grace of God King of England and France Lord of Ireland, the second as: But Jesus passing through them went his way.

and the subject. The techniques used across both sides, however, are clearly interrelated and demonstrate a kind of portraiture that is inseparable from heraldic tradition.[164] Figure 2.16 demonstrates at close proximity one of the key techniques used in this process: cross-hatching to demonstrate depth. This technique is used very precisely in Burch's work, with evenly placed lines present even on his small images. Precision demonstrates Burch's control over his use of pen and ink to the point of creating miniscule images. The human figures within the Burch manuscript all display this hatching technique, and this is common in other similar manuscripts in which the maker is trained in the execution of heraldic motifs. This is notable in the Trevelyon miscellanies, in which Thomas Trevelyon uses the same types of cross-hatching to create portraits of kings, queens and antiquities, and it is also noticeable in the records of the court of the King's Bench (separate from the prison), where a similar method is present in portraits of the Queen.[165] Therefore, Burch's use of this technique places him alongside skilled penmen, like Trevelyon and the clerks of the King's Bench, and suggests that he was apprenticed to Nettleton in order to develop the necessarily skills to take up a position as a clerk or scrivener.

Through Burch's heraldic techniques it is clear there are a number of forms and tools used in order to standardise the practice of arms-drawing like grids, frames, rulers, stamps and compasses. Burch's control over these mediums and tools indicates his dedication to becoming a skilled heraldic craftsman. Elizabeth Goldring has found evidence to suggest that an elite patron's suggestion of a painter to the College of Arms could secure them positions as

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[164] See Tittler, *Portraits.*
[165] See Thomas Trevelyon, FSL MS V.b.232; UCL, MS Ogden 24; and King's Bench records, NA, KB27. See also, Payne, pp. 143-153.

herals or arms-drawers at the college. [166] This is something that Burch might have been being prepared for.

2.7. Handwriting and Arms-Drawing

Arms-drawers often demonstrated the ability to use multiple styles of handwriting. Indeed, mastery of multiple hands – alongside antiquarian knowledge – was a prerequisite for heralds that held positions at the College of Arms.[167] Burch uses scripts, which vary from his natural, mixed hand, to an array of decorative styles. The use of recognisable scripts converses with the exacting presentation demanded by arms-drawing as a craft, an area which has been explored throughout this chapter. Arms-drawers were concerned with conventions, and the performance of recognisable scripts was one of the occupational practices pertinent to the craft.

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[166] Goldring, 'Heraldic Drawing,' p.272.
[167] Ibid., p.265.
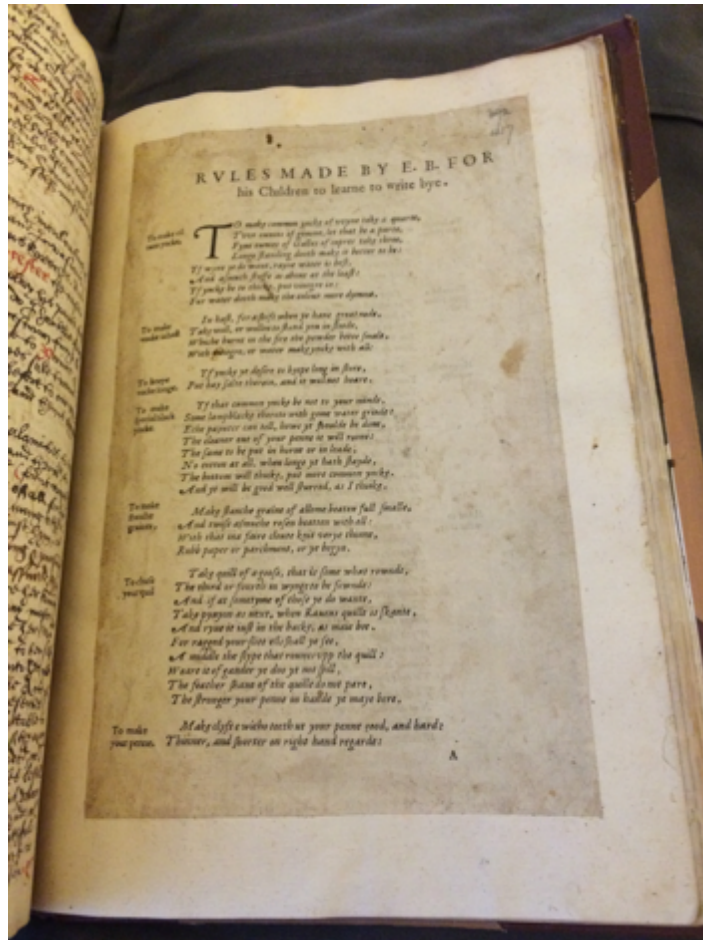
Figure 2.17. BL, Egerton MS 2642, fol.417[r].[168]

Within heraldic manuscripts, there are suggestions that arms-drawers thought carefully about handwriting. For example, Figure 2.17 shows a folio from Egerton MS 2642, where the first part of *A Booke Containing Diverse Sorts of Hands* is pasted in.[169] Robert Commaundre, chaplain to Sir Henry Sydney, deems it appropriate to paste this extract from a writing manual into a book that compiles rules for heraldic ceremonies including 'Coronacions […] burialls and enterments'.[170] This physical extraction from a printed book demonstrates the permeability between textual-mediums (discussed in previous sections) in action.

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[168] This copy is recorded on the *Short Title Catalogue* as: S90342 printed in 1571.

[169] BL, Egerton MS 2642, fols 417[r]-418[v]. From De Beau-Chesne, sig. A1[r]-A2[v]. For heraldic funerals see: J.F.R. Day, 'Death Be Very Proud: Sidney, Subversion, and Elizabethan Heraldic Funerals', in *Tudor Political Culture*, ed. by (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.179-203.

[170] BL, MS Egerton 2642, fol.1[r].

Commaundre worked as a household chaplain, meaning that he would have had responsibility for educating Sydney's children, and this manuscript could have been made for the purpose of education, mixing heraldry with handwriting.[171] The two skills are linked by Commaundre in the manuscript, not only through the pasted-in manual, but also through the way Commaundre embellishes his own handwriting: titles are written in red ink with cadels and flourishes, using the quill to create a diverse range of strokes.

Many heralds at the College of Arms began their careers in antiquarian research and scribal service for the College or for elite scholars such as John Nettleton.[172] This kind of service, in which arms-drawers created heraldic manuscripts and reference books, enabled these scribes to gain the required knowledge in heraldry to gain more senior positions within the College. Going by the example of William Segar, it was also possible to become a herald after training as a scrivener. Segar's skill at handwriting is evinced in the patent for Lionel Cranfield in Figure 2.6, where he uses bulbs on his italic letters and an even italic script.[173] William Burch is in scribal service to Nettleton, using his developing skill at writing and image-making to gain familiarity with arms and antiquities. Burch's emerging scribal skill can be seen in his practise of unfamiliar scripts using sentences and alphabets. Figure 2.10 is an example of chancery hand within CCA-LitMS/A/14, with Burch using Biblical names and the alphabet to learn this set script.[174]

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[171] For Commaundre as chaplain see: Arthur Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), p.29.
[172] John Guillim was in the College's service as a scribe before becoming a herald. Murrell, p.2.
[173] KHLC, U269/1 F2. 'Bulbs' = circuler ends to strokes.
[174] CCAL, LitMS/A/14, fol.40r.
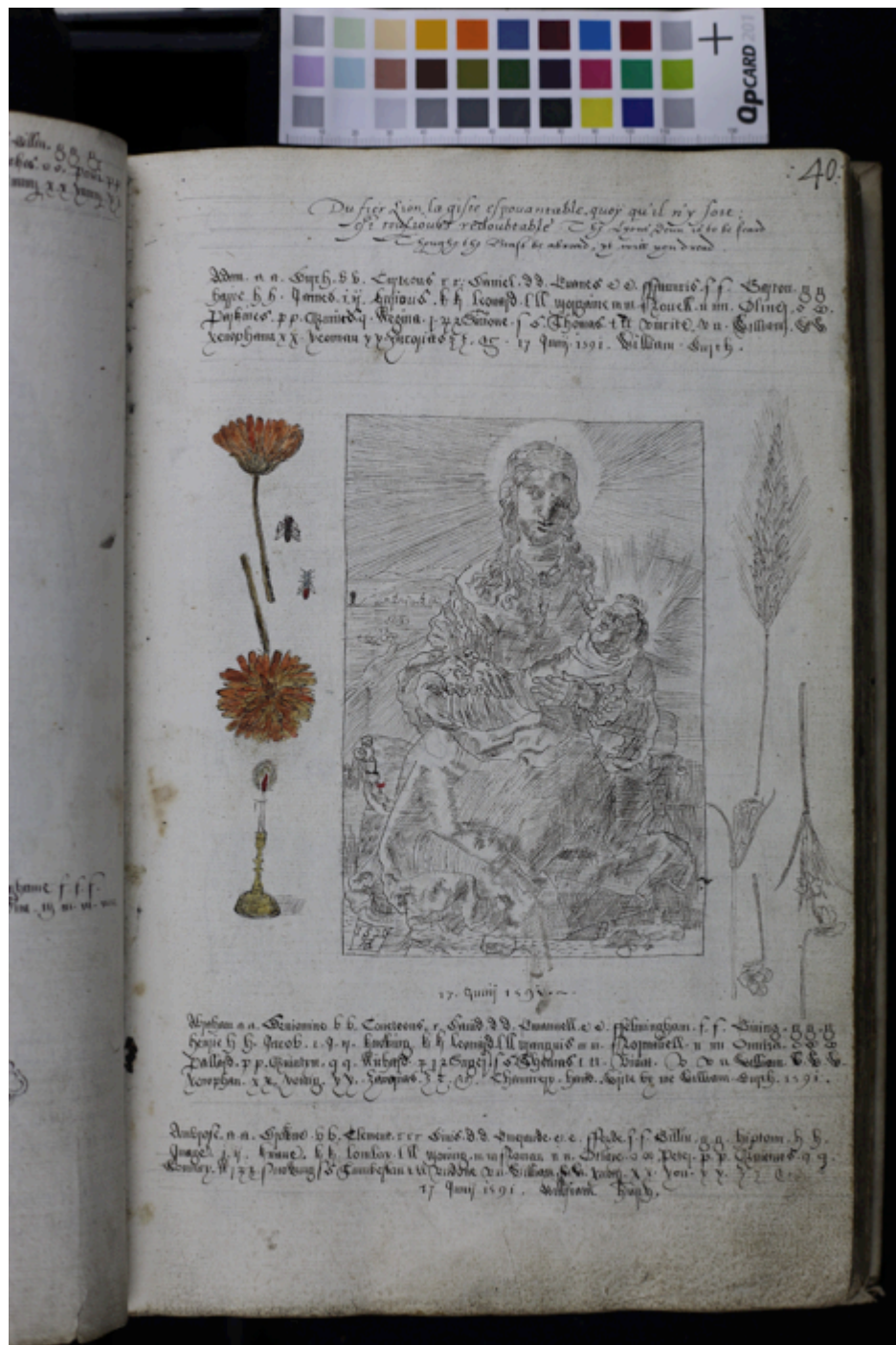
Figure 2.18. Burch's Chancery Hand. CCAL, CCA-LitMS/A/14, fol.40[r].

If Burch had not signed and dated his attempt at this script, it would be difficult to know whether it was his work. As such, Burch's repetition of his signature within the manuscript against all of the images and texts he compiles can be understood as a means of claiming ownership over its varied contents. Burch's aim to master multiple scripts indicates his concern with building expertise at handwriting styles that could be used in future employment. Chancery hand, for example, was an essential script to master if a scribe was to gain work at the Court of Chancery.[175] Alongside set hands, Burch employed calligraphic scripts, using italic hands made from zigzagging lines, dots, or swirls, particularly in the first part of the manuscript.[176] These examples display Burch's potential for innovation, where he makes use of the quill's affordances to create recognisable letterforms with decorative touches. In this way, Burch exemplifies the contradiction inherent within handwriting explored in the introduction to this thesis: between the *socialised* dimension of the craft, where legibility is important, and the potential for deliberate or accidental innovation by individual scribes.

Part of the social dimension of handwriting is the employment of set hands and it is important to consider how, if scribes are working to script models in arms-drawing, handwriting can be considered as anything other than *hylomorphic* in this context. In forming a script to aesthetic expectations or script models, scribes imposed form upon materials. As Goldberg observes, these

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[175] For information about chancery hand or other court hands and how it developed into the sixteenth century see Charles Johnson, *English Court Hand A.D. 1066-1500* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915); Jean F. Preston and Laetitia Yeandle, *English Handwriting 1400-1650* (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992); and Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton.

[176] CCAL, LitMS/A/14, fols 1ʳ-30ᵛ.

scribes expressed: 'values produced by a hand that has already subscribed to the frame in which the hand is placed'.[177] In this sense, arms-drawing scribes subscribe to occupational practices: an ability to render scripts that meet expectation is part of their occupational identity. When considering how a scribe works towards script models it is important to consider, alongside the script's appearance, what it says about the scribe's relationship with the affordances within writing tools and materials. In this way, although conducting set scripts is *hylomorphic,* because materials are being used to meet an aesthetic model, there is also still conversation between a scribe and the materials of writing.

Burch often used thick, dark ink when practising set hands (see Figure 2.18); something also practised by Commaundre. Thick ink, as stated in the introduction, could enable a scribe to write slowly and think about their letterforms as they are shaped. When Burch wrote in his natural cursive hand, he often chose lighter ink, which enabled quick handwriting. Burch's employment of two ink types, indicates that he was aware of, and made use of, the affordances within ink and quills to move between handwriting styles. By performing his natural hand, Burch wrote quickly because the set of movements used were learnt and practised to the point that they were memorised.[178] In arms-drawing then, the use of set hands was important, and a scribe made material allowances for their performance to a high standard. Handwriting was an essential indicator of an arms-drawer's skill at using the tools required for the rendering of heraldic achievements too, and precision in writing could evoke associations with meticulousness across an array of image rendering processes.

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[177] Goldberg, 'Hamlet's Hand', p.319.
[178] This is in line with M.B Parkes' description of cursive hands as 'protean' due to the scribes' prioritising of 'the momentum and continuity of the movements' over appearance. M. B Parkes, p.72.

Burch's innovative touches – such as the zigzagging of strokes, feathering and flourishes – show his utilisation of the quill's affordances whilst working within the framework of set scripts. Malcolm Parkes argues that handwriting is: 'defined by the limitations of the pen and the finite number of possible movements', because there are only a limited number of ways in which a scribe might innovate whilst maintaining a legible script.[179] As such, arms-drawers' handwriting innovation was constrained by the need to create legible text. Francis Thynne, in his heraldic and antiquarian manuscripts made for Sir Thomas Egerton, also added decorative touches to set scripts. Figure 2.19 displays the first two folios of Thynne's compilation of 'Emblemes and Epigrames', in which he used italic and secretary hand with engrossed majuscules on the principal title.[180] Thynne embellished the lowercase 'd' and the capital 'E' exercising the quill's affordances to individualise certain letterforms.

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[179] M.B. Parkes, *Their Hands*, p.101.
[180] HL, EL 34/B/12, fols 1[r] and 2[r].

[IMAGES REDACTED]

Figure 2.19. Francis Thynne, HL, EL 34/B/12, fols 1^r and 2^r.

Francis Thynne began his career by making antiquarian compilations in the late sixteenth century. He spent time in prison for debt, so would have

developed his arms-drawing expertise in a similar context to Burch.[181] Almost thirty years after his imprisonment, he was appointed Lancaster Herald in 1602.[182] Arguably, Burch was being prepared for a comparable role to Thynne, which the similarities between their interests show. Due to some of their experiences being concurrent, it is useful to compare Burch and Thynne's scribal practices using Image Processing to establish how their use of the quill might be considered 'occupational', and what features of their letterforms might signify innovative practice. This is especially important for an occupation such as arms-drawing, where scribes were performing letterforms to script models in order to achieve an expected aesthetic. The experiment in Chapter One found that, occupationally, arms-drawers' handwriting is characterised by thinner pen strokes and wider and taller letters than the other occupations studied. This experiment seeks to explore handwriting at the level of the individual arms-drawer, to discover how the findings in chapter one compare with scribal practice within the occupation.

	Uppercase		Lowercase				
Scribe	**A**	**H**	**A**	**H**	**L**	**M**	**P**
William Burch	4	4	5	5	4	99	6
Francis Thynne	2	1	6	4	5	8	6

Table 2.1. Table showing the number of letterform samples taken for William Burch and Francis Thynne.

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[181] Thynne was in prison from 1576-1577. Carleson, p.203.
[182] Carlson, p.204.

Table 2.1 shows letterforms studied for William Burch and Francis Thynne. William Burch's letter 'm's were the first letterforms sampled for the Image Processing experiments in this thesis, which accounts for the large quantity sampled. This large quantity, however, does not seem to skew the results to a large degree. The results of this experiment are remarkable because they show many similarities between Burch's and Thynne's scribal practice, signifying a consistency between these two arms-drawers' handwriting.

For the perimeter and area Region Prop measurements, Burch and Thynne show similar results across all letterforms, particularly for lowercase 'a' and capital 'H'. Burch's letter 'm's measure far larger due to the number and variety sampled, but the mean and median measurements are similar, which indicates that there are no outliers that skew the results.
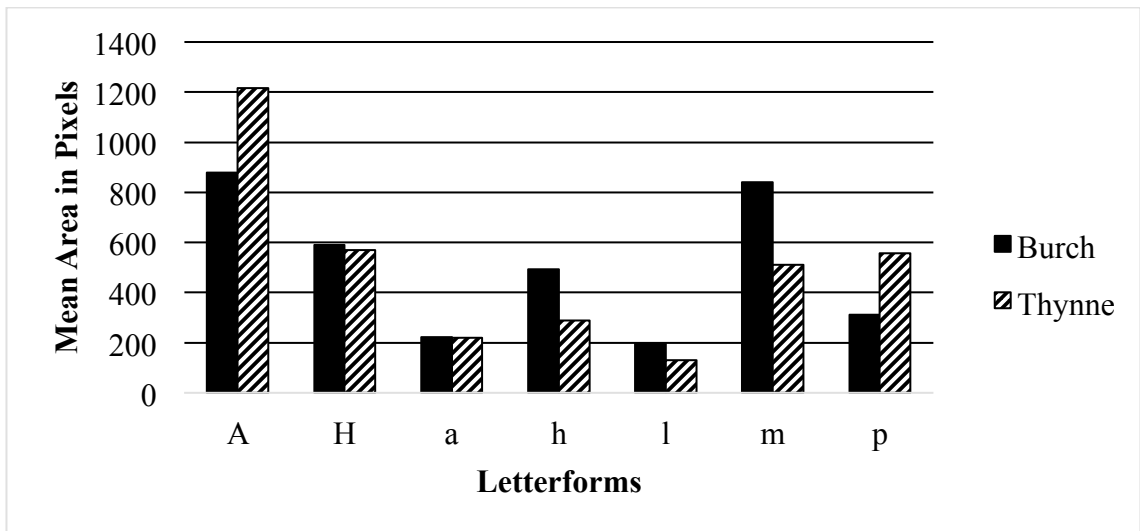
Chart 2.1. Mean Area in Pixels for Burch's and Thynne's Letterforms.
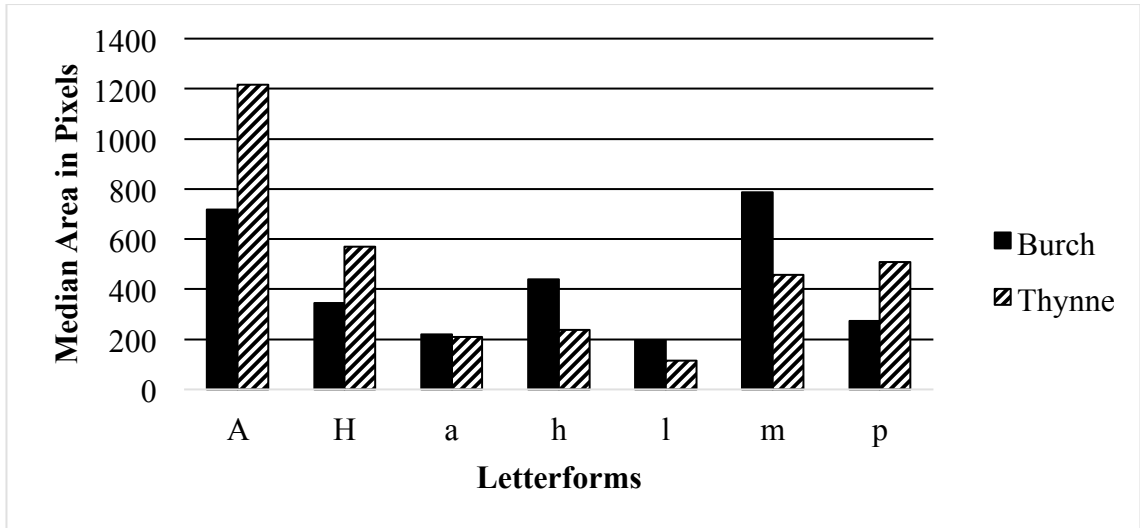
Chart 2.2. Median Area in Pixels for Burch's and Thynne's Letterforms.
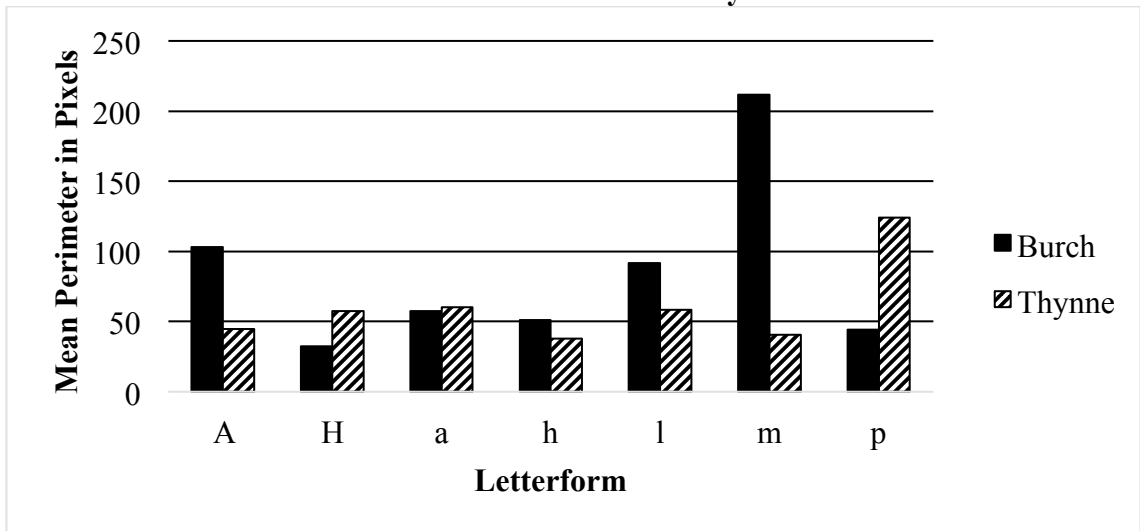
Chart 2.3. Mean Perimeter in Pixels for Burch's and Thynne's Letterforms.
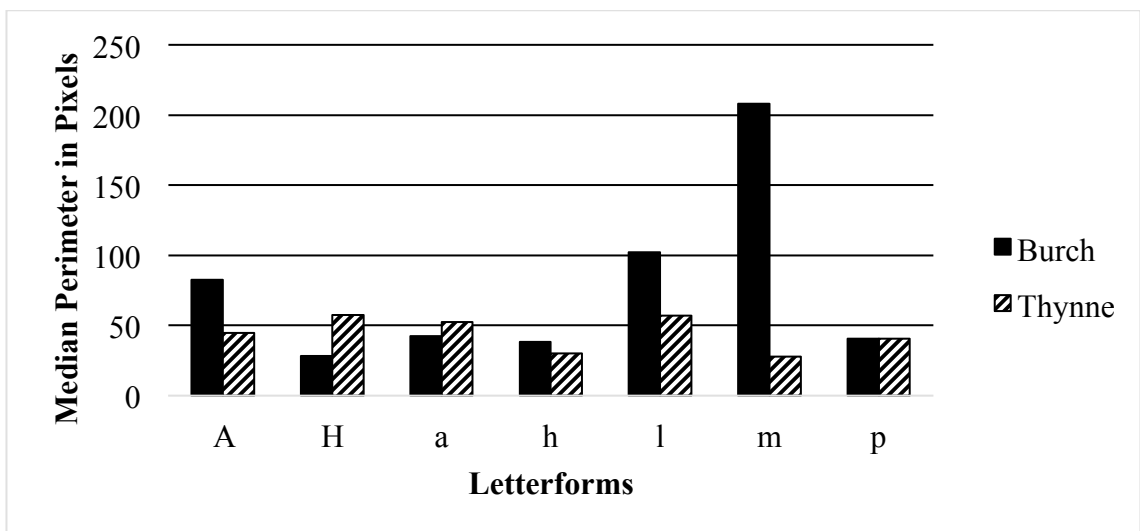
Chart 2.4. Median Perimeter in Pixels for Burch's and Thynne's Letterforms.

Thynne's results display a larger area for uppercase 'a' and 'h' than Burch. However, his perimeter measurements for uppercase 'a' are smaller, and for uppercase 'h' are almost equal. This suggests that Thynne used thicker strokes to form letters than Burch, creating a larger area measurement for his uppercase letterforms, but that overall, the space these letterforms take up on a page is similar, with the perimeter results not showing much difference between the two scribes. Similarities across most of the lowercase letters, and the slight difference in the uppercase forms, demonstrate that uppercase letters are likely to carry innovative touches. The continuity between lowercase letterforms, in terms of their area and perimeter between the two scribes, reveals an adherence to expected standards of writing within arms-drawing scribal work.

In the major and minor axis length categories, both scribes again are very similar across the lowercase letterforms, with the uppercase letterforms displaying larger differences.
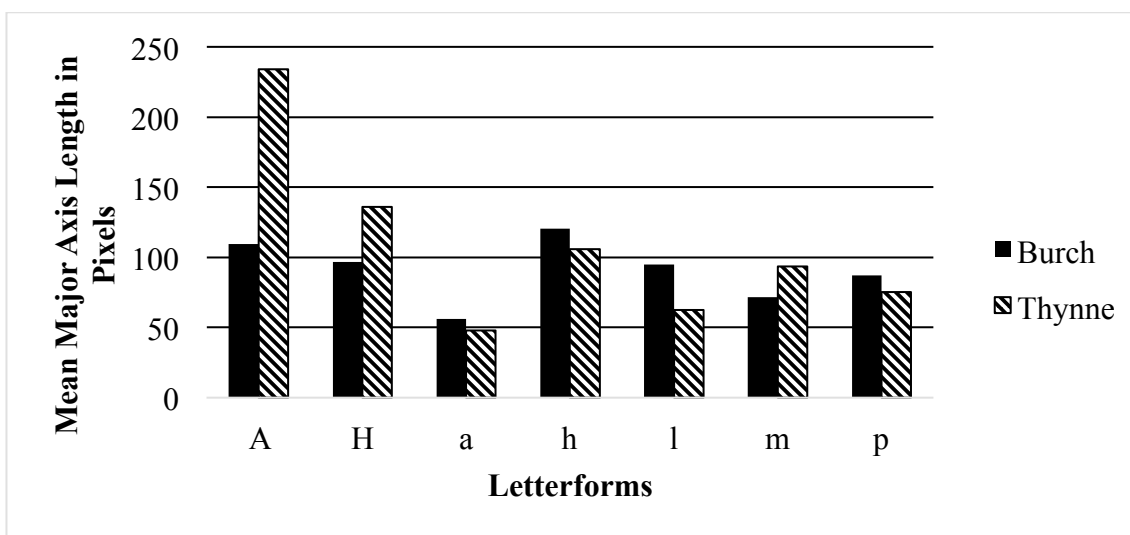
Chart 2.5. Mean Major Axis Length in Pixels for Burch's and Thynne's letterforms.
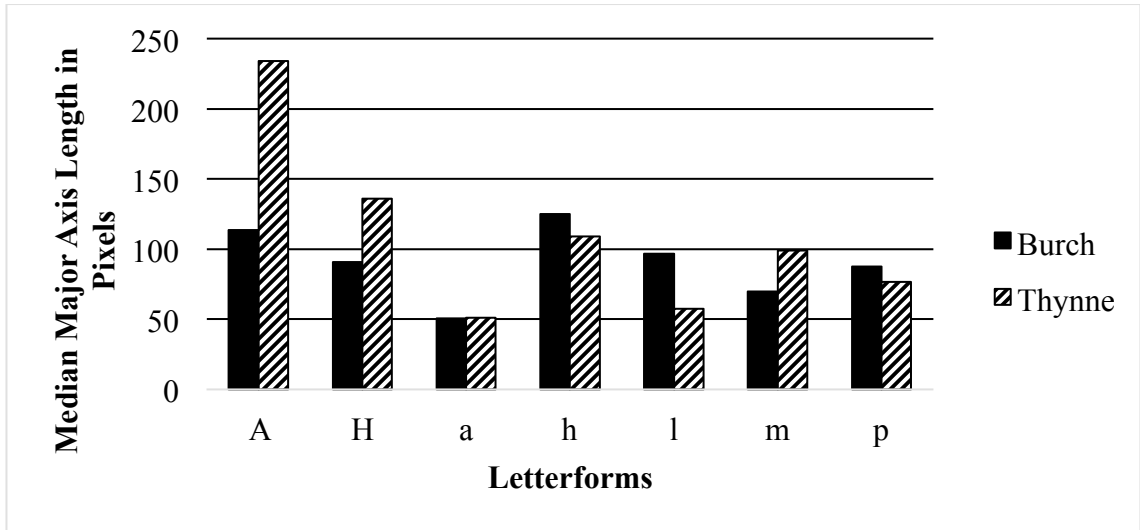
Chart 2.6. Median Major Axis Length in Pixels for Burch's and Thynne's Letterforms.
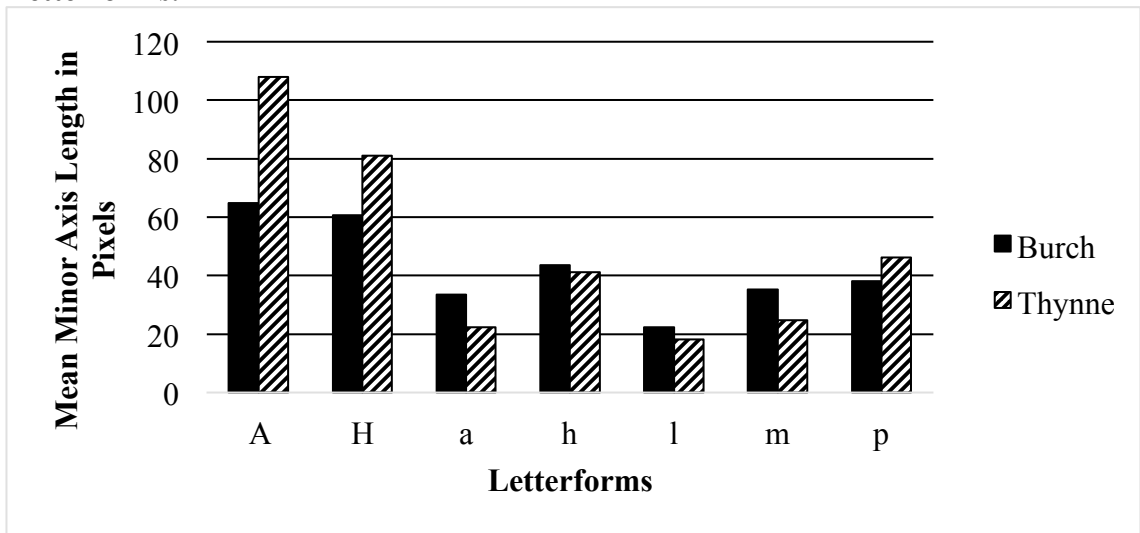
Chart 2.7. Mean Minor Axis Length in Pixels for Burch's and Thynne's Letterforms.
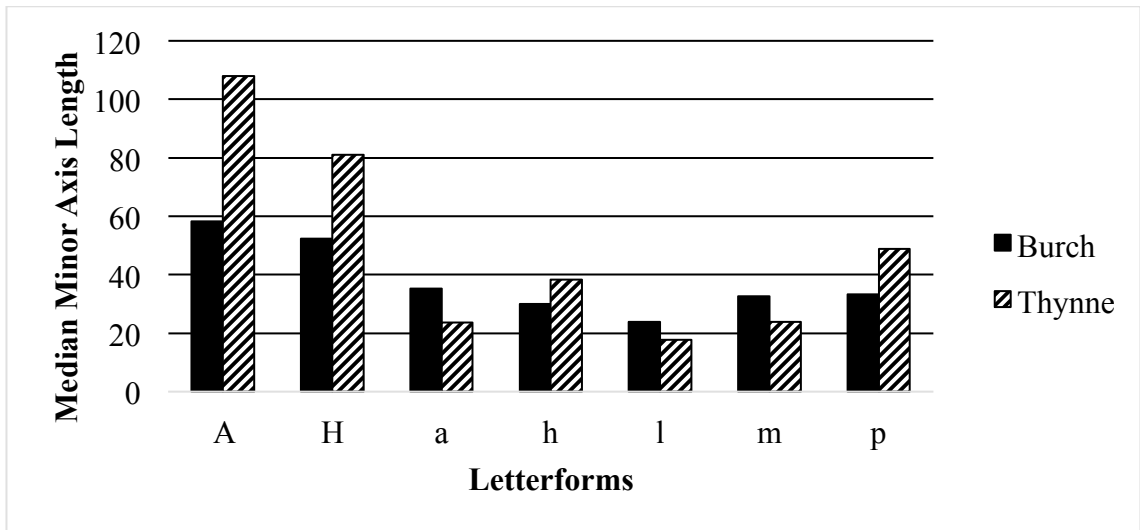
Chart 2.8. Median Minor Axis Length in Pixels for Burch's and Thynne's Letterforms.

The larger difference between the uppercase letterforms again indicates the manner in which capitals are sites of innovation for scribes, where they could add decorative touches. For example, Figure 2.20 shows binary capital letters 'H' and 'A' for Francis Thynne. Here, Thynne's high major and minor axis length measurements can be seen in his elongated strokes, something that was noted in the Chapter One as a pattern of practice amongst arms-drawers and stewards.

Figure 2.20. Binarised capital letters 'A' and 'H' by Francis Thynne. HL, EL 34/B/12.

From these letterforms, Thynne's use of different sides of the quill to create decorative touches on his capital letterforms is clear. He uses a loop to the bottom left of his capital 'A' and bottom right of the capital 'H', and then uses a thick descending stroke to form the right-hand side of his letter A, suggesting a movement from writing on the point of the quill to its right edge. The stroke on the left-hand side of his letter 'H' also employs rounded ends, like the letters William Segar used in his patent of arms for Lionel Cranfield in Figure 2.6, suggesting that this kind of decorative touch is something employed by other

arms-drawers. [183] In comparison, Burch's major and minor axis length measurements show more restraint in the length of his strokes for capital letters, making them slightly more compact than Thynne's.

Again, in the orientation category, Thynne and Burch show remarkably similar practices across letterforms, indicating a similar training in writing.
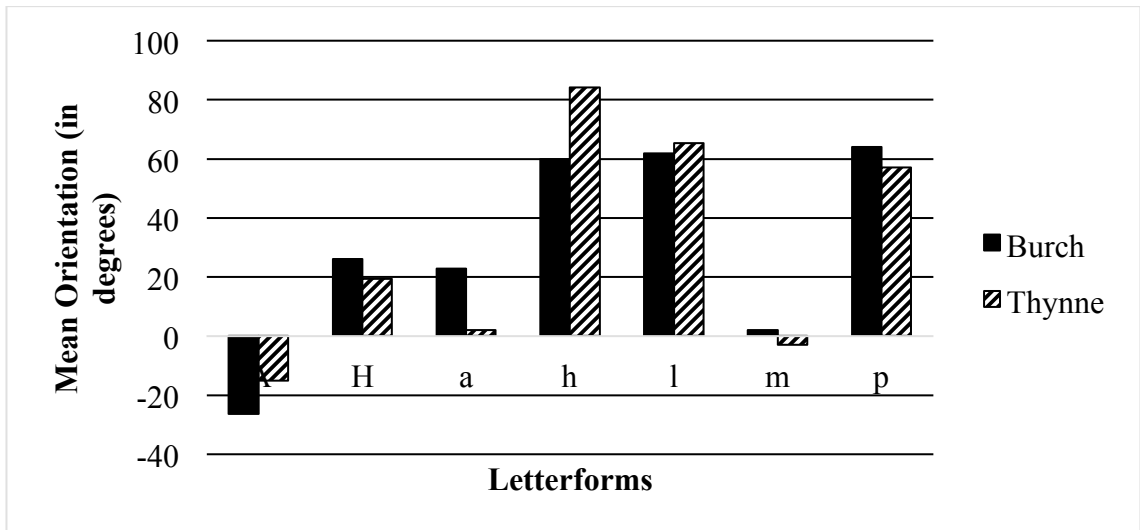
Chart 2.9. Mean Orientation in Degrees for Burch's and Thynne's Letterforms.
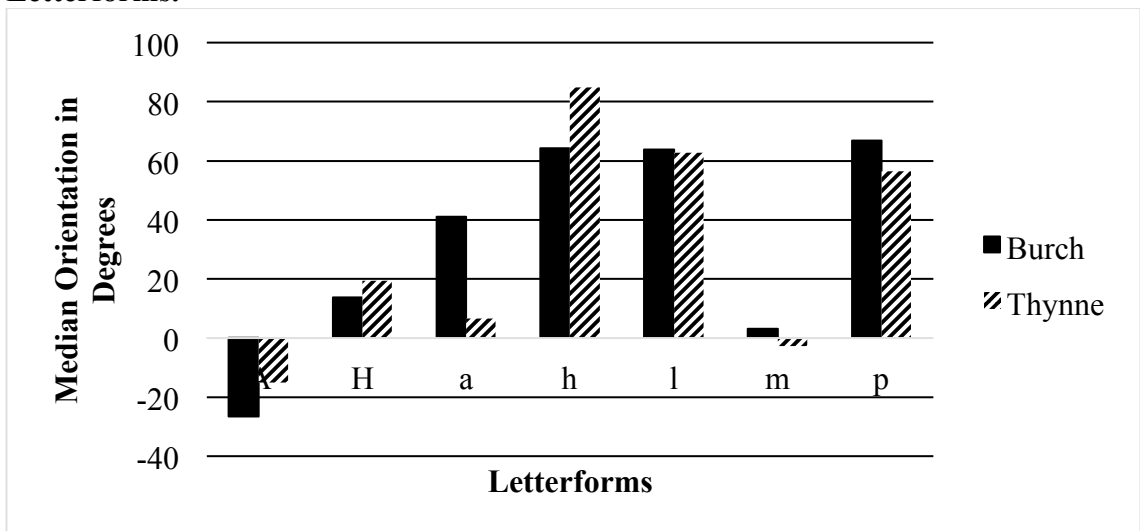
Chart 2.10. Median Orientation in Degrees for Burch's and Thynne's Letterforms.

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[183] KHLC, U269/1 F2.

All letterforms show a pattern of falling in the same direction for both Burch and Thynne (apart from a slight difference for lowercase 'm'), and this suggests that their posture is similar when approaching the folio to write. There is a clear distinction between the uppercase and lowercase letterforms, with capital 'A' distinctively leaning to the left, and uppercase 'H' being more upright than many of the lowercase letters. This left lean for capital letters again suggests that arms-drawers utilised changes in posture in order to create letterforms, moving the paper to enable the varying stroke sizes and flourishes upon the uppercase letterforms seen in Figure 2.20.[184] The longer the letterform – and the more one of its strokes ascends or descends below or above the mid-line – the more the letterform leans to the right for both scribes. This demonstrates how both Burch and Thynne are working within aesthetic expectations, as both utilise this technique across lowercase 'h', 'l' and 'p'. The only letter that shows a large difference in angle is lowercase 'a', where Burch's lean far to the right. This might be an indication of speed of writing, another feature orientation can suggest, with right leaning letters signifying a quick pen.[185]

In this sense, the kind of manuscripts Thynne and Burch are creating could lead to differing speeds of writing. Thynne is making manuscripts for an elite patron, Sir Thomas Egerton, and as such is meticulous in his presentation, like the gift manuscripts explored in section 2.5.i. In comparison, CCA-LitMS/A/14, although made for an elite patron, is more concerned with collecting information than consistent presentation. For many sections of writing, particularly where Burch is not practising new scripts, he uses his natural, mixed hand. As such, his writing speed would be higher as he is not as focused on

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[184] Parkes, p.154.
[185] Ibid., p.154.

creating consistent presentation. This is suggested in the results for his lowercase letter 'a' samples.

In analysing the solidity and extent categories across Burch and Thynne's letterforms, their hands are again similar. In the introduction, the solidity measurements for this category suggested that arms-drawers and stewards used less dense ink than the clerks and officeholders, suggested by their solidity measurement and the extent category conversely suggested that arms-drawers and stewards used thicker strokes and more ink overall.
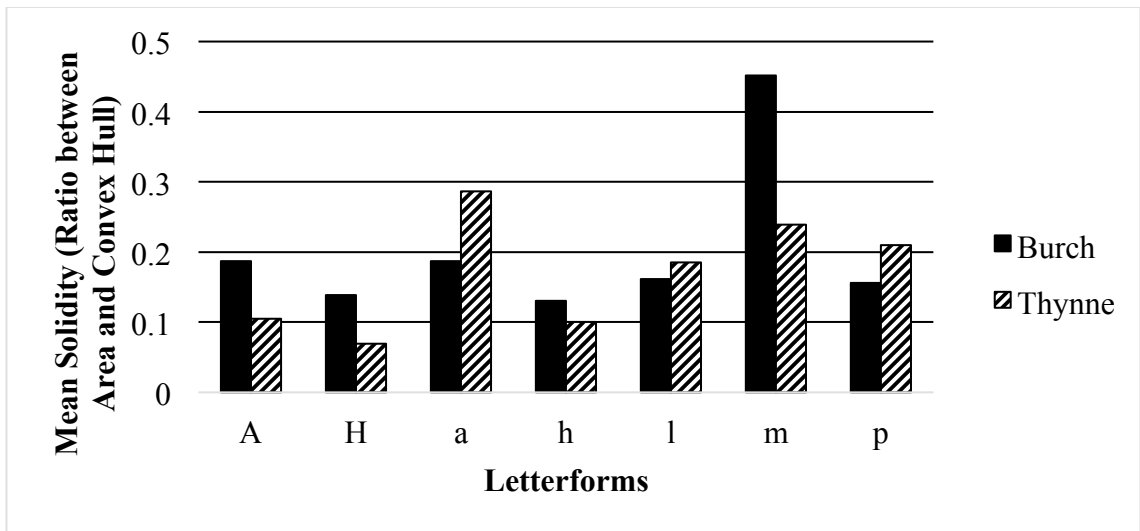
Chart 2.11. Mean Solidity for Burch's and Thynne's Letterforms.
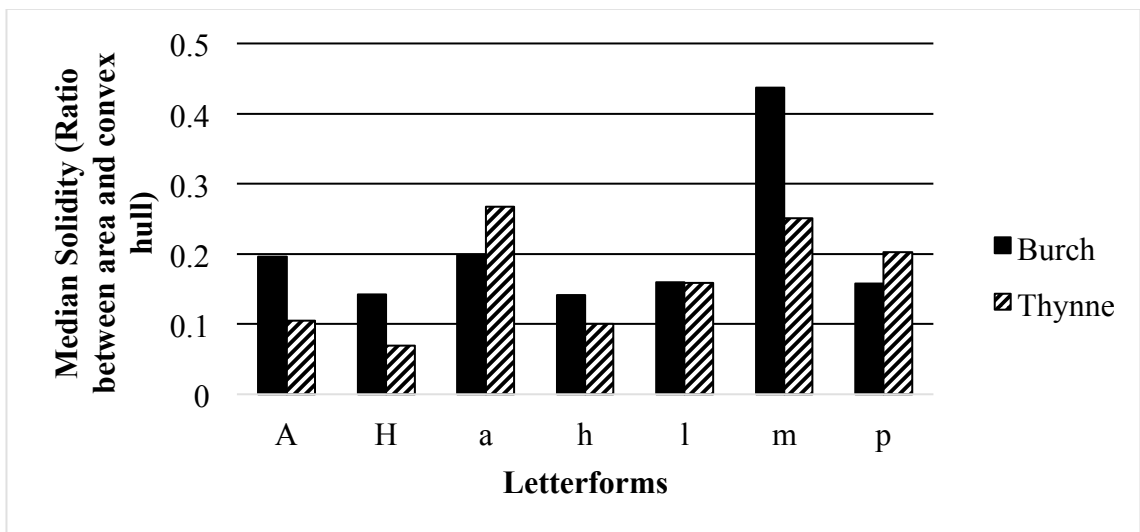
Chart 2.12. Median Solidity for Burch's and Thynne's Letterforms.
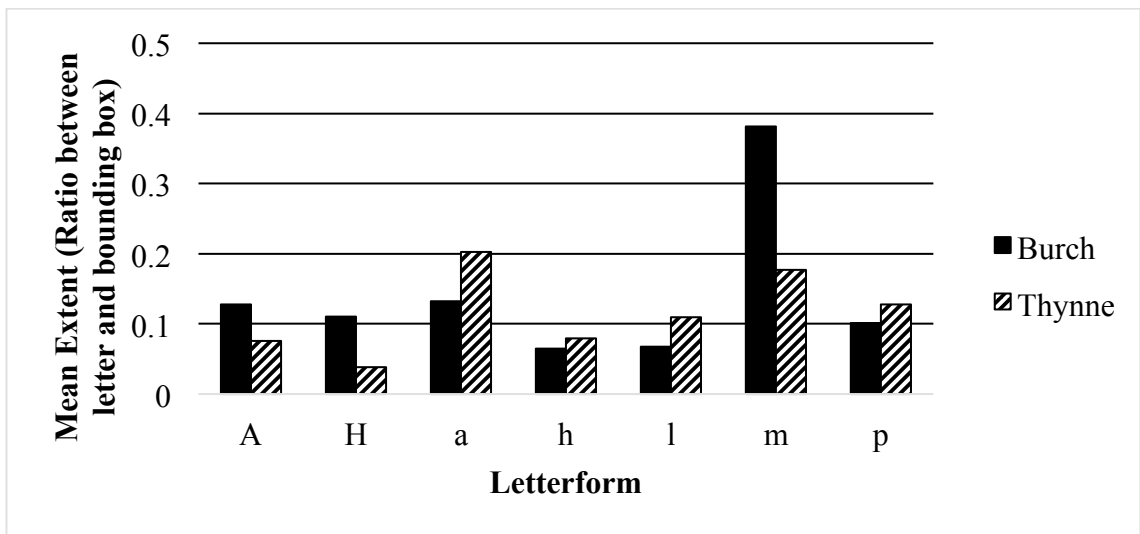
Chart 2.13. Mean Extent for Burch's and Thynne's Letterforms.
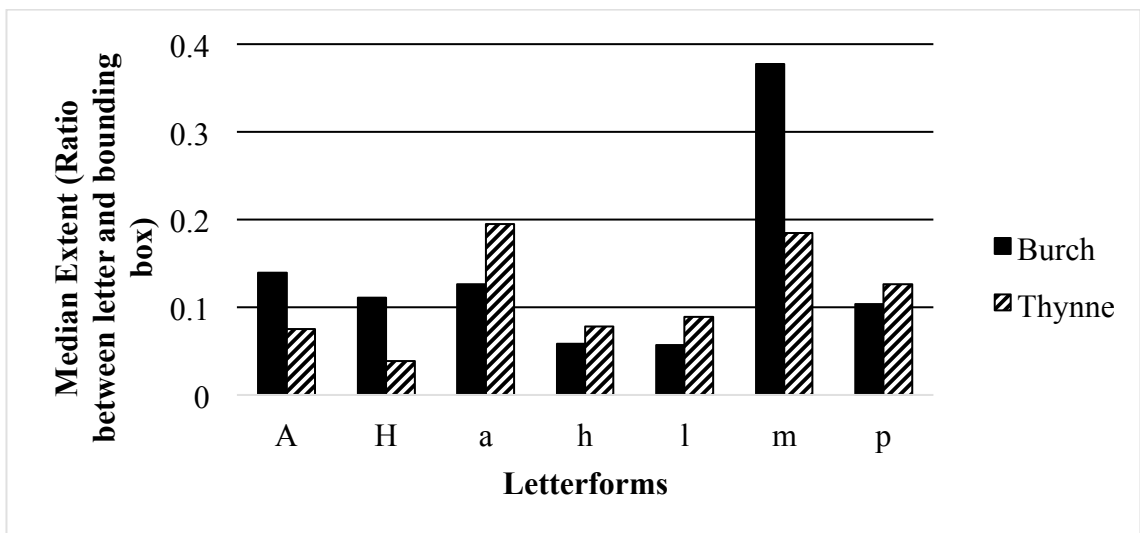
Chart 2.14. Median Extent for Burch's and Thynne's Letterforms.

Similarities in the extent measurements across Burch's and Thynne's letterforms suggests that they are using similar kinds of quills to write with. This is due to the fact that the ratio between the letterform and its bounding box is consistent across all letterforms (apart from lowercase 'm'), signifying the use of strokes similar distances apart. When this is compared with the results for solidity, it is clear that the use of similar quill shapes is also in line with the use of ink: both scribes have comparable ink density values, and, as seen in the introduction, a

lower ink density overall than for other occupations studied. This means that on the whole, even though there is a visible variation in darkness of ink within CCA-LitMS/A/14, depending on Burch's use of script, the mean and median density is in line with Burch's and Thynne's more prevalent use of thin ink.

Overall, the similarities between Burch's and Thynne's writing styles indicate a comparable education in handwriting, and a desire to adhere to expected aesthetic forms of writing. Heraldic manuscripts' overall impact depended both on their evocation of luxury and adherence to strict codes of communication: arms-drawers' subsequent use of script models to moderate their handwriting reinforced their sense of occupational identity. Deliberate innovation, however, does seem to take place in Burch and Thynne's handwriting, especially across capital letterforms, the forms which showed the greatest deviation between the two scribes.

Occupational identity in arms-drawing, then, can be seen as linked to handwriting which adheres to script models, suggesting that arms-drawers' work is – to some degree – in line with Goldberg's 'frame in which the hand is placed'.[186] Innovation is limited to capital letters, which can include decorative touches, which distinguish one scribe from another in a striking manner and demonstrate a scribe's ability to utilise the affordances of a quill. This Image Processing experiment comparing two scribes working in arms-drawing contexts has revealed how occupational practices in arm-drawing pivot around handwriting as well as image-making, and that those interested in image-making would also have been interested in script-form. This concern is expressed in the similarities between Burch and Thynne, who, although not educated together,

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[186] Goldberg, 'Hamlet's Hand', p.319.

clearly received similar instruction that led to their execution of comparable letterforms. The measurements used here have enabled accurate analyses of size and shape, and a comparison of features like orientation (which, although possible to note by looking, cannot be specifically measured and compared between scribes). The use of Image Processing to compare Francis Thynne and William Burch has revealed the significance of script models to consistency in handwriting in heraldry, even if Burch is not apprenticed as a herald. This is important in considering how the aesthetic aims of heraldic manuscripts should be understood. The overall impression of luxury, consistency, and diligent research in arms-drawing, is created not only by the precise execution of coats of arms and decorative work, but also handwriting, which for Thynne and Burch, entailed the mastery of set hands. Arms-drawers' mastery of techniques that resulted in the consistent rendering of coats of arms and multiple scripts also prepared them for other kinds of image making. This chapter now moves on to looking at Burch's use of symbolic imagery in CCA-Lit/MS/A/14, and how its execution converses with arms-drawing techniques.

2.8. Arms-Drawing and Image-Making in CCA-LitMS/A/14

CCA-LitMS/A/14 contains many other kinds of symbolic imagery – where heraldic motifs are placed in dialogue with, for example, emblems, or devotional imagery – that encourage the reader to decipher a moral message. Unlike heraldry, which acts as a form of identification attached to a particular person or institution, emblems often (though not always) denote abstract concepts.[187] William Camden argues that emblems act as 'a generall document to all', and provide 'some generall instruction to all'.[188] A reader, then, might gain an understanding or education in an abstract concept through an emblem. Camden gives an example of the concept 'peace bringeth plenty', expressed through an image of a woman with 'an olive crowne representing peace, carrying in one hand the horne of plenty'.[189] By compiling heraldry alongside emblems and other images, then, William Burch placed two interrelated kinds of imagery together.[190]

The dialogue between heraldry and emblems goes both ways at the end of the sixteenth and into the seventeenth centuries, because heraldry began to incorporate all kinds of changes into its achievements – including signs denoting a person's trade. As Tara Hamling has recently explored, in relation to Randle Holmes' *The Academy of Armory* in which Holmes tries to collect together all patterns used in arms:

armorial bearings fall into two groups; proper charges (known as ordinaries) and "common charges". Ordinaries are bold, rectilinear and geometrical shapes

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[187] For a chapter exploring heraldry, *Impresa*, and emblems see: Alan R. Young, 'Heraldry and Alternate Emblematic Forms in the Age of Shakespeare', in *Heralds and Heraldry*, pp.283-307.

[188] William Camden, *Remaines Concerning Britain their Languages, Names, Surnames, Allusions, Anagrammes, Armories, Monies, Empreses, Apparell, Artillarie, Wise Speeches, Proverbs, poesies, Epitaphs* (London: Printed for Simon Waterson and Robert Clavell, 1657), p.336.

[189] Camden, *Remaines*, p.336.

[190] See Bath, *Speaking*; and Tung, p.87.

which could be configured in various ways so that their symbolism required a level of specialist knowledge to interpret. Common charges, on the other hand, are usually representational and transparent in meaning.[191]

The incorporation of common charges into heraldry makes the coat of arms readable to those who do not know the language of Ordinaries, and they are easily transformed into other images used in manuscripts and decoration. This use of heraldic symbols across visual genres and mediums is certainly something Burch used within the manuscript, since all of the images he compiled are symbolic: the animals derive from common forms in heraldry, usually depicted at the head of the achievement or the 'helme' described as such in painters' workbooks, and he also commonly drew emblems within his manuscript. By employing heraldic derivatives, Burch took motifs that utilised *impresa* – such as the Roman and Greek medallions depicted in Figure 2.1 – and placed them alongside coats of arms and emblems.

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[191] Hamling, 'Visual Culture,' p.100.

Figure 2.21. Lady Justice in CCAL, CCA/Lit-MS/A/14, fol.31ᵛ.

Figure 2.22. FSL, V.b.232, fol.156ʳ.[192]

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[192] Image from: <https://luna.folger.edu/luna/servlet/s/eamyfp> [accessed 13/11/2018]. For a facsimile of this manuscript with commentary see: *The Trevelyon Miscellany of 1608: A*

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One emblem Burch compiles is of Lady Justice, a personification of one of the cardinal virtues (faith, hope, charity, prudence, fortitude, temperance, and justice). The cardinal virtues were commonly used in emblem books, manuscripts, and in architecture (Figure 2.21).[193] Burch strikingly chose not to include all virtues in CCA-LitMS/A/14, only justice, suggesting that this emblem held significance for him, and perhaps Nettleton too.[194] Justice is pictured in a recognisable manner with a sword and scales, though Burch did not picture her with her usual blindfold. As justice was depicted in this way across visual culture, this image would have held power in its recognisability, much like heraldry's ability to generate an immediate association to an individual or institution. Justice, as one of the virtues, served as a reminder to the reader of the importance of leading a virtuous life – holding a moral meaning for a viewer, including Burch.[195] This moral meaning is explained in the accompanying verse: the scales represent the fair weighing of a case; the sword, the cutting off of offenders; and her right ear is open to 'the just'. Within the prison context, in which this emblem is compiled, it also acts as a commentary on the nature of imprisonment. Burch separates the final couplet of the verse, and writes in a notably larger hand: 'if justice would in this fort rule & raigne, wrong dealing could in no place long remain. 1590 William Burch ells Ellis vicare of the King's Bench'.[196] In his emblem of justice, Burch suggested that injustice 'rules' at the King's Bench. In this sense, his use of this emblem chimes with the myriad of

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Facsimile of Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.B.232, ed. by Heather Wolfe (Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, 2007).
[193] For a particularly splendid manuscript depiction of the virtues see: FSL, V.b.232, fols 154ᵛ-157ᵛ. Images available at: <https://luna.folger.edu/luna/servlet/s/eamyfp>.
[194] CCAL, Lit-MS/A/14, fol.31ᵛ.
[195] See Tara Hamling for the recognisability of emblematic visual schemes in art and architecture in "Wanting Arms", p.218. See also Tessa Watts, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.178-193.
[196] CCA-LitMS\A\14, fol. 31ᵛ.

printed petitions and commentaries on the injustice of incarceration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[197]

When Burch's emblem is compared to another manuscript depiction of Justice that appears within the 1608 Trevelyon Miscellany, it becomes clear that the personification of justice that appears in visual representations of the period had fixed and recognisable meanings for its audiences. The written explanation below the image explains that justice has four dimensions: 'celestiall: natural. ciuil, and iudicial'. The 'natural' tendency within people to justice is placed in conversation with law and leadership, which work towards a 'consideration and dutiful acknowledging of God'.[198] The Burch manuscript's verse suggests a similar meaning – with justice having the 'sacred power' of 'good order' and the 'truth' – good order, which is achieved by the 'godly' leadership explained in the Trevelyon example.[199] The compiling of emblems alongside heraldic imagery within manuscripts, then, draws upon and manifests the perceived relationship between the heraldry and emblems in the minds of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century readers. Both have defined meanings – emblems to abstract concepts, and heraldry to people and institutions.

Emblems are also a place where scribal identities are expressed. Both the Burch and Trevelyon examples of justice display similar drawing practices: cross-hatching, black ink lines, and the same set of recognisable symbols. Yet the context in which each depiction is placed differs. While both dress justice in Classical clothing, Trevelyon places her in a colourful, natural scene, while Burch avoids the vibrant and rich presenting her 'attyred as though her state were

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[197] See most famously, John Fox *Acts and Monuments* (London, 1563), and for the King's Bench petitions of Simon Sturtevant recorded in Sherman, 'Patents and Prisons', p.234.
[198] FSL, V.b.232, fol.156^r.
[199] CCAL, CCA-LitMS\A\14, fol. 31^v.

poore'.[200] Burch's drawing is very much centred on the accompanying verse, with the right ear highlighted in its odd position and size. Trevelyon's figure is smaller, and read as part of a wider decorative scheme of natural patterns. Each scribe's use of the imagery characteristic of justice, then, demonstrates how a talented pensman might find room for innovation in emblems, where, if the relevant recognisable symbols are included, the scheme the emblem appears within can vary. Beginning with heraldry, a scribe could move to other kinds of symbolic images that represent abstract concepts and were popular additions to architectural schemes, decorative textiles, printed books, and manuscripts.

In their compilation of multiple heraldic derivatives within CCA-LitMS/A/14, Burch and his master Nettleton encouraged a reading of antiquities that relates not only to their importance within a classical and genealogical past, but their interrelation with forms of power that are conceptual as well as belonging to a person. Moral tales in the form of depicted virtues like justice, or devotional ones in the form of the crucifixion, remind the viewer of the importance of leading virtuous lives. When set alongside heraldry, they also encourage viewers to see such models of virtue within those bearing arms.

2.9. Conclusion

This chapter set out to interpret the material practices of arms-drawing, focusing on the work of William Burch alias Ellis in CCA-LitMS/A/14 and situating it within a wider heraldic context. The King's Bench Prison, in which this manuscript was made, was spatially, socially, and materially significant to Burch's practices, with a community of manuscript-makers and readers, and

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[200] Ibid., fol. 31ᵛ.

access to writing materials and books to copy from. It is this context that enabled Burch's access to John Nettleton and his collection of manuscripts. Burch's position as an apprentice and servant to Nettleton presents a frame through which his occupational identity can be understood. The King's Bench Prison has been seen as a permeable environment, characterised by the social world it facilitated – particularly for high status prisoners, who were able to bring in guests, family members, servants, and belongings to create a vibrant intertextual world. Burch, whilst in Nettleton's service, was able to draw upon this environment in order to create CCA-LitMS/A/14, and learn, through compilation, about the construction of coats of arms, and about antiquities. Burch's scribal identity was shaped by this spatially restricted – but socially and textually rich – world.

The practices that shaped Burch's occupational identity, however, were clearly drawn from arms-drawing. Burch's practising of set hands, cross-hatching, use of tools to generate consistency, and copying of emblems as well as arms expressed his occupational alliances and situated him within a group of arms-drawers. Burch's personal knowledge or the 'artisanal literacy' of his craft was in conversation with commonly rendered images and techniques. This was seen strikingly in the results for the Image Processing experiment comparing the handwriting of Francis Thynne with William Burch, where it is clear that they attempted to create set hands with innovative touches restricted to capital letterforms.

Arms-drawers, including Burch, have been seen as embedded in the socially constructed power structures of the gentry, creating manuscripts in the service of families who held the right to bear arms. Their manuscripts speak of (and to) a context of economic privilege and luxury, with some using parchment,

colour, and even gold leaf. Textually, arms-drawers deferred to their employer's status, and this is expressed in Burch's inscription of Nettleton's ancestral motto and in his lack of choice over the material compiled. For Burch, the rendering of heraldry is an act not just of recognition of the power held by those bearing arms, but deference to it in his compilation of coats of arms into a manuscript made for Nettleton. The personal touches within the manuscript – Burch's signing of his name, confessions, and the occasional memoranda – give a rare insight into the life of a scribe, and Burch's identity as a servant and apprentice to Nettleton within the prison. It is these touches that make the Burch manuscript an important volume that offers awareness of the life of prison scribes and of arms-drawers making manuscripts for gentry families.

In comparing the Burch manuscript with other contemporaneous heraldic books, it is clear that CCA-LitMS/A/14 is in conversation with the wider culture and practices that characterise arms-drawing. William Burch is a skilled craftsman, able to produce copies of texts and images using multiple set scripts and techniques that appear across manuscripts engaging with heraldry. At the same time, CCA-LitMS/A/14 is clearly embedded within the environment of the King's Bench Prison, where the pejorative side to the restrictions placed upon Burch as an apprentice at the prison runs through the manuscript, particularly in Burch's depiction of justice. The Burch manuscript, then, stems from two strands of influence: arms-drawing culture and practices, and the environment of the prison. In the next chapter, this thesis turns to the practices of clerks working within the provincial town of Lydd, where multiple scribes acted as town officials and worked for a corporation. The sense of occupational identity between these two contexts is very different: while Burch worked to please his

employer and patron, clerks laboured to create records that account for the governance of their locale. The sense of material practice is also very different: while the meticulous arms-drawing and writing seen in the heraldic manuscripts in this chapter are also seen in the clerks' work, they exist alongside a greater need for speed.

In moving from one context to the next, then, it is important to emphasise the individual environment from which CCA-LitMS/A/14 emerges, and how Burch's skill within the confines of the prison represented his (sometimes troubled) relationship with his master, and a wider craft of arms-drawing that connects his manuscript to craftsmen operating outside of his spatial context. Burch's expertise was characteristic of arms-drawers, and of scribes providing scribal service to an elite master, something that is encountered again in this thesis during Chapter Five. In using a material, textual, and digital approach to Burch's manuscript-making, a sense of his practices has been gained. These have included: his selection of paper, the manner in which he used his pen, and the way in which he laid out each folio to render coats of arms and emblems, as well as antiquities carrying symbolic imagery. Arms-drawing was central to manuscript-making of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and many compilations of arms survive as a testament to its popularity. This chapter has unpicked many of the practices involved in this craft, contributing to scholarship on arms-drawing by providing an approach to manuscript materials and practices. The techniques uncovered mark how an occupational identity was shaped in arms-drawing. Further, it has advanced knowledge of the provenance and context in which CCA-LitMS/A/14 was produced.

Corporation Clerks

3.1. Introduction

> Item paid unto clarentiens king of armes the heraults of armes for his fee
> claymed in his visitacon by mr John Philipot rouge dragon the xth of
> September 1619____XLs
> Item given for a gratuity to the said mr Philipot_____XLs
> Item given to the kinge of heraults servant for entringe our common seale
> & seale of office in his booke herauldrye the names of the baylyff &
> juratts_____VIs[1]

Herald John Philipot came to the town of Lydd in 1619 for a visitation,

which resulted in his rendering of Lydd's corporation seals into a visitation

book.[2] This information is recorded in the above form by the town clerk John

Greene, within the Lydd chamberlains' accounts for 1619.[3] Here, there is a

connection between two different kinds of manuscript-making in written record:

the kind from the last chapter that comprises skills at producing heraldic

imagery, and the sort in this chapter that involves the making of administrative

records at a local level. From Greene's entry into the chamberlains' accounts, it

is clear that Philipott and Greene produced a record of the visitation in

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[1] KHLC, LY/2/1/1/8, fol.37[r].

[2] Examples of Philipot's work can be seen in: BL, MS Egerton 3310. An edition of one of his Kent manuscripts is: *John Philipot's Roll of the Constables of Dover Castle and Lord Wardens of the Cinque Ports 1627*, ed. by Francis W. Steer (London: Bell and Sons, 1956).

[3] There were two chamberlains in Lydd, hence the plural 'chamberlains'' used against 'accounts' throughout this chapter.

manuscripts of different forms. Their resulting manuscripts represent the communication in writing that takes place between these two contexts.

Clerks were some of the largest producers of extant sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscript materials, and they conducted their work within a variety of institutions such as corporations, churches, and guilds. As an occupational group, clerks were essential creators of the archives used for historical research, yet little is known about their document-generating practices. This chapter aims to explore clerks' manuscript techniques by focusing on a particular group working between 1560 and 1640 in the Kentish Cinque Port town of Lydd. In contrast to the previous chapter on arms-drawers, where the surviving documents were spread across many archives, this chapter narrows its investigations to a single records office and its archive for Lydd. A national study of clerks would involve the use of millions of documents, and is beyond the scope of this project.[4] This chapter explores how social connections within a small town informed the material-textual practices of those creating a corporation archive. It argues that a communal – or an occupational – identity is expressed through consistent material and textual forms, whilst individual clerkly identities are established through innovative features within documents.

Although documents produced by clerks have been valued for their textual content, they are rarely approached as objects fashioned with honed skill and technique.[5] As Alexandra Walsham has recently argued, however, closer attention to these archives is essential because: 'too often we mine the documentary sources [archives] house without scrutinizing the decisions about

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[4] Most of the documents cited in this chapter are from the LY series at Kent History and Library Centre.

[5] A notable exception to this is a chapter by Andrew Butcher on Hythe clerks: Butcher, 'The Functions', pp.157-170.

selection, arrangement, preservation and retention taken'.[6] These manuscripts'

survival is driven by the need to remember, in writing, details about events,

processes, and people, and to provide a means to review or reflect upon a

moment, meeting, or document in future. The way in which these texts are used

means that the methods of these documents' creation are neglected, but this

scrutiny is so important when considering the function and use of these items

within a community over time. Due to the prolific nature of these documents that

pertain to a particular place at a specific point in time – often dated to the day –

clerks' manuscripts give a detailed picture of a community's use of writing

materials. This chapter argues that these materials generate meanings that

suggest their use, storage, and making by clerks in Lydd, and it is through these

connotations that scribes' occupational practices can be explored.

A recent volume of *Past and Present*, which devotes its contents to

exploring our understandings of archives' survival, demonstrates that there has

been a critical turn towards the study of administrative recordkeeping.[7] From a

material perspective, however, there has been little work done on these

documents.[8] The only scholar to give attention to the material world of these

kinds of texts is Andrew Butcher in his study of Hythe's archives from 1300-

1500.[9] Here he argues that 'it is easy to fall foul of a kind of reductive fallacy in

relation to the scribes' work, and to forget the complexity of the productive

process and the socially embedded nature of their textual production'. He not

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[6] Walsham,'The Social History of the Archive', p.9.

[7] Ibid., p.9. Volume: 'The Social History of the Archive', Supplement 11, *Past and Present* (2016).

[8] Notable exceptions include studies from an archival perspective: Tom Nesmith, 'Archives from the Bottom Up: Social History and Archival Scholarship', *Archivaria*, 14 (1982), 5-26; Nicholas Popper, 'From Abbey to Archive: Managing Texts and Records in Early Modern England', *Archival Science*, 10.3 (2010), 249–66.

[9] Butcher, pp.157-170.

only gives a voice to 'the scribe', who is so often forgotten in our mining of archival documents, but he also draws attention to the significance of their work as a memory aid to a community. He argues scribes function as part of a network of text-creators who 'share […] practices, methods and understandings'.[10] These shared practices give a sense of occupational identity and knowledge creation in a social context within a town's archive, and it is these techniques that make Lydd's archive a worthwhile case study in manuscript making at the level of provincial governance.

Many of the clerks discussed within this chapter held the office of town clerk, and did so for a long time. William Dallett served from 1581-1590, while his successor Robert Dyne held office from 1590-1598. Their training would have prepared them to hold this office, for most would have begun their careers as under clerks or servants to experienced attorneys, scriveners, or town clerks.[11] It is through this training that they learnt recognised legal and financial procedures, forms of writing and appropriate language, all of which would have enabled them to find work as scribes within institutions such as their town's corporation. As such, all of Lydd's corporation clerks would have been prepared for their office from a young age, perhaps even within the town. This can be seen in the manner through which they were often connected to one another. William Dallet, for example, witnesses John Heblethwaite's will, and his handwriting displays similar features (see sections 3.3 and 3.6). These links are socially created through a clerk's training and then materially apparent in the manuscripts they go on to make for the corporation.

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[10] Ibid, p.158.
[11] C.W. Brooks, *Pettyfoggers and Vipers of the Commonwealth: The "Lower Branch" of the Legal Profession in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp.152-154. Brooks has found that clerkship was the most common way of training those, like clerks, who had knowledge of legal forms.

Through training, men could become clerks or even town clerks, holding office and gaining recognition as urban officials within their communities. All of the clerks for Lydd can be described as middling officeholders, and some even define themselves as 'yeomen' in their wills.[12] None seem to hold arms or land outside of the town and its surrounds, and all, from their wills and inventories, are engaged in agricultural work as well as writing.[13] Henry French observes that parish officeholders tended to be 'of greater-than-average perceived wealth'. This wealth was entwined with their community's perception of their 'social credit' or ability to carry out moral, honest, and responsible duty to the town.[14] In addition, Alexandra Shepard observes: 'social identities and social interaction were ordered and given meaning through the appraisal of what people had'.[15] A town clerk's trustworthiness was seen through this framework of social credit, where their standing within Lydd led to perceptions of their worth as officeholders. The town clerks within this chapter can be defined as trusted members of their corporation, especially since they tended to hold their position until death or election to another office.[16] These men had the responsibility of making and organising the town's records, and their role was essential to the memorialisation of town events through documentation. These records could have been used in subsequent legal cases, meaning that the clerk's role in organising the verbal/textual world of his town's business into documents, was

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[12] See, for example William Pope's will: KHLC, PRC 31/95 P/10.

[13] This is a broad way of describing their status, as 'middling' could encompass a range of economic situations. See Henry French for definitions of middling officeholders: Henry R. French, *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England 1600-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.90-140. For foundational work on credit and moral perceptions see: Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillian, 1998).

[14] French, pp. 90, 91, and 139.

[15] Alexandra Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself: Worth, Status, and the Social Order in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p.2.

[16] See Spencer Dimmock, 'Class and the Social Transformation of a Late Medieval Small Town: Lydd C.1450-1550' (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Kent, 1998), p.76.

essential to the locale's collective memory of interests like customs, events, and land boundaries.[17] A clerk's skill at writing was valuable, as it is not something that all members of the corporation possessed. This is evinced in a frequent excuse given for John Heblethwaite's (town clerk for Lydd until 1574) writing of the chamberlains' accounts pre-1574 that: 'thaye [the chamberlains] be bothe unlearned'.[18] As such, a scribe's position within his town's corporation was respected, and he would have held power over recordkeeping and textual production.

Clerks were active participants in the making of archives, and this chapter goes some way towards centralising their activities within the context of the Lydd Corporation. In her work on clerks writing within London guilds, Jennifer Bishop argues that clerks were 'political and literary agents', and that it is by 'exploring their wider activities and relationships' that we can go about 'recovering a sense of the early modern archives as socially constructed'.[19] This is an important argument because clerks did not work in isolation, and were always in conversation with fellow corporation members whilst producing documents. This exchange is literal (in the manner they might converse over the details of accounts) and material (in the way in which forms of writing are replicated and shared). These collective forms are present in aspects of evidence for storage, format, and materials. These facets form the core evidence for this chapter, which aims (like all chapters in this thesis) to grasp how this corporation's documents were socially and materially embedded in the contexts in which they were made.

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[17] This reliability is something Jennifer Bishop demonstrates could be manipulated by the scribe if he wished to record fiction, as it was very difficult to prove where this had happened – the scribe being the only one with intimate knowledge of the records. Bishop, pp. 112-130.
[18] KHLC, LY/2/1/1/3, p.44 (modern pagination).
[19] Bishop, p.114.

Lydd, as a small town, is a useful case study as it has a rich extant archive. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was connected to the Cinque Port of New Romney, and prosperous in the agricultural and fishing industries.[20] The town clerks worked with under-clerks in the production of documents, and it is clear the town clerks were valued, as they often became jurats of the town at some point during their service.[21] Often it was a profession chosen by men from families already involved in the town's corporation, which may have been due to their access to grammar school, or even university education.[22] The stability of membership within Lydd's corporation meant that some of its town clerks and jurats held their positions for much of their working lives.[23] Lydd had a small population estimated by Sally Elks to have been between 850 and 950 people from 1540 to 1636.[24] This meant that people were often connected, and men from certain families dominated the office-holding positions within the corporation. The stability of archives, people, and clerks means that there are many documents written in each of the clerks' hands.

This chapter uses documents from across Lydd's corporation archive to piece together the material-textual world of the clerks. It focuses, in particular, on the archive of wills made in the town from 1560-1640 and on financial documents made for the two chamberlains. These two document types have been chosen because they give an insight into clerks' making processes, through the draft accounts, papers, and original wills that survive.

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[20] See Ronald Frederick Jessup, *The Cinque Ports* (London and New York: Batsford, 1952).
[21] Dimmock, p.76. Jurats are municipal officers, the Cinque Port equivalent of aldermen. There were 12 jurats at a time.
[22] Dimmock claims this became increasingly common towards the mid-sixteenth century. Ibid., p.76.
[23] Ibid, p.76.
[24] Sally Elks, 'Lydd 1540-1644: A Demographic Study' (Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Kent, 1987), p.143.

This chapter seeks to understand how clerks expressed their own scribal identities through skilled engagement with manuscript materials, whilst adhering to communally recognised systems and formats. Its aim is to see how a community of interrelated documents and people is made through shared literate practices.

3.2. Active Clerks, Active Objects

Figure 3.1: 'The Village Lawyer' by Peter Brueghel the Younger, 1621[25]

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[25] Museum of Fine Arts, Ghent. 1621. Peter Brueghel the Younger. <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a3/Pieter_Brueghel_the_Younger_-_Village_Lawyer_-_WGA3633.jpg> [accessed 10th June 2017].

Figure 3.2: Anon, 'The Young Clerk's Companion', Title page.[26]

Clerks worked within a vibrant community of corporation members, so it is essential to scrutinize the interactions that took place in this social world between people and writing materials. The world of the clerk was communal, and later parts of this chapter demonstrate the appearance of multiple hands on documents, suggesting that the production of a manuscript for a corporation was not a solitary act. Pictorial representations of administrative spaces often present clerks in social environments. For example, Figure 3.1 is a painting by Peter Brueghel the Younger, 'The Village Lawyer'. Here, a busy space of manuscript production is depicted with the clerk in the top corner shown writing within this

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[26] Anon, *The Young Clerk's Companion* (Edinburgh: G. Holyday, 1664), titlepage.

social space. Likewise, the frontispiece of the 1664 *The Young Clerk's Companion* (Figure 3.2) depicts a clerk at work within a social space, as he sits, quill in hand whilst interacting with a patron, his shelf full of books marked for ease of reference. Both these images show clerks situated within spaces of oral communication. These environments would facilitate a clerk's information gathering, and subsequent creation of a document such as a will or account.

Andrew Butcher argues that clerks are situated within a speech/text community where 'to record is to choose ways of recording' that are 'part of a system of collective memory and political distinction'.[27] Butcher draws attention to the community in which these clerks worked, and its need for them to organise oral information in a way that was accessible and recognisable for a community, to create a collective memory of local events. A clerk's central role was to materialise – and bring together into organised records – a range of oral and written material for future use and reference. A clerk would have to incorporate a range of voices into the record, for as Butcher goes on to argue, the corporation archive is one that 'incorporates its individual contributors as social beings defined in terms of their essential contributions to the community'. [28] Contributors to this archive, then, are not only the clerks responsible for materialising it, but many individuals living within the town who are, as Butcher remarks, nearly always defined by their contributions (whether in terms of labour or money). In this way, records are often linked to the idea of 'social credit', where individuals work for the good of the town to enhance their social standing and have it memorialised in writing.[29] Extant fragments of receipts and bills list contributions to the corporation, materialising individuals' reputations as active

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[27] Butcher, p.162.
[28] Ibid., p.160.
[29] See French, pp.90-140, Muldrew, and Shepard.

members of the town.[30] For example, John Couchman, jurat in the 1630s, gives to the clerk a record of his expenses when going to present the Lord Warden with a petition. He writes that he has 'laide [his expenses] out for the towne' in his document, and hopes for quick payment as he is 'in wante'.[31] Here he makes clear his important contribution to the locale in the presenting of a petition, and makes a record of it 'for the town', an account that would go on to be noted in the chamberlain's book for that year.[32] A clerk would have a duty to record contributions, and generate a sense of collective memory through the documents they produced.

Clerks were active members of a network of officeholders, materialising the oral world of the corporation, and mediating between the oral and material. However, their voices are also seemingly absent within the documents they produce, due to their role in recording communal information. This lack of personalisation and voice has led to Peter Beal's proposal that 'professionally created manuscript texts tend to be produced anonymously'.[33] But the persistence with which clerks are branded 'anonymous' prevents us from valuing their work critically, and their anonymity really only goes as far as their lack of signature upon many of the documents they produce. Visually, these documents demonstrate individuality in scribal flourishes and handwriting, making clerks recognisable personalities among their peers (who chose to place them in the position of clerk or town clerk). Therefore, we must reorient our perspective on clerks from background figures in manuscript culture, and situate them in action.

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[30] Draft chamberlains' account documents: KHLC, LY/2/1/2/1 – LY/2/1/2/15.
[31] KHLC, LY/2/1/2/13.
[32] It is difficult to pinpoint exactly where, as Couchman is frequently paid for these kinds of duties and the document is not dated, but it would fall in volume: KHLC, LY/2/1/1/8.
[33] Beal, *In Praise*, p.14.

By viewing the clerks as engaged in the process of creating and doing, writing and making, we gain a fuller perspective of clerkly identities.

Reading the material traces of clerks can be problematic. As Henry Woudhuysen suggests, script could be a way of hiding a professional scribe's character:

> To a modern observer the writing-master's elaborate flourishes and swirling ornaments appear to reveal his exuberant character. But to contemporaries these were signs of a mastery of an artificial, impersonal craft – the more expressive a penman's art appears to be, the less it reveals about him.[34]

However, although this certainly would be true within a context where a writing master might practise multiple scripts and use his skill to create the illusion of anonymity, provincially this is complicated by the interconnected nature of communities and corporations where clerks might have sought a good reputation. Indeed, here it is important to emphasise the difference between a scrivener and a clerk. Scriveners were subject to an apprenticeship in which they were trained in script and legal forms with 'expertise [that] set them apart from their contempories', whereas clerks usually received more informal training in the service of senior clerks, meaning that their expertise in scripts and document forms would have varied.[35] For a scrivener, making documents for a wide range of customers in a London workshop context, a need to stand out within a small, interconnected community would not characterise their work. The reputations of clerks working in a provincial small town, however, depended on their community's perception of their expertise at recordkeeping and their behaviour as moral exemplars (something which is explored in section 3.7).

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[34] Woudhuysen, p.31.
[35] See Joseph P. Ward, *Metropolitan Communities: Trade Guilds, Identity, and Change in Early Modern London* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), p.76.

Clerks claimed their work through differences in their script. The act of a provincial clerk performing a cadel consistently across a capital letter in all of his work is his fingerprint. For example, John Stroughill, town clerk of Lydd from 1578-1581 places an elaborately decorative 's' for 'sum' at the end of each year of the chamberlain accounts he administers (Figure 3.3).[36] This 's' is remarkably different to the work of any other clerk administering the accounts across the period, and acts like a signature marking his presence and skill within this official document.
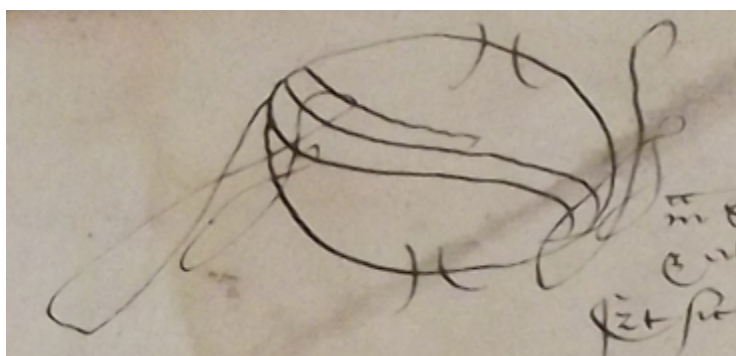
Figure 3.3. John Stroughill 'S'. LY/2/1/1/5, fol. 4ʳ.

This personalisation is important, as it means Stroughill's peers can attribute his work. Literary representations of clerks often depict them as false, due to their legal knowledge that could be used to deceive their customers.[37] Attributable flourishes were an important way through which a clerk could make his work transparent. In this way, clerks could avoid the kind of accusation that Face levels against clerk Dapper in Ben Jonson's 'The Alchemist', which is that he must be deceitful because he writes with 'six fair hands'. Dapper responds to

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[36] KHLC, LY/2/1/1/4 and LY/2/1/1/5. Figure 3.3.
[37] Beal, *In Praise*, appendix 1.

the accusation with: 'What do you think of me, / That I am a Chaius?'[38] Face

responds with 'What's that?' drawing comic attention to Dapper's humanist

education that he does not share, and the reputation of clerks for obfuscating

textual meaning by using their professional expertise to their own advantage.[39]

Writing in a highly recognisable hand, rather than the Dapper's 'six fair hands',

could certainly have been a way of avoiding a reputation for deceit.[40] Within a

local social context, such as Lydd's, a scribe's hand – as Stroughill demonstrates

in his decorative 's' – would be immediately recognisable to his contemporaries,

and serve as a personal testament to his skill.

To further the understanding of a clerk's skill as socially embedded, it is

useful to return to the theoretical framework set out in the introduction, where

agency is generated by action. In analysing clerks' manuscripts, it is possible to

gain a sense of the changing interactions in the making process: the 'flow'

between materials and people Ingold describes, or 'the dynamic tension that

characterises the process of material engagement' that Lambros Malafouris refers

to when discussing a potter at work.[41] These documents hold traces of the

changing interactions between materials and people. Gaining a holistic view of

how these archives function as material culture, and how clerks create them,

means reassessing how we view these archives. They are not only storehouses of

knowledge for us to use, but are palimpsests materially representing interactions

between people, stores, thoughts, and copies.

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[38] Ben Jonson, 'The Alchemist' in *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*, ed. by David M. Bevington, Lars Engle, and Katherine Eisaman Maus (New York and London: Norton, 2002), 1.2.25-26, p.877. Chaius meaning 'cheat' after Mustapha.
[39] Ibid., 1.2.27, p.877.
[40] Ibid., 1.2.54, p.877.
[41] Ingold, 'The Textility', p.92 and Malafouris, p.34.

3.3. Original Wills

The first case study in this relationship between clerks, materials, and their social-occupational context is an exploration of Lydd's archive of original wills. Through these wills it is possible to gain insight into material interactions and social connections within the town. Original wills are a step in a multi-document process. A scribe made an original will (usually from multiple drafts) after a person expressed their wishes in the presence of at least two witnesses. Clerks at the registering diocese copied the original into a register, with a further transcript given back to the executor as proof of the administration.[42] The original wills are the *last wills* created during the testator's life, and they supersede all previous versions. Wills were usually made by a testator reciting their wishes to a scribe, who wrote them down, advised them on formalities to include, and then subsequently read them out in front of the testator and their witnesses.[43] By Elizabeth's reign, wills were not only being made by church officials, but also by clerks, scriveners, and literate individuals with knowledge of the appropriate form.[44] Spatially, will-making was situated in a person's house, where the testator, usually during times of sickness (though not always), would speak their last wishes.[45]

In Lydd, corporation clerks played an important role in will-making for the town's inhabitants, with town clerks being the most identifiable scribes (see

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[42] Tom Arkell, 'The Probate Process' in *When Death do us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England,* ed. by Tom Arkell, Nesta Evans and Nigel Goose (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press, 2000), pp.3-14 (p.11). For the will-making process see, Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England, 1480-1730* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp.81-109.

[43] Houlbrooke, pp.89, 91, 94 and 98.

[44] Ibid., p.98.

[45] Catherine Richardson, 'Continuity and Memory: Domestic Space, Gesture and Affection at the Sixteenth Century Deathbed', in *Inhabit: People, Places and Possessions*, ed. by Anthony Buxton, Linda Hulin and Jane Anderson (Bern: Peter Lang, 2017), pp.219-236 (p.220). Houlbrooke, *Death*, p.98.

Table 3.1). Due to will-making taking place within a person's house, at a time where they could be very sick and therefore vulnerable, clerks' participation in will-making for the town suggests that they were trusted to record a person's last wishes reliably, to judge their soundness of mind, and also to be amongst witnesses (often close neighbours, friends, servants, or family members) at an important moment in testators' lives.[46] The wills resulting from this intense meeting are useful for understanding occupational scribal practices within the Lydd community, because multiple personalities emerge from within this small geographical area. Sometimes scribes identify themselves with the abbreviation of *scriba* 'scr' (scribe) or with 'wrytten by' next to their name, drawing an explicit link between script and person that is rare within Lydd's corporation as a whole.[47] More often, the scribe lets their making of the will speak for their presence by creating wills of similar formats, with the same preamble, repeatedly.[48]

In using the entire sample of 312 original wills 1560-1640 for Lydd, I investigated material patterns and hands in order to elucidate some of the ways in which Lydd's clerks might have been perceived within their community, and how they used their scribal craft as a demonstration of their individual occupational identities whilst working within an established legal form. By looking at the whole corpus of original wills, approaching them materially as well as textually, it is possible to learn much about the scribal culture of Lydd.

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[46] Richardson, 'Continuity', p.220. Witnesses were 'required […] to pay close attention to the testator's mental and physical health'. Margaret Spufford, '"The Scribes of Villagers" Wills in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and their Influence', *Local Population Studies*, 7 (Autumn, 1971), 28-43 (p.29). 'A man lying in his death bed must have been much in the hands of the scribe writing his will'.

[47] For an example of this practice see KHLC, PRC/31/64 P/1. Houlbrooke, *Death*, p.89.

[48] Spufford, 'The Scribes', p.41.

Scribe	Occupation	Number of Wills
John Allen	Town Clerk	58
Robert Dyne	Town Clerk	23
John Heblethwaite	Town Clerk	16
George Tuggell	Unknown	14
Thomas Walker	Unknown	13
John Glouer	Town Clerk	9
Adrian Read	Parish Clerk	6
Richard Mascall	Town Clerk	5
John Green	Jurat	4
Raynold Browning	Unknown	3
Edmund Lurtott	Town Clerk	3
Richard Nicoll	Jurat	3
Nicholas Pyx	Jurat	3
James Robins	Jurat	3
John Stroughill	Town Clerk	3
Nicholas Barrow	Unknown	2
Thomas Greenfield	Unknown	2
Hugh Harrison	Unknown	2
Clement Stuppeny	Jurat	2
Christopher Sudell	Jurat	2
William Dallet	Jurat/ town clerk	2

Table 3.1. Will-Writers of Lydd. This table represents those clerks identified who wrote more than one will.

All of the wills, scribes and witnesses have been quantified, and 206 wills have been attributed with certainty to a particular clerk, identified either through signature or style. For those 206 wills there are a total of 64 scribes, 21 of whom wrote multiple wills.[49] In Lydd there were principally 21 scribes that made the majority of wills for the community (see Table 3.1). For the purpose of this study I focus on those who were most prolific, in order to draw comparisons between individuals and understand how scribal identities were constructed using consistent features that were carried across documents.

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[49] These will-writers wrote 178 out of 206 of the wills where the scribe can be identified.

John Allen and Robert Dyne, both town clerks for Lydd, were scribes for the highest number of original wills. This is, in part, due to the proportionally large number of extant wills for the period 1580-1630 compared to the other decades. Indeed, John Heblethwaite, town clerk before Robert Dyne, scribed most of the extant original wills in the 1560-1580 sample. However, during the final decade, the 1630s, the pattern changes, with the town clerks Richard Mascall and Edmund Lurtott making a minority proportion of the wills, and Thomas Walker and John Glouer (jurat) writing the majority. This decline of the town clerk's hand within the original wills might be due to an increase in literacy in Lydd by the 1630s that lessened the need for the town clerk to complete this work.

Robert Dyne, John Allen, and John Heblethwaite also seem to be acting as scribes even after their time as town clerks and, in Dyne's case, a little before. This practice demonstrates how a reputation for will-making was not only associated with specific professions, but with a person who could be relied upon to follow the recognised format of a will. Guidance for this format was rare in print before the mid-seventeenth century, meaning that, before this time, the knowledge of how to adhere to it would have to be passed orally or through experience with the documents, keeping this knowledge in the hands of fewer scribes.[50] The way in which these clerks used this format, however, varied between individuals.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

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[50] See William West, *Symbolaeography* (London: Temple Barre, 1592) for the earliest example of such a text. See also, Claire Cross, 'Wills as Evidence of Popular Piety in the Reformation Period, Leeds and Hull, 1540-1640', in *The End of Strife: Death, Reconciliation, and Expressions of Christian Spirituality*, ed. by D. Loades (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1984), pp.44-51; and Christopher Marsh, 'Attitudes to Will-Making in Early Modern England', in *When Death do Us Part*, pp.158-175 (pp.169-172, in particular).

The earliest town clerk producing a large number of original wills in the sample was John Heblethwaite, town clerk until 1574 when he was elected Bailiff for the term 1574-75. He was a dependable member of the corporation, trusted with protecting the town's lease of 300 acres of valuable fertile coastal land that was at the centre of a claim handled by lawyer Thomas Digges on behalf of the crown.[51] This trust was due to Heblethwaite's rhetorical and research abilities, which led to his gathering of an impressive body of evidence about Lydd's right to the land at Thomas Digges' loss.[52] Heblethwaite's interest in antiquarian scholarship is expressed in a late seventeenth-century transcription of a 1608-1609 diary by bailiff Thomas Godfrey – held at the British Library – which records Heblethwaite collecting 'the names of such Godfreys as have beene bailiffs of Lidd […] out of a verrie ancient Book of records & giuen to my father'.[53] As a scholar, as well as a town clerk, Heblethwaite was clearly a very well regarded member of the Lydd community, and his will, which was entered into the register in 1588, verifies this.[54] This document suggests he was wealthy, as he wished to be 'buryed to the southe chaunsell of the church of Lyd', a very prominent position.[55] It is also clear he is from a literate family. His brother William Heblethwaite is listed as 'scholemaster of Lydd' and his son, also William, becomes Town Clerk of New Romney.[56] The strength of these connections is clear in his will, which lists his sons and daughters married to the

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[51] Oliver Harris, "Ye Sute for ye Rype," 1572: Lawsuits and Landscapes at Lydd,' in *The Romney Marsh Irregular*, 27 (2006), 4-11 (p.5).
[52] Oliver Harris, 'Antiquarian Attitudes: Crossed Legs, Crusaders and the Evolution of an Idea', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 90 (2010), 401–40 (p.410).
[53] BL, MS Lansdowne 235, fol.10[r]. Full quotation is: 'The names of such Godfreys as have beene bailiffs of Lidd, as was collected by mr John Heblethwaite then Town Clerk anon do[mini] 1587 out of a verrie ancient Book of records & given to my father whereto are added himself and those of later line.'
[54] KHLC, PRC/32/36/92, fol.1[r].
[55] Ibid. His grave is not marked there today.
[56] Ibid., fol.1[r]. See KHLC, NR AZ/24 for evidence of William Heblethwaite's clerkship.

sons and daughters of jurats of the town. In this way, the sense of trust within the town's corporation was carried through bloodlines.

Heblethwaite's will suggests that much of his wealth came from the profits of land in the area – not just his positions within the corporation – and he owned cattle, corn, a milk house, husbandry tools, tenements, and land 'called the Romney bank'.[57] John Heblethwaite's identity within the town, then, not only rested upon his ability to write, research, and reproduce documents in the appropriate legal formats, but was also tied up with his status as part of a group of wealthy local landowners. His representation of the town through his role as town clerk was an important means through which he could protect his and others' rights to the land, and pass it on to future generations. Heblethwaite was not the only town clerk to hold land, with John Stroughill and John Allen also demonstrating landownership and the possession of husbandry tools and livestock. Stroughill, for example, owned 143 sheep at the time of his death.[58] Therefore, it seems that the town clerks of Lydd were of a high economic status, which enabled them to gain the education in writing and appropriate scripts, and subsequently the trust of the town they needed to take on the position.

The town's trust in Heblethwaite's scribal abilities – evinced by his protection of the lease of the coastal land – is, in part, the reason why he was responsible for so many of the extant original wills. His will-making for so many testators also testifies to his standing as a trusted clerk within the community. In his guidebook, *Symboleography*, William West emphasised how the choice of language used in a will is essential to its easy interpretation after a testator's death. He advised will-makers to write 'plainly' so that the will is 'perspicuous'

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[57] KHLC, PRC/32/36/92.
[58] KHLC, PRC/28/14/570.

and does not need to be 'inlightened' by others.[59] Clarity in language, and also in handwriting, lessened the risk of a disputed will, and so trusted will-makers would be used often in locales.[60]

In terms of Heblethwaite's material practices, the first aspect that is consistent across all of his wills is the placement of his signature at the end. Although he always signed, he did not on any occasion acknowledge his role as maker, suggesting his familiarity with the testators for whom he worked.[61] The only exception is his own original will, where he drew a striking connection between his professional role, his script, and how it was entwined with his social identity, demonstrating his consciousness of the consistencies displayed within his scribal performances.

> I have written the same [will] with my owne hande welleknowne and sealed this my last will and testament with my signet and seal manner likewise beknowne.[62]

Here he states that his hand is 'wellknowne' enough to act as a witness to his authorial identity and integrity. He connects his script to his person in claiming his witnesses would be able to identify the will as his own work. His witnesses, William Dallet, Thomas Bate, and Thomas Boye, are also of high standing in the town and sign with their names – the latter two being jurats, and William Dallet town clerk at the time Heblethwaite made this will. These men all worked in the same administrative circles as Heblethwaite, and as such would have been familiar with his hand – particularly Dallet, who had taken charge of continuing the town's archive of documents, and possibly even spent time working for

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[59] West, p.147.
[60] Spufford, 'Scribes', p.41.
[61] This links to Woudhuysen's suggestion that elaborate handwriting could be a sign of impersonal craft. Will-making is precisely the opposite due to its spatial intimacy.
[62] KHLC, PRC/32/36/92, 1588, fol.93ᵛ. Original will, KHLC, PRC 31/95 S1.

Heblethwaite as an under clerk. In calling his own hand 'welleknowne', Heblethwaite asserted that his script was important to his social identity. His hand is a marker of his scribal work because it is recognisably his.

William Dallet goes on to write a similar statement to Heblethwaite in his own will, reinforcing the connection between the two men. Though these statements are not identical, they represent the only examples of Lydd's clerks actively marking their scribal labour in their wills.

> In wytnesse thys to be my will I the sayd Wyllyam Dallet have written & penned the same wyth myne owne hande & there into have sett my seale & subscribed my name. By me Wyllyam Dallet.[63]

This statement creates a line between the two men and materially indicates the continuation of their relationship. It also demonstrates how important handwriting was to the two men as a marker of their identities. Although Dallet does not use the word 'wellknowne' when speaking of his handwriting, he does state that it is his 'own hand', which shows a connection between Dallet and his script. Here Dallet also uses the word 'penned', a verb that generates an image of his hand in the action of writing, which is important because it connects this action to his identity. 'Penned' also has the meaning 'draw up' suggesting its connection both with writing and with Dallet's skill at drawing up a will in the appropriate format with its necessary components (like the preamble, bequests, witness signatures, and appointment of executor).[64] Here, then, the identity and skills of manuscript-makers are present in their handwriting. Both Heblethwaite and Dallet indicate that they see their expertise in writing as tied to the performance of their identities as clerks.

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[63] KHLC, PRC/31/41 D/3.
[64] 'Penned' (v.) 2b, *OED*.

John Heblethwaite's original wills as a whole make it clear that certain features are carried between documents, demonstrating a personalised use of manuscript materials and signifying his presence as maker. Seals are always present in the bottom right hand corner of the final folio. In cases of multiple folios, he uses a parchment tie at the top, tied at the back with a double knot. Heblethwaite does not draw any guidelines onto the paper, making his lines slope slightly, but he always leaves space between lines, writing in a clear script – a practice he carries out across all documents he is responsible for in the Lydd archive. In the chamberlains' accounts he loops his 'd' for pence with a flourish at the ascender that creates a consistent pattern down the right hand side of the accounts, another distinctive practice.[65] The subtle habits demonstrated in his making patterns express his presence whilst also demonstrating what Marcel Mauss describes in 'Techniques of the body' as 'social' habits – he adheres to standard forms of action in making, whilst adapting them to his individually efficient ways of moving and doing.[66]

Heblethwaite did not identify himself, as scribe – in writing – on any original will but his own. Instead, he ensured that his craft was plain and distinct enough to be easily attributed to him. Heblethwaite's non-identification is significant evidence of the ways in which objects can become extensions of self – so characteristic in their craft that they are, in some sense, a part of their maker and can be attributed to them at a glance by one in their social circle.[67] He was also not alone in this practice, with William Dallet also practising non-identification in all wills but his own. However, these are the only two scribes to

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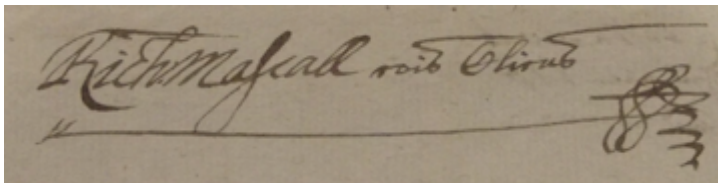
[65] KHLC, LY/2/1/1/3.
[66] Mauss, p.73-74.
[67] Lambros Malafouris makes the argument numerous times for things being extensions of the body – see Malafouris, 'Potter's Wheel'.
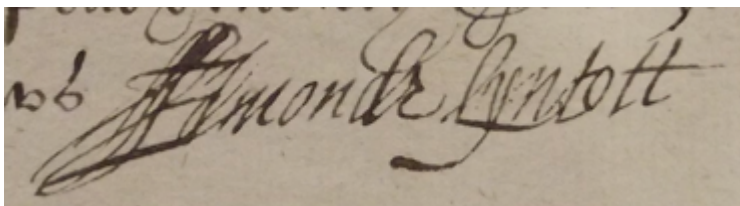
do this in a uniform way within the corpus of Lydd wills, and they are also the two earliest in the sample town clerks making them.

Subsequent clerks of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries often described themselves as scribes – Robert Dyne signs 'Robt Dyn scriptor' and John Allen often signs 'John Allen scr.'[68] This demonstrates an increasing occupational awareness amongst Lydd's clerks in terms of wishing to associate themselves with their work through the use of a signature. Here, clerks are claiming wills to be their own labour, which could be due to the increasing proliferation of scribes in the archive of wills. The larger variety of hands include those of good standards, like in the case of Robert Tokey, jurat, who writes his will in 1599 'w[i]^th^ my own hand', but also those less skilled, like Abraham Robins, who writes his 1597 will phonetically in a large, wobbly hand.[69] Clerks start to distinguish themselves from this increasing proliferation of hands in the signing off of wills in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in Lydd.

Richard Mascall signature at the bottom of KHLC, PRC/31/100 C/6.

Edmund Lyntott signature at the bottom of KHLC, PRC/31/92 B/3.

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[68] See for example, KHLC, PRC/31/33 P/2 for an example of Dyne doing this, and KHLC, PRC/31/35 S/7 for an example for John Allen.
[69] Robert Tokey, KHLC, PRC 31/44 T/1, and Abraham Robins, KHLC, PRC 31/42 R/4.
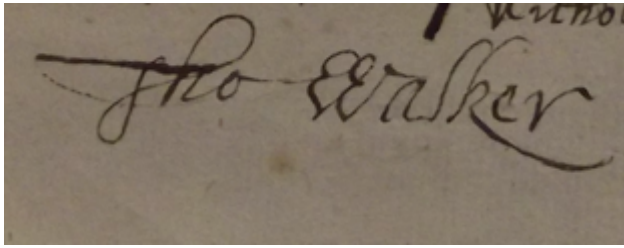
Thomas Walker signature at the bottom of KHLC, PRC/31/108 H/13.

Figure 3.4: Signatures of Later Clerks: Richard Mascall, Edmund Lyntott and Thomas Walker.

Later clerks working within the town also used their signatures in order to assert their presence as scribes. The first to do this was John Allen, who used a signature that got more and more elaborate during his time as town clerk. Figure 3.4 shows three signatures of later clerks all working in the 1620s and 1630s, when these kinds of elaborations became very common.[70] These signatures, although normal for the period, take up space with their looping letters, and announce skill at the pen through the use of flourishes. Another space in which these flourishes occasionally appear is on the back of the will, either by the scribe or by the clerk copying the original into the register. For example, on the back of John Smythe's will, Nicholas Johns and 'Chapman' add a variety of pen trials on the back alongside their names, using the space to practise their pen, and demonstrate their skill at writing, perhaps as a break from registering wills.[71] It is at these moments the clerks within the original wills become present and announce their individual skill. This is in direct conflict with Woudhuysen's observation (cited early in the chapter) about flourishes being a sign of

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[70] See: Richard Mascall signature at the bottom of KHLC, PRC/31/100 C/6, Edmund Lyntott signature at the bottom of KHLC, PRC/31/92 B/3, and Thomas Walker signature at the bottom of KHLC, PRC/31/108 H/13.
[71] See Figure 3.4. KHLC, PRC/31/3 S/9.

impersonal work. As such, it seems that there was a shift in the way signatures were used in Lydd upon wills by scribes, with those scribes working from the 1620s onwards using more decorative touches on their names as an expression of calligraphic skill. These marks demonstrate the techniques clerks developed through their craft in order to create individual features within the required form of the legal document they were making. Through this, the clerk became present as the maker through the document's materiality.

Particular hands stand out in the archive of Lydd's original wills, when special care is taken to apply decorative touches. Perhaps the most strikingly decorative piece within this archive is the will of John Stroughill, another town clerk. His will is a single folio document and stands out for its professional presentation (Figure 3.5).[72] He rules margins and lines to write on in pencil (which is rare to see in Lydd's original wills) and meticulously plans the space on the page to fit the will's content, suggesting that what he submits to be registered is a repeatedly drafted document. He decorates 'in the name of god' at the will's opening and consequently announces his skill at using a pen by making using the quill for varying thickness of strokes and cadels around the letters. Stroughill's work stands out as a proud announcement of his scribal skill and identity as a clerk. Its precision and meticulous presentation also suggests that this is the fair copy of his will.

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[72] John Stroughill Original Will, KHLC, PRC 31/95 S/1.
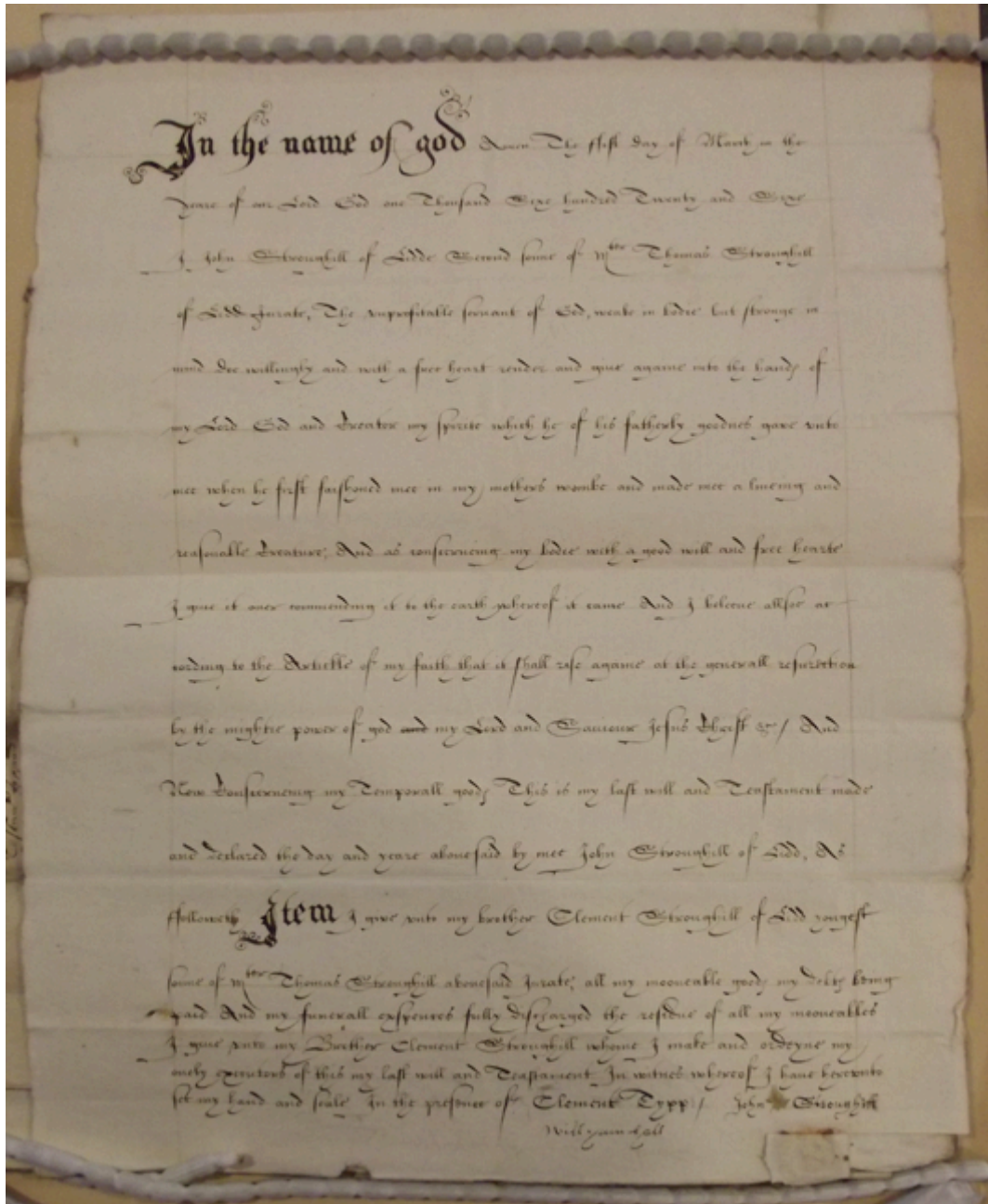
Figure 3.5: John Stroughill Original Will, PRC/31/95 S/1.

Although not as decorative in his work as Stroughill, John Allen is the town clerk who makes the most wills within the sample (58). Like Heblethwaite, Allen owned land for husbandry, bequeathing tenements, his estate and barns in his own will.[73] His surviving inventory suggests his work as clerk and his agricultural income are interrelated with a study keeping 'bookes partchments

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[73] KHLC, PRC 31/86 A/4.

and papers' worth twenty shillings, alongside tools for husbandry in chambers throughout the house.[74] Allen, like Heblethwaite, made use of consistent and distinctive material features asserting his presence in the making of these documents. Usually, Allen used a small paper book format for wills, with inter-folded leaves of quarto size from pot paper or paper with a unicorn watermark, and this demonstrates the freedom scribes had in the production of the original, unregistered copy of the will. He then tied the collation together with a single stitch at the centrefold using a small strip of parchment knotted together on the outside.[75] Allen recorded the person's surname in the top left-hand corner of the first folio, creating a left-hand margin by folding the document in the style in which it would later be filed: four times horizontally, leaving the left-hand strip created by the fold blank or for annotations. This repetition of style and script is instantly recognisable as Allen's work, creating an individual scribal identity within the legal framework to which the document must adhere. In his own will and those of the town's jurats, Allen chose to use full sheets of pot paper instead – using size as an indicator of social standing. Allen used three sheets in his will, connected at the bottom with a parchment tie and a pendant of red wax in which his seal is imprinted (see Figure 3.7).[76] These consistent features across documents create a recurring identity within the corpus of original wills as a way of branding his work.

In Lydd then, the town clerks' literacy and urban status is interrelated with their landownership and husbandry – the agricultural work important to the town's income. This supplementary income was not unusual for clerks and scribes; Arthur Marotti and Steven May identify a yeoman scribe of some of the

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[74] CCAL, PRC 18/18/177.
[75] See for example, original will of Nathaniel Tinley, 1595, KHLC PRC/31/39 T/5.
[76] KHLC, PRC 31/86 A4.

Stanhope family's manuscripts.[77] However, for Lydd it is this connection to place and the links between people that provided the space through which a clerk grew an occupational identity. There are examples in Lydd of clerks whose main work is agriculture, with some scribal work on the side. William Pope described himself in his own will, made in 1624, as a yeoman, yet it seems he had a prominent role in scribing some of the corporation archive.[78] He can be identified as the scribe of John Allen's inventory, stating it is 'by me'.[79] His connection with John Allen is also demonstrated through the chamberlain accounts for the period in which Allen was town clerk. William Pope, not Allen, acted as clerk for these accounts between 1598 and 1612.[80] Lydd's clerks, then, worked in a social context where scribal work was interrelated with status, ability, and time to supplement income with writing.

Through social connections it seems the legal forms were passed on and learnt by other men in the town (like Heblethwaite to Dallet) in order to continue the profession through generations. This kind of practical learning of technique was personalised through experience, and materialised personalities emerge, with clerks demonstrating their mastery of techniques in manuscript-making. This allowed materialised personalities to emerge. These individualised features demonstrated clerks' artisanal literacy and control over the production of archival documents. The will-making process also needed a trusted scribe, a man who could professionally enter the room where a person lay on their deathbed, to negotiate their wishes, to advise on anything that the testator might have forgotten, and to write an appropriate preamble to the document. As town

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[77] May and Marotti.
[78] KHLC, PRC 31/95 P/10.
[79] CCAL, PRC 18/18/177.
[80] KHLC, LY 2/1/1/7.

officials trained in appropriate document-producing formats, town clerks would have held the expertise required to make wills. Their statuses as trusted town officials were tied to, and expressed within, the meticulous manner in which they created a fair copy of the original will and read it before the testator and witnesses. My discussion of clerks' social scribal practices continues in the next aspect of their practices explored in this chapter – document storage and use. Here the storage, reuse, transcription, and ordering of documents are studied to understand how a community's unity, memory, and identity are expressed through recordkeeping practices.

3.4. Storage and Recordkeeping

Document storage leaves traces upon manuscripts that indicate how an item is connected with space, and how it has been moved and deployed. A recent chapter by Heather Wolfe and Peter Stallybrass discusses various ways in which papers were filed in boxes, bags, bundles and cabinets, and this section draws on their discoveries.[81] Building on their work about the material culture of recordkeeping, this section looks at the particular culture of the Lydd Corporation, and the relationship of the archive to space and social context. Evidence of storing and filing give a sense of how documents relate to one another and their users over time. These material features can also show how documents were situated within spaces, appearing as: filing holes, bindings (improvised or professional), stitches, folds, wrappers, and labels. These signs are essential indicators of the corporation's desire to effectively store information

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[81] Wolfe and Stallybrass, pp.179-208.

pertinent to the running of the town and provide a manner through which a clerk could easily locate and identify a document whilst at work.

Doreen Massey's conception of space is useful to apply to the filing practices in Lydd. She argues that:

> Space is always under construction. Precisely because space in this reading is a product of relations-between, relations which are necessarily embedded material practices which have to be carried out, it is always in the process of being made. It is never finished; never closed. Perhaps we could imagine space as a simultaneity of stories-so-far.[82]

This idea of space as a series of 'stories so far', 'under construction', and a 'product of relations' is useful in conceiving the way that documents interact with wider environments, especially when used in conjunction with Andreas Reckwitz's theory of space being made of 'interconnected "doings"' that are 'materially anchored' (discussed in the introduction to this thesis).[83] Both Massey and Reckwitz imagine spaces as being constructed through 'material practices', functioning as active settings where bodies and materials interact. The narratives of movement told through a document's materiality are important in understanding how these exchanges take place in Lydd. The cache of administrative records is 'always in the process of being made' by those who subsequently use it and rearrange it, and the documents bear the marks of this movement.

Urban corporations used various storage solutions for their records. In an article on Yarmouth's archive, Andy Wood discusses the 'Yarmouth Hutch', a trunk, collection of boxes, and shelves kept 'in the vestry of St Nicholas's

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[82] Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London: Sage, 2005), p.9.
[83] Reckwitz, p.248.

Church' in the town from 1542.[84] These boxes, shelves and trunk enabled papers to be organised in a way that facilitated their easy retrieval. The church vestry was a room used to store valuables such as vestments as well as records. It was known as 'a treasure house' for this reason. Although these spaces were frequently used for parish records, and as a space in which parishioners met to discuss local and church business, it seems that in Yarmouth, at least, this space was used for town records.[85] This might be due to the security vestries offered, with the room situated within – and accessed via – the church, and the possibility of a lock to keep records safe. This was not, however, the only place or method for storing documents. The Corporation of Stratford had a 'cubboarde of boxes' made in which to store their corporation records, which was kept upstairs within the guildhall – the space where the aldermen met to discuss the ordering of the town. Since this was the place in which matters of town governance were decided, access to the documents organised within the cupboard enabled aldermen to draw upon information on past matters for their present decisions.[86]

Following other Kentish towns, in the fifteenth century Lydd had a guildhall constructed, providing – as Sheila Sweetinburgh has observed – 'a focal point in the political landscape of the town'.[87] Consequently, it is probable that, like Stratford, corporation records would have been kept within the guildhall, where the jurats met to make decisions about the governance of the town. They would have used a variety of furnishings to organise documents,

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[84] Andy Wood, 'Tales from the "Yarmouth Hutch": Civic Identities and Hidden Histories in an Urban Archive', *Past & Present*, 230 supplement 11 (2016), 213-230.

[85] 'Vestry' (n.) 1a. and c, 2a. *OED.*

[86] Peter Hewitt, 'Shakespeare in 100 Objects: "Cubborde of Boxes"' (20th September 2013) <https://www.shakespeare.org.uk/explore-shakespeare/blogs/shakespeare-100-objects-cubborde-boxes/> [accessed 9 /12/2018].

[87] Shiela Sweetinburgh, 'Kentish Towns: Urban Culture and the Church in the Later Middle Ages' in *Later Medieval Kent 1220-1540* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press and Kent County Council, 2010), pp. 137-166 (p.146).

perhaps like the 'Yarmouth hutch' or Stratford's cupboard of boxes, enabling the permanent storage of documents and the presentation of an image of order in the town's records. This would have been in keeping with how the town's governors wished the locale to be perceived.

Before being positioned in document-storage, loose papers would often be placed within temporary filing systems to keep them safe. Filing is ubiquitous to Lydd's archive: filing holes appear frequently on loose papers, and this method is a temporary way of keeping sheets of paper together. These holes are often very small, and are usually placed towards the top-centre of a document.[88] Although it is difficult to know precisely when these holes were made, they are consistent with early filing practices, where loose papers were threaded onto wire or string. Stallybrass and Wolfe write that filing on strings was 'commonplace at the Exchequer, Chancery, the Court of Common Pleas, and Oxford and Cambridge', as well as in 'domestic settings'.[89] Filing holes in loose papers within the Lydd archive demonstrate just how widespread these organisation methods were amongst institutions, even in small provincial corporations. An example given by the *OED* from John Cowell's *The Interpreter*, a 1607 dictionary for those working with legal documents, describes a file as: 'a threed or wyer, whereon writs, or other exhibits in courts, are fastened for the more safe keeping of them.'[90] Cowell indicates that the purpose for stringing up documents is for their 'safekeeping' so that they are less likely to go astray. Wolfe and Stallybrass also argue that these piles of paper could enable someone to leaf

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[88] For examples see: KHLC, LY/2/1/2/1, LY/2/1/2/3, LY/3/1/1, LY/3/1/2, LY/5/1/7, LY/4/4/2, LY/4/4/3, LY/4/4/5, LY/4/4/6, LY/4/4/7.
[89] Wolfe and Stallybrass, pp.180-181.
[90] John Cowell, *The interpreter: or Booke containing the signification of vvords wherein is set foorth the true meaning of all, or the most part of such words and termes, as are mentioned in the lawe vvriters, or statutes of this victorious and renowned kingdome, requiring any exposition or interpretation*, (Cambridge: John Legate, 1607), p.118, FI. 'File', (n) 3a, *OED*.

through and locate information, or act as a memory prompt.[91] As such, Lydd's clerks seem frequently to use this practice for organising loose papers they need to refer to in the construction of other documents, such as chamberlain accounts, for example.

These holes give an indication of the guildhall as an evolving space, where clerks would be surrounded by papers that would shift into permanent storage, or become waste. These files would have had a transformative effect on a space, signifying to those entering that they were in Lydd's information centre. Brueghel's 'The Village Lawyer' in Figure 3.1, and the image of the clerk in Figure 3.2 give a sense of this space in relation to clerks at work. Figure 3.2 depicts the clerk's workspace as a well-defined enclosure with low sides: an open space where he could write whilst being able to speak to patrons and colleagues. He writes on a sloping desk, common practice for quill-use in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; by the late sixteenth century this desk would also have contained drawers in which papers could have been filed.[92] The other, busier, image of Figure 3.1 shows the prevalence of paper within administrative spaces and, although made in the Low Countries, it demonstrates many organisation systems that were also in use in England at this time.[93] Multiple systems of storing and making documents are present in this image, with documents filed with string in the top right hand corner. Documents not needed as quickly seem to be strung up in sacks, and many others are bundled together.

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[91] Wolfe and Stallybrass, p.181.

[92] The sloping desk is not ubiquitous, however, and there are plenty of images where people write on flat desks. See for example, the title page to *Renodaeus, His dispensatory containing the whole body of pharmacy*, trans. by Richard Tomlinson (London: 1657). British Printed Images to 1700, number 1719. <http://www.bpi1700.org.uk/jsp/zoomify.jsp?image=155584> [accessed 9 /12/2018]. Wolfe and Stallybrass, p.203.

[93] Popper analyses Arthur Agarde's early 17th century organization of Westminister archives with 'bags, chests, baskets, shelves and books', p.259.

Here, we really get the sense of administrative spaces as 'always in construction', with the constant generation and movement of documents, as well as the social interactions for which the clerk is present.

These images and the presence of filing holes in Lydd papers point to the guildhall being busy with paper and people, and always evolving with the generation of new materials. The clerk's records might have been far more visible than we tend of think of today where our documents are stored away and called up for study. This visibility in the form of documents strung up in labelled sacks or in bundles within an administrative space, also immediately identifies the guildhall as an information centre. Ordering methods enabled clerks to gain control over documents.

A clerk's hand attests to their skill in an active sense within this space, as those who entered would witness him at work on a document. This gives another perspective on Heblethwaite's 'well-known hand', demonstrating that his hand might actually be used as an advertisement for his skill within a workspace. From the chamberlain's accounts it is clear that clerks were often paid per job, with William Pyd paid for a quire of work in 1549, while the town clerk was paid a salary supplemented by jobs such as 'kepyng the hundred'.[94] These jobs would presumably be allocated to clerks partly based on their prominence and skill demonstrated within the community, meaning that their place within administrative spaces was entwined with their reputation.

Although the stringing up of documents within Lydd's administrative spaces is evinced by the presence of filing holes, it is also possible to see other methods of organisation within the archive. The method that leaves the most

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[94] KHLC, LY 2/1/1/3, pp. 44 and 157.

traces is folding. Folding is built into a document, and the importance of folding is currently being explored in relation to correspondence in the 'letterlocking' project led by Jana Dambrogio and Daniel Starza Smith.[95] However, folding is an act important to all kinds of manuscript materials, not least in corporation archives for defining the form of the item and also how its content is protected. Once loose papers are removed from files they are often folded into 'bundles'. These were collections of folded papers, which could then be fitted into drawers or tied up with papers of similar topics.[96] Importantly, folding also utilises the affordances of paper, because it becomes more resilient to tearing when folded and placed in a pile. By folding so that the side of paper without important information is on the outside of the packet, the contents could also be protected from the build-up of dust, or prying eyes.

Folds can be read from distinct lines left in the paper or parchment, and the *Letterlocking* project's dictionary uses Peter Beal's definition of 'crease(s)' to define these, saying that the difference between a fold and a crease is as follows: 'creases can be distinguished from folds, since folds are ridges made in order to engineer a letter packet, and creases signal the substrate's natural response to manipulation'.[97] This is a physical description of the creases that the material maintains after being manipulated by hand. The resulting lines left in paper from folding can be considered, as Ingold says of material interactions, a kind of material 'memory' where 'gestural movements […] make things stick'.[98] Creases are the traces of movement that become stuck to paper when the clerk

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[95] <http://letterlocking.org/> [last accessed 12/09/2017].
[96] Wolfe and Stallybrass, pp.192-196.
[97] 'Creases', *DoLL* and *DEMT*.
[98] Ingold, *Making*, p.118.

manipulates it. What is left is the trace of this interaction in the form of creases that remain even when a document has subsequently been stored flat.

In the Lydd archive, there are multiple styles of folding represented by the creases present in the paper and parchment. These can be read by looking at the marks, how the document sits when released from its more recent protective folder, and by looking at the darker panels of paper that demonstrate which parts of the sheet have been exposed.[99] The most common styles of folding result in a sheet, or multiple sheets, reduced to a small strip for placing in a bundle. This strip fold can be read from the one or two rectangular dark panels (usually on a side without text), created through these panels' exposure to their storage space, as well as from a written endorsement noting the contents.[100]

Figure 3.6 shows the back of a Bill of Complaint made by Matthew Hadde, a lawyer acting for Lydd during a dispute between Lydd and New Romney for jurisdiction over Broomhill and Dengemarsh.[101] The markings on this side of the sheet are typical for large, loose paper, and demonstrate a folding design that reduces the document to a strip-packet whilst protecting the side of the sheet holding the content. In this case, the shape has been achieved by folding the paper twice to create a packet a quarter of the size of the full sheet, then folding once more to create a small strip with only an eighth of the sheet on each side exposed. This can be evinced by looking at the physical definition of the creases – the last fold is the least defined as it is more difficult to make paper create a sharp edge the thicker it becomes – and their direction – the paper naturally holds the memory of the order in which it was folded.

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[99] Daybell, *Material*, p.219.
[100] A 'Panel' is 'a flat two-dimensional unit between creases or folds of an epistolary writing substrate'. *DOLL*.
[101] See KHLC, LY/4 7/2/12.

This kind of folding is very common within the Lydd archives and generates similar sized packets, no matter how many sheets are contained within. When written content spills onto both sides of a folio, a wrapping sheet might be used in order to protect the ink, which is a plain sheet used specifically for the purpose of protection.[102] When piled together, these strip-packets make the kind of document bundles evident on the left-hand side of the Breughel painting behind the scribe, and might also be easily tied together in groups, making the paper more resilient by piling it up. This kind of practice is evident in other archives where the folds and bundles have been maintained – for example original probate documents held by Lichfield Record Office, and the documents explored in Chapter Five.[103] Folding like this demonstrates the forming of an occupational practice through storage and – because this kind of folding makes documents uniform in style – creates coherence in the way papers are stored.

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[102] See examples such as KHLC, PRC/31/36 A/4.
[103] LRO, Probate Series B/C/11.
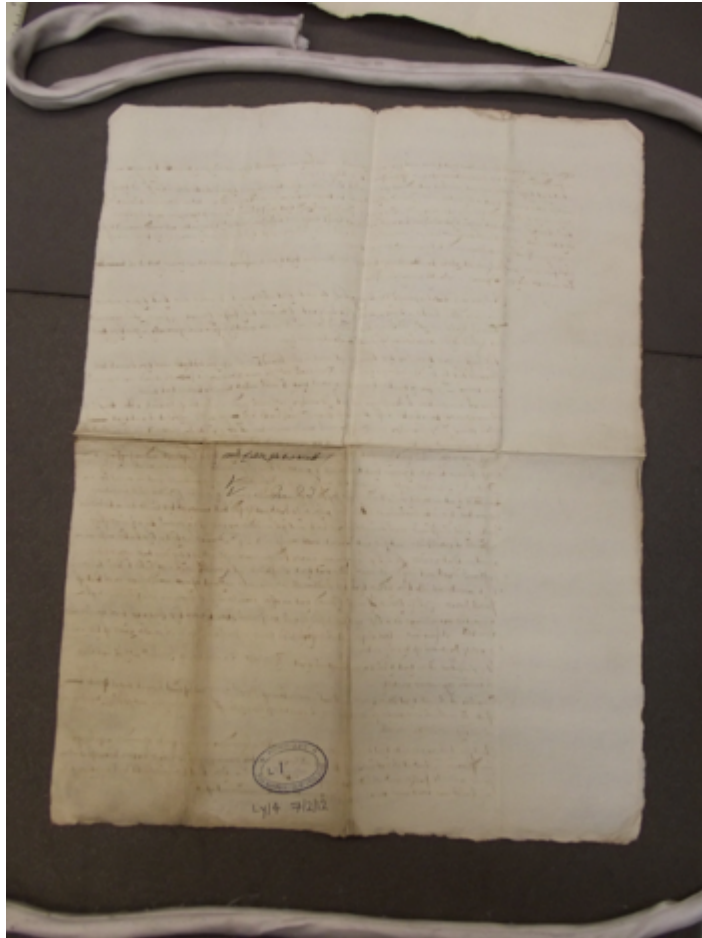
Figure 3.6: KHLC, LY/4 7/2/12

When folded, the document acquires endorsements and labels: in the case of Figure 3.6 a corporation stamp, a pencil finding mark for Kent History and Library Centre, a mark in the script of the scribe identifying the document ('mr Hadde his breviatt), and a faint finding mark below reading 'h.23'.[104] These changing marks demonstrate the movement of the item within its storage spaces, and the ways in which its owners have chosen to situate it amongst other items. The early marks – the title and 'h.23' – are useful because they give a short hand for the item's contents, meaning it can be easily identified without opening. However, it is difficult to decipher what 'h.23' denotes; perhaps it is the 23rd

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[104] KHLC, LY/4 7/2/12, fol.2ᵛ.

document in a group identified as 'h' for 'Hadde', the lawyer and scribe. When marks such as these are used in cross-referencing, there is the sense that the physical document is being pulled into relation with another through the use of consistent labels. For example, a roll within the Broomhill dispute – laying out New Romney's arguments against Lydd's counterargument – clearly uses these kinds of references in its evidence. Lydd's lawyer cites 'a coppye of the supposed charter of 6 H 3 giuing them of Lydd Jurisdiction in dengemershe', and an old book identified by '2 ed 4'.[105] These marks are shorthand for the monarch under which the charter was taken (eg. H 3 = Henry III) and the year of the monarch's reign. These short hand endorsements act as references to documents within the Lydd archive. Endorsements are useful, then, for the organising of documents and papers, and also to clerks' writing, as they can use these marks as a means of cross-referencing materials. Through this shared storage and marking system, the clerks created a sense of order and coherence in the records.

Other organising methods for documents within the archive involve the use of pins, sewing, or binding. Bindings are usually limp with leather details, and sewing is used to create small paper booklets from loose sheets of paper. The simplest attachments are parchment or string ties, where the document is punched through and tied at the top.[106] Figure 3.7 demonstrates the parchment-tie at the bottom of John Allen's original will, where three sheets are tied together and a seal attached.[107] Indeed, the Lydd chamberlain accounts occasionally record purchases that could suggest filing materials. For example, in 1552 there is an entry in the accounts for 'whyte yncle' to hold together registers of All

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[105] KHLC, LY/4 7/2/2, fols 1^r and 2^r.
[106] See Wolfe and Stallybrass, pp.184-186 for evidence of ribbons and needles being purchased for filing.
[107] KHLC, PRC/31/86 A/4.

Saint's Church's books. 'Incle' is a kind of linen tape used in clothing and for holding items together, so would be appropriate for use in filing.[108] When a document is made from multiple sheets folded bifolium, the tie is placed at the centrefold rather than at the top. These parchment or linen ties are a simple way of keeping papers together, and would be easily applied by a clerk to organise information into topics for collating into larger volumes or for future reference.

Figure 3.8 is an example of sewing used to tie paper together.[109] This document is a list of people and money owed for 'A Scott Set and Taxed', and the clerk makes marks alongside the names to keep track of payments. A running stitch, usually in brown or cream thread, is taken across the top of the booklet, probably by the clerk, who would be best placed to know when a document needed to be sewn together. Here the use of sewing makes the joining of long loose sheets resilient enough to be turned over, and to be used easily as a portable reference whilst collecting money. It is an improvisational manner of binding together a document, without the need for a bookbinder.

The final improvised attachment method seen within the Lydd archive is the use of parchment to create a protective shell around paper. For example, estreats from 1589-1590 relating to Lydd church repairs have a triangular shaped piece of parchment attached to the bottom and labelled so that it could be read from the outside.[110] The triangle would protect the document rolled into it whilst it was being transported about the town. Ties and protective wrappers are material additions to a document likely put on by the clerk using the materials they have to hand. These techniques also establish a familiar, uniform aesthetic

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[108] 'Incle', (n) 1a. *OED*. KHLC, LY/2/1/1/3, p.46.
[109] KHLC, LY/2/1/2/15, fol.1r.
[110] KHLC, LY/2/1/3/2. See also LY/2/1/3/4 for another example. 'Estreats' are the fines and payments to the chamberlains, *OED*.

for document collation, and demonstrate a clerk's awareness that their work could be kept for future reference. In using these well-established methods for document organisation, the Lydd clerks are communicating with wider structures of recordkeeping and governance at a national level – and through the material culture of recordkeeping – implementing order and a sense of organisation within the town.

Figure 3.7: KHLC, PRC/31/86 A/4.

Figure 3.8: Maidstone, Kent History and Library Centre, LY/2/1/2/15.

Organised, loose papers would often be used to create books of accounts and records, and the flexibility offered by filing on a string – where papers could be easily added and removed – is also apparent in the corporation's choice of binding methods. The Lydd clerks used a technique called 'tacketing' in their accounts, to secure quires to a parchment binding.[111] In its most basic form, this is where a length of, usually leather, thread is laced through a quire, then each end is taken through the centrefold of a limp binding and secured on the outside.[112] These sorts of bindings would enable quires of paper to be easily added over time, creating a book of flexible length.[113] The chamberlains' accounts frequently record paper bought by the quire for the corporation. This is in line with the use of tacket bindings, where quires could be added into a parchment binding. These large bindings would be made by a professional bookbinder, and evidence from the accounts shows that the clerks frequently sent records for binding, as with, for example, 'an ancient booke of record of H 6 1 C 1', which was sent to a binder in 1605 for a new cover in order to protect its contents.[114] The use of these bindings suggests the importance of these records to the corporation and their desire to protect them. Writing, as Daniel Woolf argues, was perceived as an extension of memory.[115] Maintaining a cache of records pertaining to a community – whether a corporation or a family – was an important way through which the past could be preserved and remembered, and a sense of the town's importance, rootedness, and longevity could be maintained.

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[111] See Bernhard C. Middleton, *A History of English Craft Bookbinding Techniques* (New York and London: Hefner Publishing Company, 1963), p.13; and J.A. Szirmai also discusses a variety of sewing methods in, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding* (Farnham: Ashgate, 1999), pp.287-290.
[112] Szirmai, *Archaeology*, p.287.
[113] Wolfe and Stallybrass, p.187.
[114] KHLC, LY/2/1/1/7, p.299 (modern pagination).
[115] Woolf, p.263.

Binding papers meant they would be less likely to be mislaid or damaged, while making them into a single object made maintenance and transportation easier.

Overall, signs of storage indicate that Lydd's community preserved and ordered their records. This ordering meant that documents could be easily located and used as evidence in legal cases or as a means of remembering a past event. The arranging and choosing of documents, and the development of consistent filing methods, demonstrates the conscious creation of a community's memory in material form, upon which the corporation's vision of the town as ordered and important rested and was relived. The town clerk, with responsibility for arranging and prioritising these documents, took an important position within the town's memory making, when he chose items to be kept and stored. The situation of the documents within the guildhall creates a coherent connection between the people (like jurats, bailiffs, and clerks) involved in the governance of the town and its records. Writing enabled a spatially embedded documentation of an event, where records would be made for a community and kept for the town.

Although the manners in which the Lydd records were filed gestures towards wider schemes of storage practices – suggesting clerks' occupational identities were connected to national (and European) practices – the way in which these practices were carried out reflected the concerns, lives, and memories of the local community. As Daniel Wolfe observes, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries 'local culture was able to maintain its remembered past' through 'scribal communication' and 'oral testimonial'.[116] But these testimonies would only be preserved through their retelling, or recording and

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[116] Woolf, p.295.

keeping within safe archives that could be used to maintain a sense of local culture. The storage and preservation of documents, and the material meanings made by traces of these recordkeeping practices, can be seen as an essential means through which writing was socially, spatially, and materially embedded for corporation clerks.

3.5. Drafts and Fair Copies in the Records of the Chamberlain
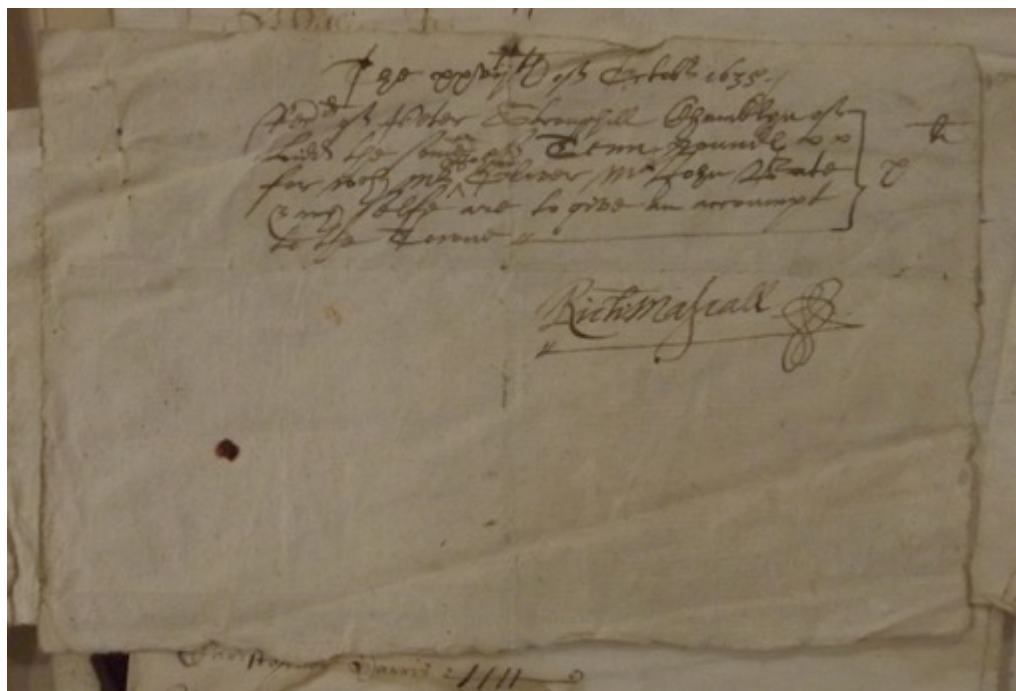
Figure 3.9: KHLC, LY/2/1/2/13

To understand further how Lydd clerks' occupational identities were socially embedded, this chapter turns to the records of the chamberlains. These records are made up of fair copies of accounts kept in larger volumes, alongside draft accounts, and bills or receipts filed by the clerks and chamberlains in order to make these volumes. Drafts give a sense of the accounts' making, which involved fragmentary documents and copying.

The flow between people and materials is represented by some of the documents within the chamberlains' records and this is particularly notable in the

case of extant bills and receipts. These documents come into the clerk's space from other members of the community, and are kept and reused in a different form within the accounts. Materially, these bills and receipts appear as fragmentary documents on small pieces of paper, sometimes with ragged edges if ripped from a larger sheet. Figure 3.9 is an image of a receipt made by Richard Mascall in 1636 as a memorandum that Peter Stroughill has paid the town what he owes.[117] Mascall, the town clerk at this time, has signed the receipt with his distinctive signature – marking his identity within the document and providing an authenticated record for his own use when writing up the accounts. It is clear that Mascall kept this document to hand as there is a small pin-mark to the top left-hand side, suggesting it might have been pinned initially to some other documents and later folded into a strip-packet labelled for a bundle. This receipt remembers a transaction in time: it represents the action of giving money. It mediates between the two men by materialising a largely oral process, whilst also moving around the administrative space from its moment of making: from its initial filing with a pin for reference purposes, to its eventual folding into a packet and storing. This movement and action are remembered by the document – the paper that maintains its holes and creases and the authenticating signature traced by Mascall's hand.

Other kinds of bills produced by those needing payment (not the clerk), can provide very detailed narratives of journeys or business conducted for the town. These narratives again place an action into verbal/material form, whilst remaining skilled pieces of craftsmanship in their order, form and script. A bill by the jurat John Glover, for example, recites his business in London. His

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[117] KHLC, LY/2/1/2/13, item 7.

expenses are listed to provide evidence as to why he needed more than the 30 shillings he was allocated for the business: 'I intreate you to consider the occasion of my iourneyes was onelie your business hauinge none of my owne but you enforced me to goe and leaue my owne business at hazard to my greate loss'.[118] Not only does this act as documentation of expenses to be put into the chamberlains' accounts, but it also materialises and legitimises a claim for the money. The materialisation of action in writing is also connected to status – the ability to write or access someone who can. These documents, then, act as a kind of communication conducted by those with the authority to access the skill involved in creating them, so that they can be processed or kept as future evidence.

Once all of these fragments have been collected, then the chamberlains' accounts are drafted. The few examples of draft accounts that survive for Lydd demonstrate the clerk's craftsmanship through material features such as crossings out, writing over, and annotation. The draft account for the year 1629, the equivalent fair copy of which has been pulled out of the relevant volume, LY/2/1/1/8, demonstrates numerous features, which deviate from those common to the fair copy.[119] In the preamble, for example, Mascall – the clerk compiling the material – choses to write in English rather than in Latin, using a secretary style script rather than the standard italic style. Secretary hand is faster to render than italic style as it is cursive, meaning the ink flows between letters rather than the pen lifting from the paper after each. It might also have demanded less attention from Mascall than an italic hand, particularly the decorative kinds used in the headings for each year in the fair copies of the accounts. This use of

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[118] KHLC, LY/2/1/2/13, Item 10.
[119] KHLC, LY/2/1/2/7 and LY/2/1/1/8.

English and the fast rendering of the preamble in secretary hand would presumably also provide a means of distinguishing between the draft and fair copy at a glance.

These features, however, are all the more remarkable when a draft account is compared to a fair copy bound into a large volume. The draft account for the year 1635, also compiled by Richard Mascall, has a fair equivalent, and through comparing the two, it is possible to understand how the material crafting of the accounts and their content, are reliant on trial and error, drafting and correcting.[120] The first folio of each is dramatically different. The draft only uses a sentence of preamble at the very top of the folio, prioritising the content, whereas the fair copy demonstrates decorative titles with some cadels on letters at the head of each paragraph. These titles did not only take time, but also planning to fit into the space. In a draft copy, where the clerk might be acquiring some of the materials for writing himself, it would not be cost-efficient to practise formulaic material.[121] The way in which these decorative letters are constructed also takes time – the quill would have to be frequently refilled with ink to achieve the depth of colour – a depth that is absent in the main body and draft. Decorative headings in the accounts also make use of the flat edges of the quill or a different kind of quill altogether to allow for thicker strokes, something that the clerk would have to be very conscious of in the crafting of each letter where a mixture of narrow and wide strokes would be used. Arguably, then, whereas in the draft the clerk is mainly thinking about the content, in the fair copy he is thinking about presentation. Daniel Wakelin contends, concerning clerks, that: 'The scribes of English are craftsmen of words and it is to words

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[120] KHLC, LY/2/1/2/13 and LY/2/1/1/8, p.310 (modern pagination).
[121] There is some evidence within the chamberlains' accounts that the town clerk is given an allowance for paper, ink and parchment.

that, when correcting, they attend.'[122] Although Wakelin is attending to words in a linguistic sense – spelling, communication and precision – what the word 'craftsmen' also connotes is the actual shaping of letters too, and the physical active motion of writing that clerks attend to, which is where this moves beyond Wakelin's interpretation.

It is clear that, in the process of drafting the accounts for 1635, the clerk went through a process of crossing-out entries where necessary, depicting the social side of his drafting. Mascall would presumably draft the accounts from the information he had, meticulously adding every receipt. These accounts were then revised in communication with the chamberlains, who would advise on the removing of information in the form of crossings-out, or the adding of annotations that appear on the drafts in the form of marginalia or writing in between lines. Crossings-out almost always seem to be done after the writing of the draft as the ink used is different – less watery and darker in order to obscure the underwriting.[123] The social element of the clerk's craft also comes into annotations on drafts. The 1629 accounts demonstrate numerous annotations, the most common being the word 'remitt' or the abbreviation 'rem'.[124] In this context this word means 'to remain unpaid' or 'to reduce a payment', so providing the clerk and chamberlains with a memorandum – that emerges from conversation – to put into action in subsequent drafts.[125] These annotations are again in different ink, demonstrating the meticulous attention given to the process of crafting accounts and the social skill of correcting that takes place within a corporation.

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[122] Wakelin, p.3.
[123] KHLC, LY/2/1/2/13, fol.1ᵛ.
[124] KHLC, LY/2/1/2/7.
[125] 'Remit' (v) 2a, *OED*.

This social craft is perhaps best seen in a small extant paper book, acting as a workbook for those working within the office of the chamberlains. Begun in 1636 and primarily in the hand of the town clerk Richard Mascall – with additions by chamberlain John Potten and another hand – it is a remarkable notebook, detailing memoranda useful for the making of the chamberlains' accounts.[126] It is stab-stitched down the left-hand fold, giving it a decorative touch in its binding, and the front and back of the manuscript are full of pen trials, letters, and signatures. These marks indicate the ridding of excess ink, or testing of the ink in the pen on convenient spare paper – the exposed front and back of this paper book making it easily accessible for spontaneous jottings for practical ink-testing purposes (see Figure 3.10). This little book also shows the hands of the chamberlains and the clerk in conversation, as Richard Mascall adds to a list of accounts after John Potten's shaky hand – replicating in material form the social world of the men in dialogue. It is in this kind of informal document we see the workings-out and thinking hand of the clerk, which falls into the background within the fair copies of documents that more commonly survive.

In this craft of correcting, drafting and redrafting there is again evidence that the *hylomorphic* model of design coming before form (outlined in the introduction) needs to be revised. Here, it is clear that the form of the accounts, although partly formulaic, comes from trial and error, drafting and redrafting until the final copy is achieved. As such, attention to craftsmanship can challenge some of our preconceptions about how this kind of information is recorded. In the fair copies, most errors have been drafted out, and the clerk's craft processes are hidden in the consistent form of the accounts. What the draft accounts and

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[126] KHLC, LY/2/1/2/15, item 3.

fragments behind these fair copies demonstrate is that clerks had to exercise discretion in the materials they added to the account. Clerks had to edit their own work and be edited by others: fair copies did not just materialise. A sense of occupational identity was generated through redrafting by the Lydd clerks, who, through communal work, were able to replicate appropriate recognised forms of accounting for the town and create a sense of continuity in the records.
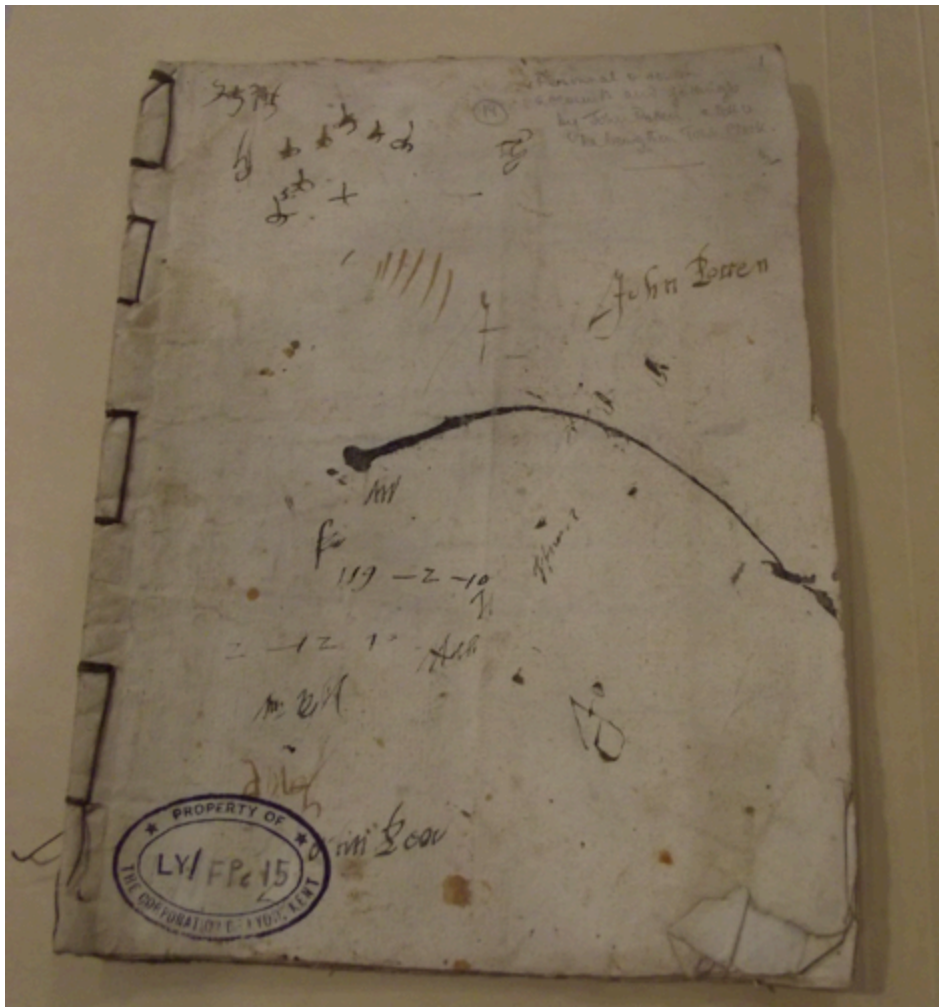
Figure 3.10. John Potten's paper book, KHLC, LY/2/1/2/15 (front).

3.6. Handwriting, Clerks, and Identities

The social dimension of scribes' work within the Lydd Corporation can be understood through their handwriting. The Image Processing experiment in this chapter focuses on how clerks' handwriting is similar and investigates individual innovations. The sample of letterforms used in this chapter is representative of the whole period 1560-1640, making it possible to look at scribes' handwriting over time and see if there are differences between earlier and later clerks. By assessing similarities and differences in script features, it is possible to advance our understanding of the extent to which handwriting skills were socially transmitted.

To begin, it is useful to contextualise the quantitative results by comparing the visual appearance of three of the scribes' handwriting within the corporation.
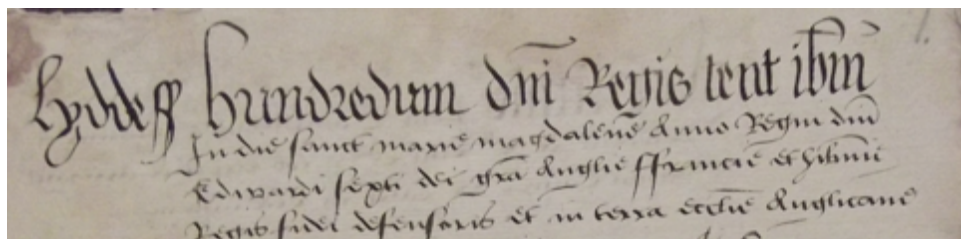
Figure 3.11: KHLC, LY/2/1/1/3, fol.1^r, John Heblethwaite.
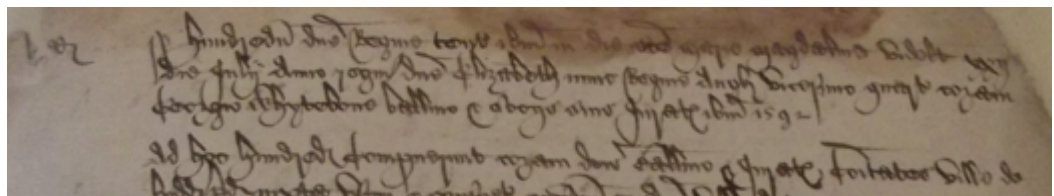
Figure 3.12: KHLC, LY/2/1/1/6, fol.1^r. William Dallett.
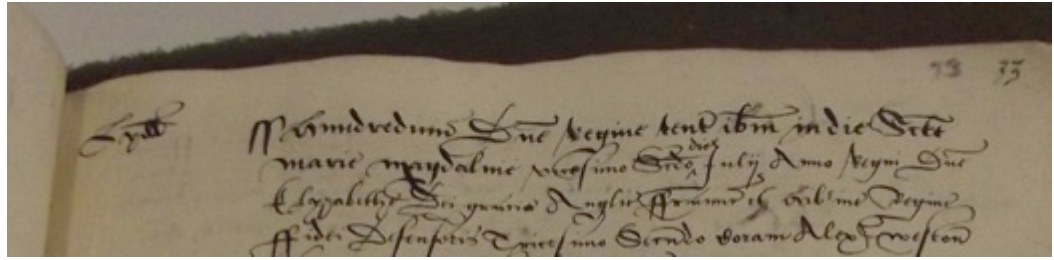
Figure 3.13: KHLC, LY/2/1/1/7, fol.33[r]. Robert Dyne.

Figures 3.11, 3.12, and 3.13 are examples from the preamble to the chamberlains' accounts for three clerks: John Heblethwaite, William Dallett and Robert Dyne. As scribal personalities these three hands are very different. Heblethwaite titles his account in an engrossing hand, whereas the other two scribes do not show as much of a clear distinction between the first line and subsequent text. Heblethwaite's is the most well-spaced and even hand, with consistent letterforms and feathering. In contrast, William Dallet uses a legal hand, suggesting he might have received some training in law.[127] Dallet and Heblethwaite were linked through their wills (section 3.3), and it is clear that the two men were socially connected. This experiment also reveals some similarities in their handwriting features despite the aesthetic differences. These likenesses gesture to a culture of learning-through-copying, in which clerks were trained by working as under clerks and servants to senior corporation scribes.

Although there are clear similarities in the appearance of the writing on the page – with each scribe using the same format – there are also visual differences and individual touches in the actual handwriting used. These differences do not, however, come through as strikingly in the results for the Image Processing experiment for the lower case letters in particular, showing that, despite these differences, clerks internalised a similar education in writing,

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[127] Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton, *Elizabethan*, pp.10 and 48.

which continued into their professional writing practices. These similarities might also indicate that clerks working in the same social context transmitted techniques and handwriting features through copying one another's format. The occupational identities created in handwriting were then generated through skills that were transmitted between scribes, with distinctive touches distinguishing individuals from one another.

Letterforms	John Heblethwaite	John Stroughill	William Dallett	Richard Mascall	Robert Dyne	William Pope
			Clerk Name			
	Until 1574	1578-1581	1581-1590	1630+	1590-1598	1598-1617
A	3	4	5	0	5	5
H	6	5	5	1	1	2
L	6	4	5	2	2	0
M	3	3	2	0	1	0
P	6	4	5	3	2	4
Y	6	1	1	0	0	0
A	5	6	5	6	5	4
H	4	3	6	5	5	5
L	5	7	5	4	5	5
M	9	4	6	5	6	6
P	6	5	5	5	5	5
Y	9	4	4	0	0	0

Table 3.2. Table detailing letterform samples for six clerks.

For this experiment, samples from six scribes have been taken and analysed, and these are detailed in Table 3.2. The lowercase letter samples are almost even across clerks, apart from for the letter 'y', where samples have only been taken for the earliest three scribes. The capital letter samples are more uneven, due to the nature of the documents from which these letterforms were taken – principally from chamberlains' accounts and wills from 1560-1640 – where the document sample size for each scribe varies.

The three measurements that demonstrate interesting differences between the earliest and latest clerks in terms of scribal practice are area, perimeter, and filled area. As in previous chapters, these results show the mean and median data across each category.
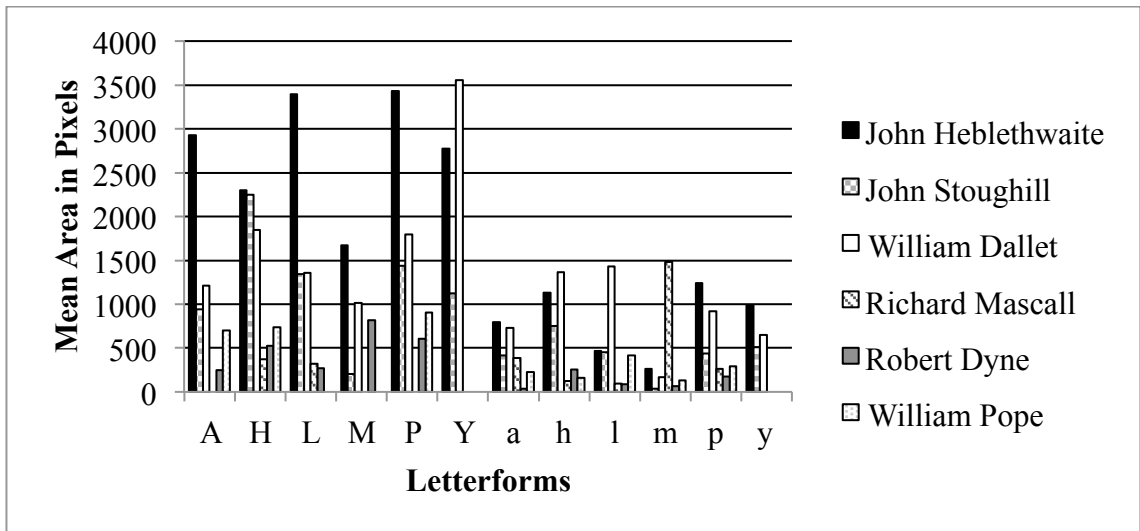
Chart 3.1. Mean Area in Pixels for Clerks' Letterforms.
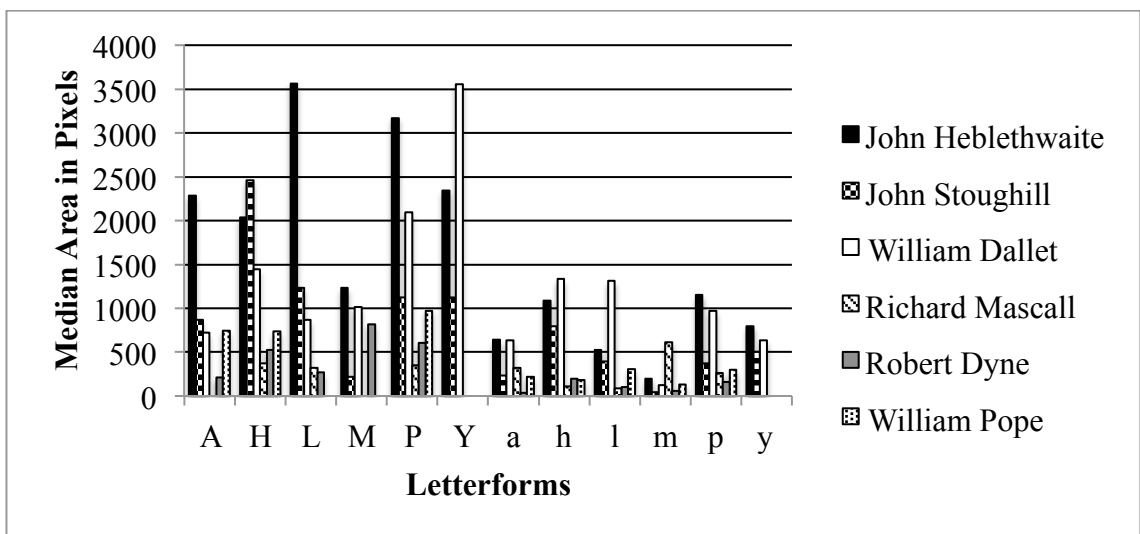
Chart 3.2. Median Area in Pixels for Clerks' Letterforms.
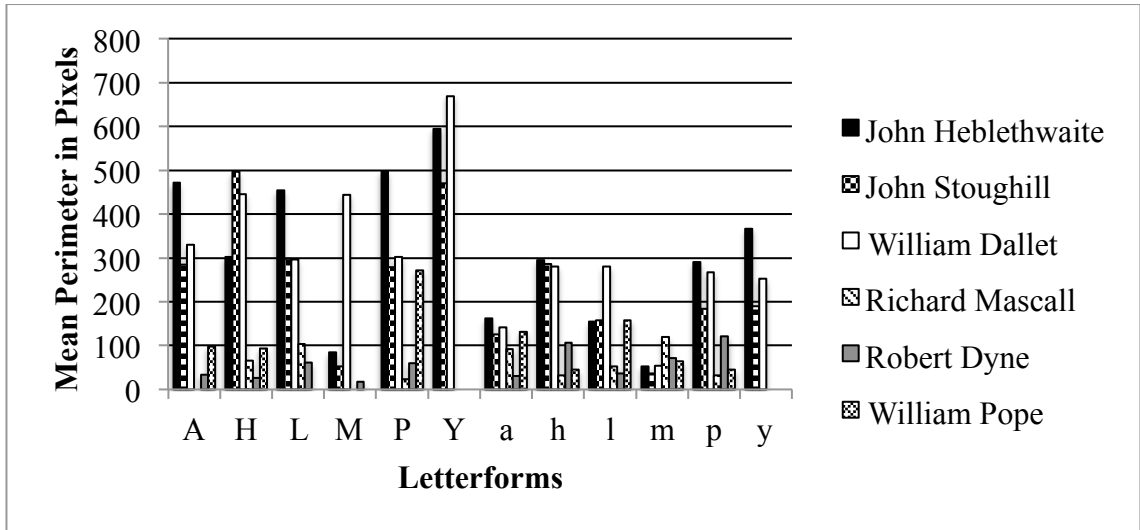
Chart 3.3. Mean Perimeter in Pixels for Clerks' Letterforms.
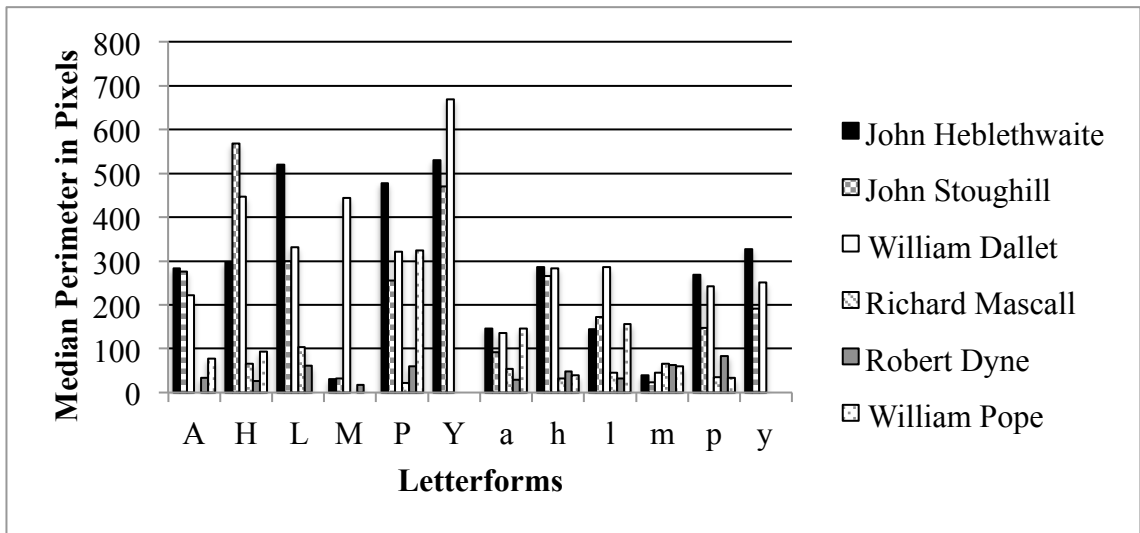
Chart 3.4. Median Perimeter in Pixels for Clerks' Letterforms.
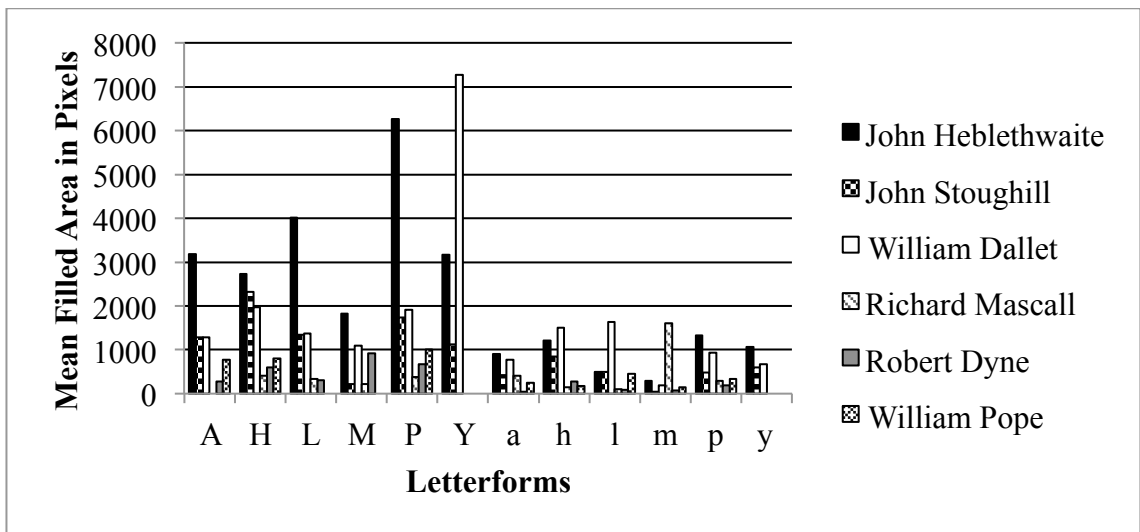
Chart 3.5. Mean Filled Area in Pixels for Clerks' Letterforms.
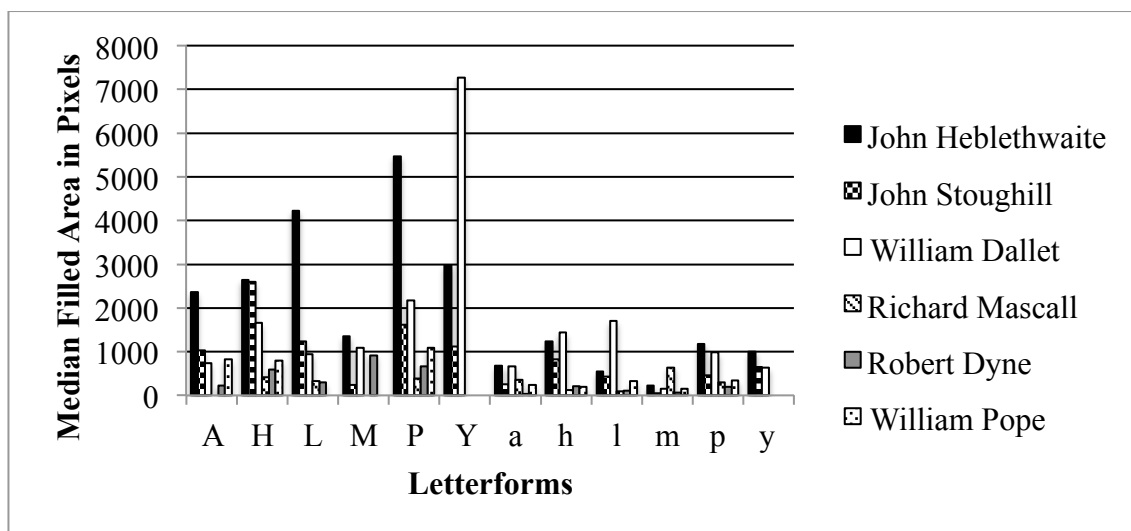
Chart 3.6. Median Filled Area in Pixels for Clerks' Letterforms.

From Charts 3.1 and 3.2, representing the mean and median area for clerks' letterforms, it is clear that John Heblethwaite's capital letters, apart from letter 'y', are larger. Heblethwaite is the earliest town clerk sampled (1560-1574). His pre-1590 peers, John Stroughill and William Dallet – who took up the position of town clerk chronologically after Heblethwaite – hold the second and third largest area value for capital letterforms.[128] This trend continues into the perimeter and filled area measurements, where these three scribes' letters are largest. After 1590 the preference for very large capital letterforms diminishes, with the three later clerks displaying a preference for smaller letters. Unlike in previous chapters, where lowercase letters demonstrate less difference in size than capital letterforms, the lowercase letterforms here show that the three earlier clerks used larger letterforms than the three later clerks. This gives the sense that scribal practice in Lydd changes across the period towards smaller letterforms, which shows a shift in the kind of training clerks received in writing.

As all of the scribes were socially connected to one another, their conversation in letterform size could indicate familiarity with their predecessor,

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[128] John Stoughill 1578-1581, and Wlliam Dallet 1581-1590.

perhaps demonstrating that they learnt expected formats from one another. The three early clerks' preference for large capital letterforms could have been socially transmitted, as, in training, they may have tried to replicate their predecessor's letter sizes. As in the previous chapter, the capital letterforms also show much more variation in size than the lowercase letterforms, suggesting, again, that capital letters are sites for innovation. This was seen early in the chapter in Figure 3.3, which showed John Stroughill's capital 'S' – a distinctive touch to accounts in his hand.

The major and minor axis length measurements do not show the same exaggerated separation between the earliest three clerks and the latest three. This implies that the manner in which clerks used the quill may have contributed to the central differences between individuals.
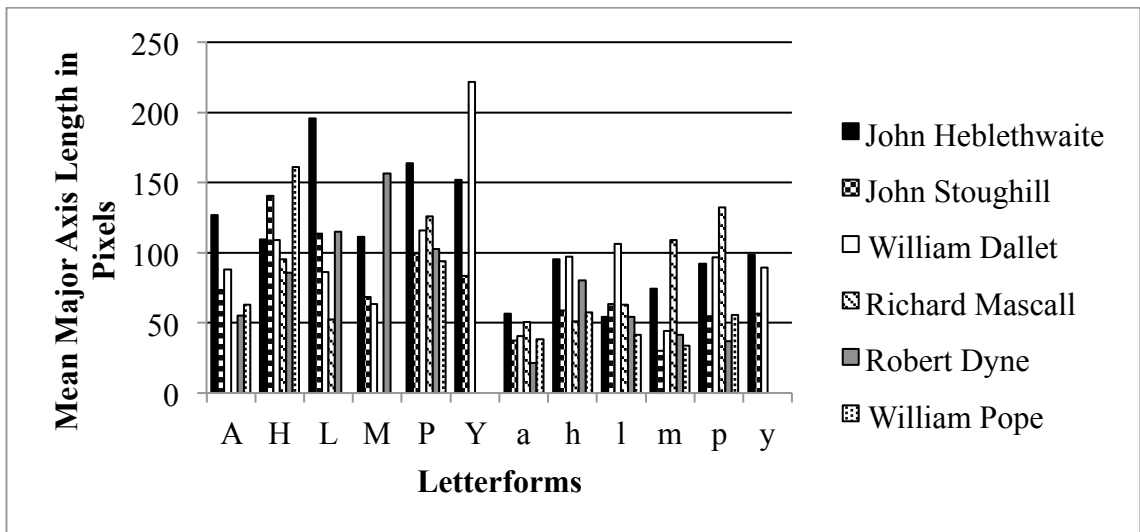
Chart 3.7. Mean Major Axis Length in Pixels for Clerks' Letterforms.
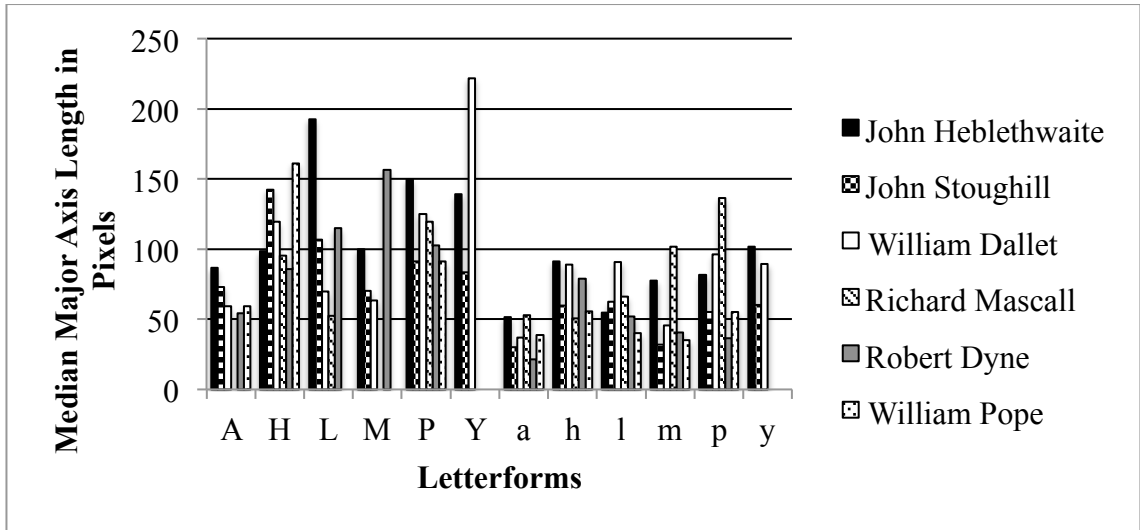
Chart 3.8. Median Major Axis Length in Pixels for Clerks' Letterforms.
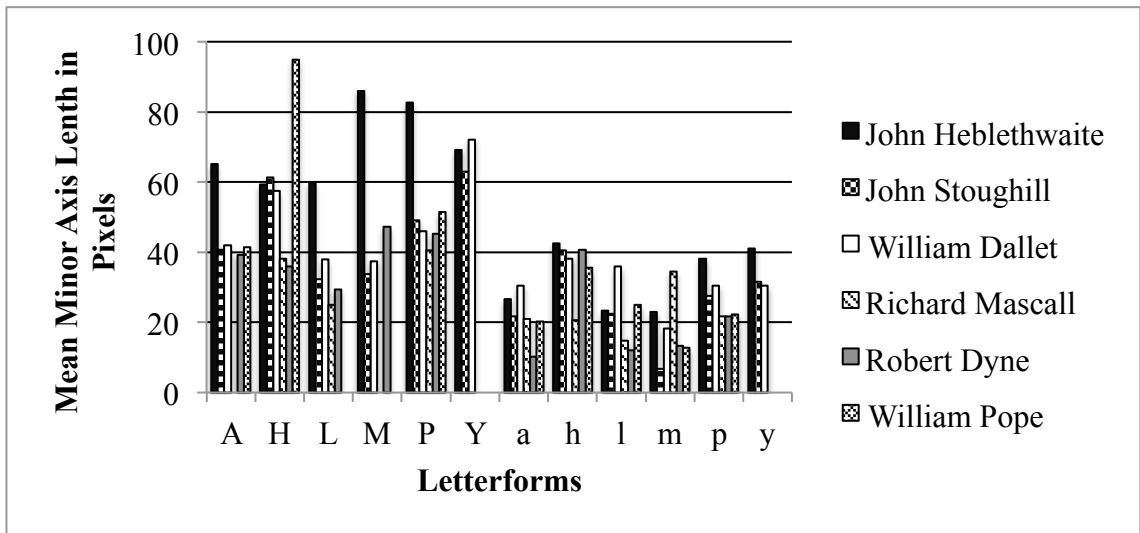
Chart 3.9. Mean Minor Axis Length in Pixels for Clerks' Letterforms.
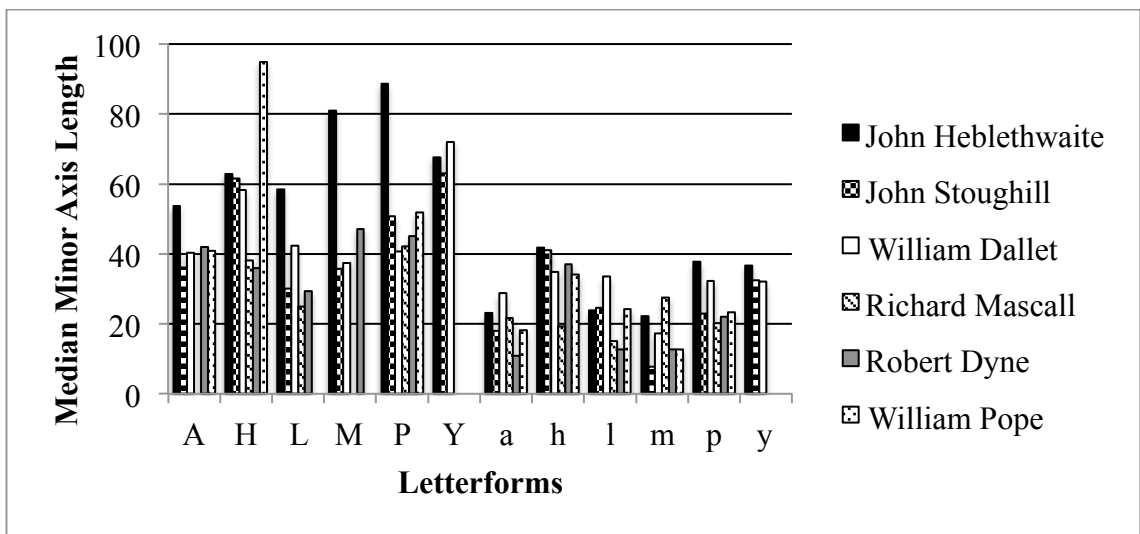
Chart 3.10. Median Minor Axis Length in Pixels for Clerks' Letterforms.

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The similarities between all clerks in terms of the major and minor axis length measures – especially across lowercase letters but also, apart from for Heblethwaite and the sample of William Pope's 'H's, across the uppercase sample – suggest that the height and width of the letterforms clerks are producing is similar across the period. There is a clear pattern of practice between the Lydd clerks in terms of the major and minor axis lengths of their letterforms, with Heblethwaite the only clerk who consistently maintains larger letters across the two categories. The clear differences in overall area and perimeter measurements between earlier and later clerks, in comparison to their major and minor axis length measurements, shows that the difference is caused in part by size, but principally by the type of quill used to write. Later clerks' use of narrower nibs on their quills would generate this kind of result, where their letterforms would not show much difference for the major and minor axis length categories, but would be smaller in overall area. These axis length measurements are important because they suggest a shift in handwriting education across the period studied for Lydd, specifically in quill cutting. Later clerks used narrower nibbed quills, suited to smaller writing, and this can be seen in their smaller measurements for major and minor axis lengths. These measurements in Charts 3.7-3.10 demonstrate the relationship between quill type, overall size of letterforms, and – broadly – the relationship between materials and writing practice.

These differences in quill use can also be seen in the measurements for the solidity and extent features. Solidity measures the density of ink used to create letterforms, and extent is a measure of the amount of ink used to create a letterform. A higher ratio value is produced when less ink is used.
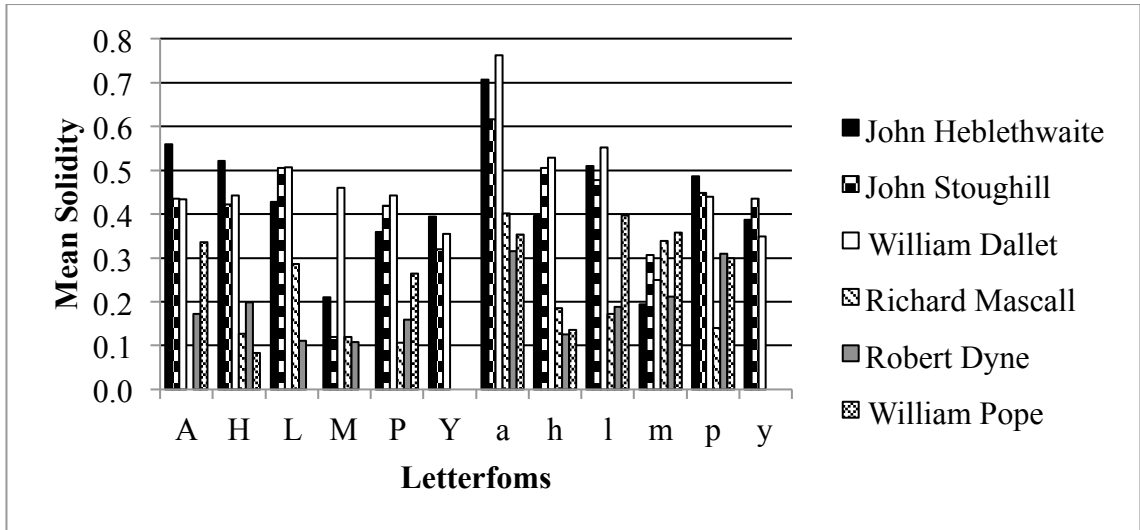
Chart 3.11. Mean Solidity (expressed as ratio between area and the convex hull of the letter) for Clerks' Letterforms.
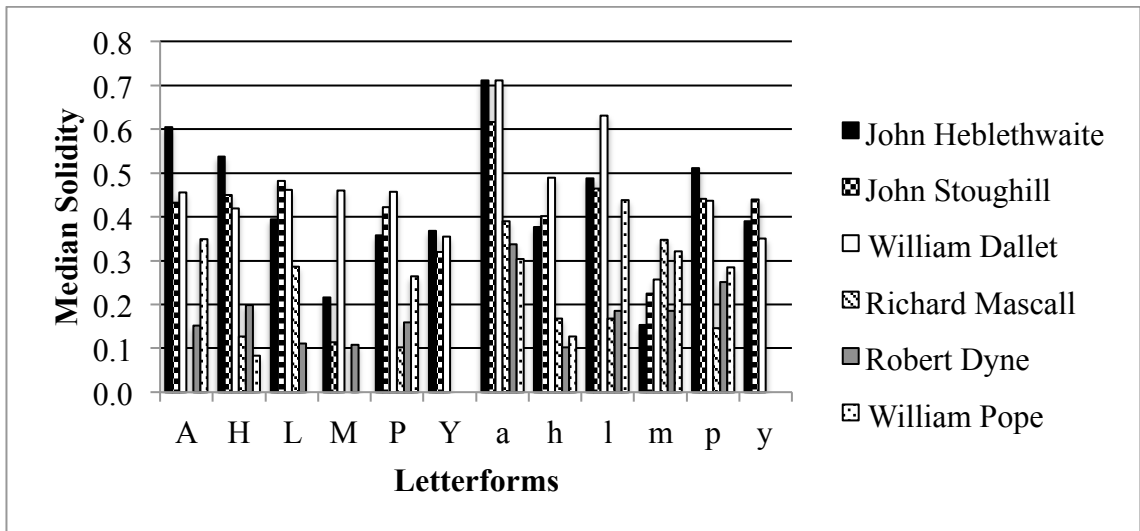
Chart 3.12. Median Solidity (expressed as ratio between area and the convex hull of the letter) for Clerks' Letterforms.
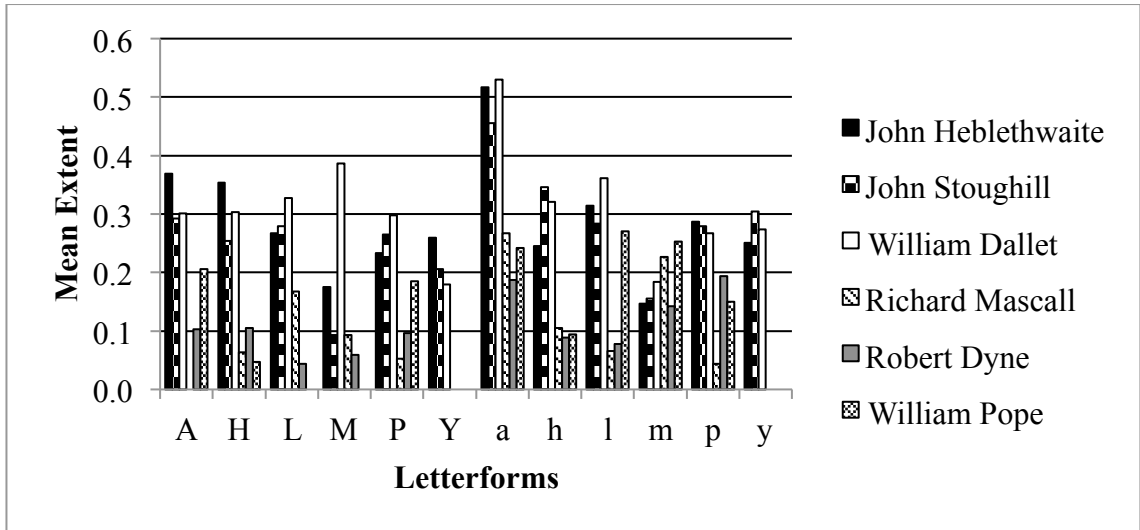
Chart 3.13. Mean Extent (expressed as ratio between X and Y co-ordinates of a bounding box around a letterform) for Clerks' Letterforms.
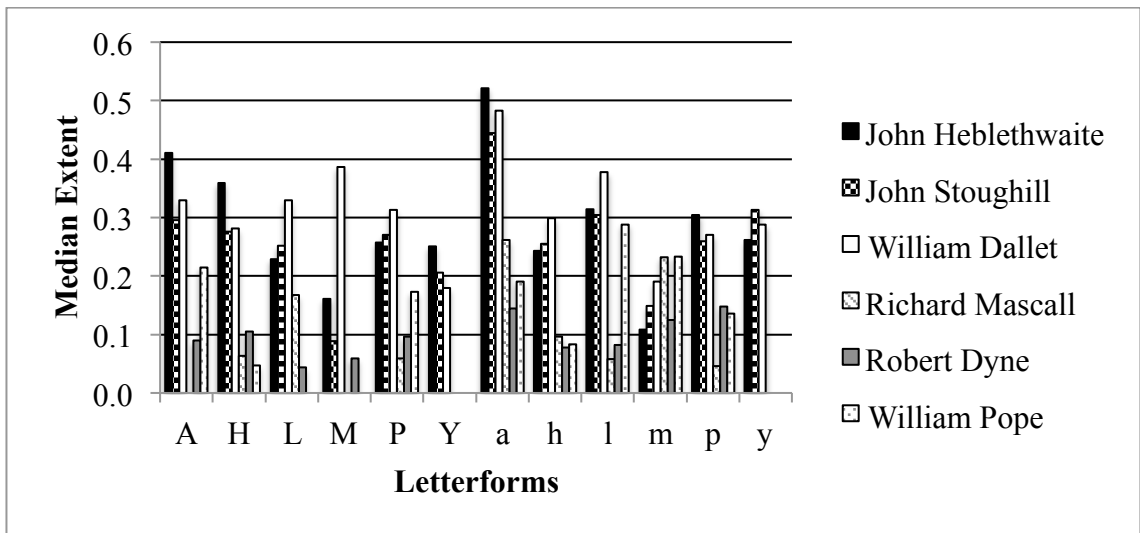
Chart 3.14. Median Extent (expressed as ratio between X and Y co-ordinates of a bounding box around a letterform) for Clerks' Letterforms.

In Charts 3.11-3.14 there is a clear difference between the results for the pre-1590 clerks and post-1590 clerks, as there was with the area, perimeter, and filled area measurements. This again demonstrates that, within Lydd, there seems to be a transition across time in terms of how scribes use a pen, with later clerks demonstrating a preference for using a narrower nib. This suggests that there was a change during the late sixteenth century in the manner in which people learnt to

write. This is perhaps linked to the wider use of italic scripts, and the new emphasis on teaching secretary and italic hand in grammar schools.[129] Italic hand demanded a more pointed tip, with use of the wider edges for certain strokes, whereas secretary hands demanded a rounded tip.[130] Although clerks did not always use the correct type of pen for the script they were performing, it seems that for the Lydd clerks this wider development in writing practices had an impact on the strokes they used to make letterforms.[131] The only exception is in the performance of letter 'm' where the clerks reverse, with the post-1590 clerks using a higher ink density and thicker strokes than those pre-1590. This difference indicates that the way in which they used the narrower pointed quill, created an emphasis on the use of the flat edge in the making of the letter 'm'. In the results from Figures 3.11-3.14, there is a statistical representation of the changing use of the pen and the wider use of italic styles into the seventeenth century, through the lower ink density and narrower writing strokes. This suggests that schooling in Lydd was having a direct impact on clerks' handwriting, as a broader movement from secretary to italic hand affected quill use.

Overall, as in previous chapters, the results for Lydd clerks demonstrate how capital letterforms were sites of innovation for individual scribes, allowing a clerk to add a distinctive touch to their work. What is interesting about the Lydd clerks is how their writing practices change over time, with the differences between the earliest three clerks and latest three clerks suggesting that occupational writing practices were in transition during the late sixteenth century. Although the overall width and height of scribes' letterforms did not

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[129] Teaching of both scripts see Schulz, 'The Teaching'.
[130] See Chapter One, section 1.3.ii.
[131] Gibson, 'Italic'.

show a very large difference, as seen in the results for major and minor axis lengths, the pens they used changed from wider, rounded nibs to thinner, more pointed tips that created thinner pen strokes within documents. This shows how quills can influence the size of letters produced. Clerks' handwriting displays a conversation between education, social context, and individual innovation. Clerks clearly thought carefully about the presentation of documents, as seen in the consistent format of the chamberlains' accounts, for example, and the similarities in letterform size between some clerks. The clerks also internalised practices learnt as part of their writing education, as evinced by the manner in which pen use changes over time in the Lydd documents (this was in line with the rising use of italic scripts). All of these consistencies in practice come into conversation with innovative touches. These are demonstrated in Heblethwaite's overall larger letterforms, the use of cadels on capital letters at the start of the chamberlains' accounts and in some wills, and the variation in results for capital letterforms.

A clerk's handwriting was the central marker of their expertise within their occupation, and, as such, clerks were well versed in the set hands expected of them in the rendering of documents. What this experiment has shown is that these expectations changed over the course of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century, and that, despite certain expectations in their performance of capital letters, clerks still used them creatively in their handwriting. This experiment also suggests the importance of education to a clerk's handwriting, where repeated practising of letter-shapes in set hands generates consistencies, especially for lowercase letterforms, which are represented in the results. It also indicates how, although each clerk would have been socially connected in the

manner through which they copied one another's formats and learned aesthetic expectations from senior clerks, their handwriting – just like their recordkeeping habits – could be influenced by wider cultural practices too. Clerks' occupational identities were thus generated through shared practices, while learning-through-copying established document formats and script features.

3.7. Clerks, Craft, and Occupation

As the above case studies show, it is clear that clerks were skilled workers with knowledge of legal formats and language, who individualised features within their work to demonstrate their skill and signify that their work was their own. What remains to explore is how clerks perceived their identities and roles within a corporation setting. The introduction to this chapter established clerks as town officials, who held social credit due to their privileged economic status and position within the corporation. Town clerks wished to be perceived as moral and competent record-makers acting in the service of their town. This section discusses two documents in light of this perception of town clerks as urban officials, to understand how they wished to be perceived by their communities, and also how their material expertise was connected with their value economically and morally. The first document discussed is a petition to the corporation by Mr Crane in 1646, town clerk of Lydd, who protested about the most recent 'Bill of Fees' to emerge from the Court of Burghmote, which did not reflect the labour involved in the making of documents.[132] The second document is from other Cinque Ports, Sandwich and Winchelsea, and it gives another perspective on clerks' position within a corporation, reflecting on their conduct

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[132] KHLC, LY/16/1/4/2.

through a complaint about the town clerk of Great Yarmouth.[133] Through these documents it is possible to gain some idea of clerks' perceptions of their occupation and understanding of materials.

Mr Crane's objection to the Bill of Fees is that the fees do not properly compensate a clerk's labour. Through his complaints he utilises his knowledge as an experienced clerk to put forward his reasoning against the new system. His third complaint demonstrates this well, where he writes:

> Thirdly the fee of _____xiid for everye writt of enquiry of damages should be (as I conceave)_____iis as it hath bine euer since my time of practice (when they weare not written in parchment as now they are) all other courts allowe the same fee, for that the writt is very longe conteynyng the whole declaration if it be forty sheets of paper besides the substance of the writt it selfe.[134]

Within this complaint, Crane draws attention to his expertise and experience as clerk ('ever since my time of practice') and importantly draws upon his intimate knowledge of the use and value of materials. His knowledge is shown when he points out the changing use of writing surface from paper to parchment at an increased expense, and stresses the labour involved in producing a long declaration. Here Crane is utilising his expertise to enhance his argument regarding the labour involved in document making. This continues into his next entry where he states that the payment per sheet 'will hardly pay for inke and parchment'.[135] This complaint demonstrates expertise-specific knowledge of the price of writing materials, and the time taken to write a writ, as well as an awareness of the price other courts pay for similar documents. The occupational

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[133] KHLC, CP/Y2/11.
[134] KHLC, LY/16/1/4/2, fol.1ʳ.
[135] Ibid, fol.1ʳ.

continuity of payment generates a sense of skill that is shared between communities, and of a clerk's expectations of compensation for their labour.

Crane's complaints give an insight into the material processes of the clerk. It seems that the clerk had power over the materials used in the creation of documents, because the allowance given to clerks included their payment and compensation for materials. This system accounts for the lack of information and entries in the chamberlains' accounts for writing materials. The only entries in the accounts are for paper that seems to have been used within the accounts or for books of records (for example, 'Item payde for a paper booke for the recordes IIIIs IIIId' in 1552).[136] These books would be intended for fair copies of accounts and records, not for drafts or research notes, all of which would be part of the process of making books of record. As such it seems that, on the whole, individual clerks did not draw on a centralised stock of paper, but chose the paper type, inks, and quills they wished to use. This might be why standard stocks of pot paper are most prevalent in the archive, because they are cheaper than larger, creamier sheets.[137] The example given above, concerning the buying of a paper book, coincides with the introduction of a new paper stock (with a hand and star watermark) for the accounts.[138] Although a relatively common mark before the seventeenth century, this kind of watermark is unusual for Lydd's corporation records. This entry into the accounts, and subsequent stock change, could then have been as a result of the fact the paper was bought as a

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[136] KHLC, LY/2/1/1/3, p. 26.
[137] Daybell, *Material Letter*, p.34.
[138] There are two watermarks of the same kind present in the main manuscript: both are hand-star watermarks – a type very common before the rise of pot paper in the late sixteenth century, and the sheets are of a similar size. The first is only present up to fol.4 and has the initials of the papermaker 'PH'. A later watermark dated 1558, Briquet 11362, is very similar to this mark – perhaps from the same area or mill and is from Rouen. The second is present from fol.5, is of the same hand-star style but with the initials MI and the number '3' within the hand. This watermark persists for the rest of the manuscript and can be identified using Briquet's work as being made in Osnabrück in 1552. See Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, vol.3, p.573.

bound book for use as the fair copy for the accounts, especially since subsequent records also specify 'paper for ye chamberlens booke' each year.[139] Any other ink, paper, or parchment for use in the clerk's work for the corporation is listed as 'paper incke and parchement this yere,' and even this allowance disappears from the accounts after Heblethwaite's time as town clerk.[140] Consequently, it seems that the clerk's craftsmanship and occupational identity is not only tied to the execution of certain scripts and legal formats, but also to an intimate knowledge of paper types and sizes, ink purchasing or making, and knowing the implications of using certain types of materials for their fee-setting. All of these are displayed in Crane's petition.

Aside from this knowledge, clerks' occupations depended on their ability to communicate with other corporation members, and to render documents from the instruction of the bailiffs and jurats accurately. One document in which the personal qualities of a clerk are suggested is an account of William Wood, a jurat of Sandwich, and Robert Butler, a jurat of Winchelsea. This account discusses the visit of William Wood and Robert Butler to Great Yarmouth in September 1607 at the time of its fair along with the town clerk of Sandwich, Augusteth Sureste, and jurats from their respective corporations. During their stay, the jurats of Sandwich and Winchelsea asked to see Yarmouth's prisoners: 'to know the cause of their imprisonment whether they were upon pleas of the crowne or otherwise'.[141] Mr Grey, town clerk of Yarmouth, refused to follow the orders of his jurats to allow the visitors from Sandwich and Winchelsea to see the prisoners, thus betraying his position of service to his corporation. Wood's and

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[139] See numerous examples within Lydd chamberlains' accounts, this one being from KHLC, LY/2/1/1/3, p.46 (modern pagination).
[140] See for example, KHLC, LY/2/1/1/3, p.5 (modern pagination).
[141] KHLC, CP/Y2/11, fol.7^r.

Butler's encounter with Mr Grey leads them to record an account of events concluded with a message to the Cinque Port towns about their responsibilities in keeping a reliable town clerk:

> Here we doe waite for the aduertesment of all the Bailiffs of the Barons of the ports that shall succeed us that especially they doe provyde themselves with a sufficient clarke that maie be able both in sufficiencye & experience to challenge & discharge those duties of office which we appertaine originallie or maie be to by advantage added or enlarged which in our experience wee haue found maybe very advantagable or hurtfull.[142]

Here we have a warning that an insufficient clerk can be 'hurtfull' to the reputation of the town, particularly if they cannot use their discretion in order to 'challenge & discharge' duties. The town clerk was important to the corporation, and here the implications of not having a sufficient one are vital not only to the making of documents, but also to the town's reputation. The town clerk's office-holding abilities and status were connected to their moral reputation, and, further, that of the town. Mr Grey's behaviour on 30th September 1607 was used as an example to the Cinque Port towns, and this is the reason why Wood and Butler had an account of their visit to Great Yarmouth recorded. Augusteth Sureste, the clerk of Sandwich, is, by contrast, seen to be upholding the values of his corporation. This is clear in the resulting argument between Sureste and Grey, where Sureste claims Grey: 'spake what became him not & verie unmannerlie' and that he 'should be better taught by the bailiffs'.[143]

The argument then seems to have escalated, with the scribe of the document recording that:

> for (said our clarke) my place is equall with yours and wee are both the bailiffs seruants. All wh[i]ch passed between mr grey & our clarke whilst the bayliffs & wee werein other talks and knowe not what was said

[142] KHLC, CP/Y2/11, fol.9[r].
[143] Ibid, fol.3[v].

although they spoke verie lowde but percuinge somewhat our clark's speeches & earnestnesse we demanded the matter our clarke said mr Grey had used some unbecoming speeches wee demanded what they were our clarke said some w[hi]ch he thought mr grey repented but […] mr grey saithe he dyd not repent them rose & went awaie out of the toulehouse.[144]

Mr Grey is described as 'unmannerly' and 'unbecoming,' insults that describe his improper behaviour.[145] The *OED* mentions two contemporaneous examples of the use of this word 'unmannerly' as directed towards servants.[146] These examples place the word in a context where it is used against an inferior transgressing their place – something that is dangerous for a clerk where it is essential for him to maintain his place as recorder of correct information. Town clerks hold social credit, in the sense that (as explained in section 3.3) many are propertied individuals. Some were also of elevated social status, like yeomen, and were perceived as moral exemplars within their communities. As such, they were in positions of responsibility within their local community, and needed to be seen as acting with, and on behalf of, their corporation. This sense of duty is clear in Sureste's statement that: 'my place is equall w[i]th yo[u]rs'. This statement is his attempt to evoke Mr Grey's responsibility to exercise his duty to his corporation, to offer hospitality to the visiting town clerk, and to demonstrate due deference to the jurats by fulfilling their request to see the prisoners.

What these two documents establish is that a clerk's occupational identity was tied to his production of written material, both in the demonstration of his skill at using the materials and tools of writing, and in his discretion in knowing the relevant materials to use and the correct content to record. The production of

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[144]Ibid, fol.3[r].
[145] 'unmannerly' (adv) 1. *OED*. 'Of a person: lacking in manners; impolite, behaving rudely, discourteously, or improperly' and 2. 'Of an action, conduct, speech etc.: characterised by a lack of manners; rude, discourteous; inappropriate, improper,' and 'Unbecoming' 1. 'not becoming or befitting; unsuitable; improper.'
[146] 'Unmannerly', *OED*.

the written record for these clerks was in a social context, working in collaboration with their peers within the corporation. They had to carry out their duties in collaboration with the other officeholders of the town, in order to maintain a sense of order in the corporation, and in the town's records.

3.8. Conclusion

This chapter set out to interpret the manuscript practices of clerks 1560-1640 within the town of Lydd, focusing on their expertise and occupational identities as expressed materially and textually within these documents. Clerks and their practices are important to interpret as they indicate the expertise needed to create documents, which express individual skill within recognised formats. A sense of occupational identity was established by patterns of practices between the Lydd clerks, where handwriting features were copied, and methods of storing documents were shared in order to create a sense of material coherency between manuscripts.

In drafts and editing, the processes clerks went through to achieve the fair copies used for information about early modern towns are clear. It is in these draft documents that we can see the clerk in action, and learn how they interacted with the material world using the affordances of paper in filing or their quill in producing decorative scripts. By exploring the clerks' practices within a small geographical area, it is possible to see how they are connected through formats carried across documents, through relationships with others within the town, and through their status as landowners with access to an educational level enabling them to learn the appropriate scripts and formats. It is also essential to see how their professional identities as clerks have been tied up with other streams of

income in husbandry or the yeomanry. Writing is interrelated with other work, and connected with social status.

The results for the Image Processing experiment showed shifts over time in the way the clerks wrote, indicating the impact of changes in attitudes towards script style – from secretary style to italic hands – upon clerks' quill use. This link demonstrates the investment clerks made to be practised in – and informed of – appropriate aesthetic forms and script styles in their work, and suggests that more work needs to be done on how education and scribal practice are entwined.

Overall, the material/textual practices of clerks are at the centre of early modern manuscript culture, and their work demands our attention and exploration. It is through further consideration of their material practices that we might start understanding clerks as craftsmen. Through this work we can also gain further appreciation of other kinds of manuscript-making – particularly surrounding the keeping of notebooks, almanacs, and accounts, as these household forms of writing are in conversation with the kinds of writing seen within a corporation setting.

As established within this chapter, the Lydd clerks were considered urban officials who held positions of trust within their community. They visited the sick on their deathbeds to make their wills, made the town's accounts, recorded minutes, and filed away correspondence, legal documents, and financial papers. This responsibility was tied to their economically fortunate status – as their landowning evinced – and also their literacy, with these two factors marking them as men in possession of sufficient social credit to hold office within their community. This idea of responsibility, literacy, and social status being tied to

manuscript-making practices is explored in the next chapter but with officeholders at home.

Chapters Three and Four explore how occupational identities as established within a corporation setting (Chapter Three) are carried into the home (Chapter Four), and how there is a sense of coherence between these two contexts in terms of textual production. This chapter contributes a new perspective on material texts by demonstrating how the manuscripts made by clerks created a sense of socially embedded practices, where clerks worked to fulfil their duty to their corporation in the making of records. It has also provided an insight into the actual material-textual practices of Lydd clerks: their will-writing, their drafting and writing of the chamberlains' accounts, their filing practices, and their handwriting.

Consequently, looking across documents made by a variety of clerks over time for a single town has made it possible to resituate clerks at the centre of manuscript production within the urban corporation, and gain a sense of the shared occupational practices in conversation with the scribal innovations that mark their individual contribution to the corporation. A clear link has been demonstrated between the meanings carried by manuscript materials, clerks' practices, and occupational identities within a community of scribes. Here, a sense of an ordered corporation is carried through the records made and kept by Lydd's clerks. However, as the dispute between Sureste and Grey detailed above suggests, corporations would have understood their own practices as distinct to those used in other places, and their argument demonstrates these geographical disparities that emerge at times where different corporations meet. As a result, Lydd clerks would certainly have perceived their own scribal practices as being

distinct from those in other corporations, and tied to the wider corporation context in which they operated. Future research on this area could begin to unpick how location and the cultural identity of corporations might impact on scribal practice.

4

Officeholders

4.1. Introduction

> Md that March 1643 I making of a standish did cause a splinter of lead to goe neer the naile of my first finger in my right hand.
>
> Md that 16th March to about noone casting of the same standish & cutting of it I cut off the top of my last finger but one of the left hand.[1]

Edward Howes – schoolmaster, and subsequently rector, of Goldhanger in Essex – records his decision to make a standish in a book used to document commonplaces and devotional visions.[2] Howes' choice to make a standish rather than buy one is significant, because it suggests that he wants to make an object suited to his individual needs.[3] This record was made due to the injuries he suffered, but gives a sense of Howes' making process. The verb 'casting' means making an object 'in a mould' or in 'metal' and Howes casts in lead.[4] Instructions for metal-casting were printed in Europe during the sixteenth century, and it is possible that Howes used directions from such a text, perhaps even Hugh Platt's *The Jewell House*, which was one of the first English books to describe the process.[5] Howes' reading provided him with the inspiration and

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[1] BL, MS Sloane 979, fol.6^v.
[2] R.E Andersen and Anita McConnell, 'Edward Howes', *ODNB*.
[3] A standish is a piece of writing storage equipment, denoting either a stand for writing materials, an inkstand or an inkpot. 'Standish' (n.), *OED*.
[4] 'Casting' (n.) 3a., *OED*.
[5] Hugh Platt, *The Jewell-House of Art and Nature Conteining Divers Rare and Profitable Inventions, together with sundry new experiments in the Art of Husbandy, Distillation, and Moulding* (London: Peter Short, 1594), pp.49-67. For work on casting in metal see: Pamela Smith and Tony Beentjes, 'Nature and Art, Making and Knowing: Reconstructing Sixteenth-

guidance to attempt an artisanal process, though, in his case, his endeavour ended in injury.

A standish kept writing tools together, and Howes' choice to make one indicates that writing was an important practice in his home. A standish was stored upon surfaces, so marked a place as a location for writing. As a schoolmaster, Howes taught his students how to write, and so his own regular writing practice provided an example to his pupils.[6] Katherine Shrieves has observed that Howes and John Winthrop, with whom he corresponded, were 'interested in the analogy between spiritual and physical alchemy – the notion that just as metals may be transformed and perfected, so may the self'.[7] Howes' casting of a standish connected physical alchemy to writing, and both to self-improvement, in his combined practice. The publication of manuals on practical techniques, like casting in metal and writing, are evocative of a culture of self-improvement in early modern England, where an individual might, through instruction, become skilled in a certain task.

Adam Smyth has argued, with regards to commonplace books, that these texts were connected to 'some notion of improvement, whether linguistic, moral, social, financial, or spiritual, which created an interest in future uses of excerpts'.[8] This chapter argues that this notion of improvement extends into various kinds of manuscript writing that take place at home in early modern England, where recordkeeping practices from institutions are carried into the

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Century Life-Casting Techniques', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 63:1 (2010), 128-179; and Pamela Smith, 'Making Things: Techniques and Books in Early Modern Europe', *Early Modern Things: Objects and their Histories 1500-1800*, ed. by Paula Findlen (London: Routledge, 2013), pp.173-203.

[6] Howes' writing practices were probably very regular – outside of his memoranda book there is an archive of letters that survives in the John Winthrop archive in Massachusetts. Katherine Shrieves, 'Mapping the Hieroglyphic Self: Spiritual Geometry in the Letters of John Winthrop Jr. and Edward Howes (1627-1640)', *Renaissance Studies*, 25.2 (2011), 276-297.

[7] Shrieves, p.276.

[8] Smyth, *Autobiography*, p.149.

homes of literate officeholders. Patriarchal authority and identity are perceived as being mapped through life writing, where the personal and professional converge. I focus on men, like Howes, who held office at some point in their lives and compiled manuscripts at home, which included: commonplace books, accounts, and diaries (though many did not sit comfortably within these categories). These writings are considered 'life writing', because they are a means through which scribes become protagonists in a record of events, readings, reflections, and purchases.[9] Central to this chapter is William Whiteway of Dorchester, a cloth merchant with an interest in languages, history, and news, who held multiple offices during his lifetime. His diary and commonplace book have gained attention in studies of Dorchester and early seventeenth-century politics.[10] The relationship between the two manuscripts, however, has not been closely studied, nor the manner in which Whiteway's writing practice is interrelated with his occupational identity. In addition, the manuscripts of Denis Bond (Whiteway's friend), Edward Howes, Thomas Davis, Walter Yonge, and Adam Winthrop are discussed in comparison to Whiteway.[11]

This chapter contributes to this thesis on interpreting practice, writing, materials, and occupational identity, by offering a perspective on how

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[9] 'Life writing' is an 'inclusive' term, encompassing a wide variety of ways in which lives are recorded. See *Encyclopedia of Life Writing: Biographical and Autobiographical Forms*, ed. by Margarette Jolly, vol.1 (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001), p.ix. For Further reflections on this term see Elisabeth Salter, *Six Renaissance*, pp.15-19. Adam Smyth has done the most significant work on the diversity of early modern autobiographical forms. See Smyth, *Autobiography*. See also, *Early Modern Autobiography: Theories, Genres, Practices*, ed. by Ronald Bedford, Lloyd Davis, and Philippa Kelly (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 2006).

[10] See *William Whiteway of Dorchester: His Diary 1618 to 1635*, ed. by David Underdown, vol.12 (Dorchester: Dorset Record Society, 1991); and David Underdown, *Fire From Heaven: Life in an English Town in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Pimlico, 2003). The diary is: BL MS Egerton 784 and the commonplace book is: CUL, MS Dd.11.73. This chapter refers to the manuscript diary due to its concerns with the diary's materiality. This is also due to Underdown's alignment of the diary to the Gregorian calendar, which Whiteway does not use, and leaving out many of Whiteway's notes in other languages.

[11] BL, MS Sloane 979; MS Lansdowne 674; Add MS 28032; Add MSS 18777-18782; Add MS 22474; Add MS 35331; Add MS 37419; DRO, D-53-1.

occupational identity is connected to writing practices that take place at home. It aims to explore the writing of officeholders, where there is a dialogue between person, space, education, materials, and social status. It asks where and how these scribes write, and how compilation practices are embedded within spatial, material, and social contexts.

At the end of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth, officeholders were a large social group, with many householders being expected to take a turn at office.[12] This responsibility fell to those of tradesman, yeoman, and gentleman status, and around one-twentieth of men were eligible for positions of local governance.[13] Men took office within a corporation or became parish officials and, despite the variety of roles, they all had some common duties and responsibilities.[14] Officeholders' main obligation was to keep order within a community as law enforcers. Their social prominence meant that office-holding was 'a valued marker of social status'.[15] Social prominence led to behavioural expectations that officeholders should act in an exemplary manner to provide a model for their community. As discussed in relation to corporation clerks in Chapter Three, officeholders tended to be of higher than average wealth and this was connected to how their community perceived their 'social credit', or ability to carry out moral, honest, and responsible duty to the town.[16] This chapter demonstrates that officeholders show a concern with their reputation within their

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[12] Mark Goldie, 'The Unacknowledged Republic: Officeholding in Early Modern England,' in *The Politics of the Excluded, c.1500-1850*, ed. by Tim Harris (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p.154.

[13] Goldie, pp.154 and 161. 'By 1700, about one-twentieth of adult males were governing in any year'. See also Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, 1550-1640* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).

[14] The term 'office' derives from the Latin *offica* meaning 'duties' or 'responsibilities'. Goldie, 'Unacknowledged', p.170.

[15] Goldie, p.165.

[16] French, pp. 90, 91, and 139.

writing and that part of their purpose for making records at home is to establish a sense of their own (and often their family's) position within their locales.

As a group, all officeholders discussed within this chapter hold at least a grammar school level of education. William Whiteway enters Dorchester Grammar School in 1606 and leaves in 1615, Walter Yonge and Edward Howes gain legal educations, and Adam Winthrop is sponsored through Cambridge and the Inner Temple due to academic promise.[17] Although officeholders did not have to be literate, as seen in Chapter Three with Lydd's 'unlearned' jurats, Margaret Spufford notes that 'reading and writing skills were sought after'.[18] David Cressy has estimated that by the 1630s, 21 per cent of husbandmen, 56 per cent of tradesmen, and 65 per cent of yeomen could sign their name.[19] In addition, Spufford argues that literate adults were those who had the opportunity for schooling at the age of seven or eight.[20] Reading and writing would allow someone to take on occupational positions that demanded literacy. Families that had the economic capacity to give their children time to learn reading and writing were part of a privileged group.

This education in reading and writing is something that characterises officeholders' identities as they are expressed in their manuscripts. Even the form of the books officeholders chose (pre-bound paper books) had its roots in education.[21] Printed advice books suggested keeping a paper book for the

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[17] CUL, MS Dd.73.11, fols 44^v and 45^r. Francis Bremer, *John Winthrop: America's Forgotten Founding Father* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p.42; 'Edward Howes', *ODNB*; and *Diary of Walter Yonge*, ed. by George Roberts (London: Camden Society, 1848), p.IX.

[18] Margaret Spufford, 'First Steps in Literacy: The Reading and Writing Experiences of the Humblest Seventeenth-Century Spiritual Autobiographers', *Social History*, 4.3 (1979), 407-435 (p.409).

[19] David Cressy, 'Educational Opportunity in Tudor and Stuart England', *History of Education Quarterly*, 16.3 (1976), 301-20 (p.314).

[20] Spufford, 'First Steps', p.412.

[21] Jonathan Gibson argues 'paper book' is useful because it is not an anachronistic term, and for early modern people it specifically signifies 'a pre-bound blank book'. Jonathan Gibson, 'Casting

practice of writing devotional notes, translation, and commonplaces.[22] The *OED* defines a paper book as: 'a book of blank paper for writing in; a notebook'.[23] This definition is flexible, denoting a notebook that is arranged and added to by its scribe/s. The manuscript-makers discussed in this chapter began their education in the use of paper books at school, where the keeping of these notebooks was encouraged. Materially, then, the officeholders discussed in this chapter are rooted in the practices they first experienced as part of their early education, which they carry into their adult lives and into their homes.

4.2. The Spatial Situation of Writing at Home: Evidence for Locations

To begin, it is important to locate officeholders' manuscript making within domestic spaces. All of the men discussed in this chapter wrote at home. Inventory evidence for William Whiteway, Walter Yonge, Denis Bond, Edward Howes, and Thomas Davis, however, is not extant, making it difficult to gain a person-specific understanding of writing places. Therefore, inventories from these men's locales are used to reconstruct writing spaces and situate them in relation to similar status men.[24] Due to the majority (William Whiteway, Walter Yonge, Denis Bond, and Thomas Davis) being located in the Southwest (Dorset,

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of Blanks: Hidden Structures in Early Modern Paper Books,' in *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture: Texts and Social Practices*, *1580-1730*, ed. by James Daybell and Peter Hinds (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp.208-228 (p.209).

[22] For example, Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster or Plaine and Perfite way of Teachyng Children to Understand, Write, and Speake* (London: John Day, 1570), p.2; Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius*, pp.124, 150, 154, p.229.

[23] 'Paper-Book' (n), *OED*.

[24] Adam Winthrop's location in Groton Manor Suffolk there is more evidence for, however, he is of higher social status than the others discussed in this chapter, and it is important not to use one person's experience as representative. For a good study see: Francis J. Bremer, *John Winthrop: America's Forgotten Founding Father* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Devon, and Somerset), I draw on inventory evidence from Devon and Bristol in order to connect writing to household spaces and furnishings.

Textual interactions, as they are situated spatially, are responsive to environmental factors and other activities that take place about them.[25] William Whiteway records an example of this in his diary where, on the 22nd of January 1634, 'the ink did freeze in my pen while I did write'.[26] This word acts as a relatable description of the cold, whilst demonstrating ink's responsiveness to temperature. Anecdotally, solutions to ink freezing appear in recipes, with Roger Twysden observing that 'ink made of water is apt to freeze and for which of wyne it neuer will'.[27] Freezing ink was an occupational hazard for early modern writers. This example demonstrates how activities could be interrupted by environmental factors. Distractions from sustained and habitual writing could be minimised by setting up a place within the home for textual engagement, and these rooms were an important means through which officeholders crafted identities as literate officials. Howes' standish, for example, could mark a place in his house for writing, so, as an object, it forms part of his scribal self-expression.[28]

Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson have found that, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, spaces within houses developed to facilitate textual engagement. 'Mercantile properties', like those of William Whiteway's and Walter Yonge's, had rooms for accounting, reading, and recordkeeping. These spaces characterised and were defined by: 'a particular kind of middling

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[25] Cambers, p.94. He writes that textual engagement has 'interaction with other activities.'
[26] BL, MS Egerton 784, fol.115[r].
[27] KHLC, U48/Z1, fol.4[r].
[28] Lena Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p.321. Orlin argues that in a closet at Monchelsea Place the standish 'may have found – or even inspired […] creative purposes'.

male work linked to focused mental activity, and the need to keep information in close physical proximity'.[29] Inventories from Devon and Bristol give a sense of the types of furnishings and spaces the officeholders in this chapter had access to. Although inventory evidence can be unreliable, due to the fact that spaces and belongings can be omitted, they are also invaluable sources for understanding how rooms in houses were organised.[30] Bristol and Devon inventories give a cross-section of examples for the Southwest, with the Bristol inventories providing an insight into a metropolitan environment and the Devon examples contextualising the living environments of those in smaller towns, cities, and rural areas.

Inventoried men of mercantile status in the Southwest often had rooms dedicated to literate work like writing, accounting, and reading. In Bristol, however, although it was usual for mercantile men, gentlemen, physicians, and wealthy tradesmen to have these rooms, overall, from the 108 inventories made between 1542-1650, only seven men had rooms dedicated to writing.[31] In Devon, writing rooms were even less common than in Bristol, with only six of these spaces appearing within the 266 inventories studied.[32] This means that spaces of 'focused mental activity' were rare in the Southwest, and so any man with such a room could have used it as a means of crafting their identity as a literate, high status individual with the leisure time to devote to writing at home.

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[29] Hamling and Richardson, p.151.
[30] See Lena Orlin, 'Fictions of the Early Modern English Probate Inventory', *The Culture of Capital: Property, Cities and Knowledge in Early Modern England*, ed. by Henry S. Turner (London: Routledge, 2001), pp.51-85.
[31] *Bristol Probate Inventories, Part One: 1542-1650*, ed. by Edwin and Stella George (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 2002).
[32] These date from 1531-1699, though the evidence is sparse due to the destruction of Devon's inventory collection in 1942. *Devon Inventories of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. by Margaret Cash (Torquay: The Devonshire Press, 1966).

In Bristol, rooms set up for sustained periods of reading, writing, and recordkeeping went by multiple names: 'study', 'office', 'counter', and 'closet'. However, places for writing also appeared in multi-functional rooms, particularly parlours and halls. Storage furnishings for books and papers distinguished many of these rooms. For example, John Dowles, glazier, whose inventory was made in 1624, used his 'little parlour near the entry' of his house for writing activities. This parlour had a table and chair for writing at, in addition to 'one greate wainscot chest with drawing boxes'.[33] Hamling and Richardson found in inventories, that: 'from the 1580s onwards, nests or frames of boxes begin to appear' suggesting that 'papers were […] being grouped together […] in purpose built dividing furniture'.[34] Loose notes and papers were stored and organised within the home using this furniture, and systems employed in a corporation context (as explored in Chapter Three, like filing, bundling, and boxing-up) were formed on a smaller scale. Dowles' 'drawing boxes' suggest he had this kind of dividing system in his little parlour, and he was not alone. Physician Richard Brace (inventoried 1642) possessed 'one box full of small boxes covered with paper & certain drawing boxes therein', and 'one tymber case of drawing boxes, one nest of drawing boxes painted blacke and yeallow conteyninge 90 severall boxes', and Gentleman Israel Pownell (inventoried 1645) owned a desk with 'drawing boxes' and 'a square box' full of 'petitions'.[35]

Devon examples include similar furnishings in writing rooms inventoried during the early-mid seventeenth century. John Bennett, gentleman of Chudleigh, kept '2 chestes & one deske' in his study. Leonard Yeo (inventoried in 1641) had books, chests, a trunk, a desk, a standish, and a 'scriptory', also known as an

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[33] George (ed.), p.46.
[34] Hamling and Richardson, p.154.
[35] George (ed.), pp. 127 and 148.

'escritoire'.[36] The scriptory, a kind of desk, was designed to store writing implements, and Yeo's keeping of one in his study defined this space as a location for generating text within his home. John Hingston of Exeter had an upper and lower study, with the lower holding valuables and the upper '2 boxes', which might have been used to store papers. Like in the Bristol inventories, the seventeenth-century examples often show dividing furniture for paper organisation. For example, clerk John Hocken (inventoried in 1602) owned a nest of boxes next to his books and maps, presumably for sorting papers.[37]

These examples of furnishings suggest the diversity of writing and document storage furniture available to literate men of high social standing in their communities, who generated loose papers at home that they wished to keep for future reference. Of course, these solutions were on differing scales, with Brace having so many storage devices that they were distinguished from one another by their appearance (covered in paper, or painted) and, by contrast, Dowles and Hocken owning only single units of boxes. What these examples show is that spaces for literate men of a similar status to those discussed in this chapter, who needed to write for sustained periods for accounting or recordkeeping, created spaces and furnishings within their homes to facilitate these activities.

Walter Yonge is the only officeholder in this chapter where evidence for such a space exists. He owned property in Colyton and Axminister and, within one of his diaries, there is a note added by an E. Fortescue:

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[36] 'Escritoire' (n), *OED*. 'A writing-desk constructed to contain stationery and documents; in early use, often one of a portable size; more recently, chiefly applied to a larger piece of furniture, a bureau or secretary.'
[37] Cash (ed.), pp.19, 36, 58 and 139.

> This manuscript was founde by me on the 22th day of April, 1644, in the studie of Walter Yonge, Esq., in his house of Studcombe in Devon, witnes my haunde the day & yeare first aboue-written. E. Fortescue.[38]

This does not give any indication as to Yonge's furnishings, but the fact he had a study, and moreover, a study in which MS 35331 was found, is a significant indication that Yonge's diary writing was located in a room that facilitated reading, writing, and recordkeeping at home. The inventory evidence for those of a similar status in Devon suggests that Yonge's study would have contained storage furnishings for papers and books, as well as a desk and chair to enable writing.

William Whiteway's diary and commonplace book give little insight into how his writing space was organised. However, due to the sustained writing practices he demonstrates within his manuscripts, and similarities to Walter Yonge, it is probable that he had a space within his house for textual engagement. As a merchant, Whiteway was successful and became MP for Dorchester in 1626, followed by bailiff in 1628.[39] Whiteway's office-holding was aided by his father's establishment of local connections in Dorchester after moving from Devon in 1600. Whiteway married into another wealthy Dorchester family, and this cemented his ties to the town and its governance. Although there is not an inventory for his home, it is clear that his family owned a large quantity of land in the county.[40] Whiteway left a substantial sum of money in his will, and asked his father to 'bestowe and lay out in purchase all or some part of [his] estate' to his eldest son.[41] It is then probable that the Whiteways owned a substantial home in Dorchester. Like other officeholders well-known for their

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[38] Stedecombe in Axminster. BL, Add MS 35331, fol.3^r.
[39] See BL, MS Egerton 784, Whiteway's pagination pp.46, 92 and 140 and William Whiteway's Will, NA, PROB 11/169/18, 7th September 1635.
[40] Underdown, *Fire,* pp.43, 49, and 52.
[41] *Whiteway,* p.167

book ownership, such as Nehemiah Wallington and Richard Stonley, Whiteway owned a great number of books, and his textual engagement is expressed in writing.[42] Whiteway's book lists are the closest means through which we might understand his spaces of textual engagement.

4.3. Book Ownership, Sharing, and Space

At the front of Whiteway's commonplace book is a list titled: 'Materials for the history of the raignes of K.J & K.C'.[43] In it, Whiteway lists a number of printed books, 'pamphlets', and 'papers'. The printed books include Stowe's *Chronicle*, Speed's *History*, and Holinshed's *Chronicle*, alongside King James' works including *Basilikon Doron*.[44] The emphasis in this list is on historical

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[42] For Stonley and Wallington and their reading interests see, Joad Raymond, 'Irrational, Impractical and Unprofitable: Reading the News in Seventeenth-Century Britain', in *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.185-215 (pp.196-199).

[43] CUL, MS.Dd.11.73, fol.3[r]. King James and King Charles.

[44] Although it is impossible to know which editions Whiteway owned, here is a list of the works he lists with editions printed before or during his life. Rapheal Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotlande and Irelande* (London: First printed by John Hunne, 1577 with an added second volume published by Henry Bynneman in 1587); King James I, *Basilikon Doron* (Edinburgh, 1599); John Stowe, *A Summarye of the Chronicles of Englande* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1573); John Smith, *A General Historie of Virginia* (London: John Dawson and John Haviland for Michael Sparkes, 1625); John Speed, *The History of Great Britaine under the Conquests of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans* (London: William Hall and John Beale, 1611); Jean Richer, *Le Mercure François* (Paris, 1611); Jean de Serres, *Inventaire Generale de L'histoire de France* (Paris: Abraham Saugrain, 1600); Agrippa D'Aubigné, *Histoire Universelle* (Paris, 1560-1568); Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (London: William Stansby, 1617); William Barlowe, *The Summe and Substance of the Conference which it Pleased his Excellent Majestie to haue with the Lords, Bishops, and other of his Clergy (at which most of the Lords of the Council were Present) in his Majestie's Privy Chamber, at Hampton Court, January 14 1603* (London: John Bill, 1625); T.W, *The Arraignment and Execution of the said Traitors* (London: J. Windet, 1606); Camden, William, *Annales* (London: George Purslowe, 1625); Augustine Vincent, *A Dicouerie of Errours in the First Edition of the Catalogue of Nobility* (London: William Laggard, 1622); George Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia autore Georgio Buchanano Scoto* (Edinburgh: Alexandrum Arbuthnetum, 1582); Pedro Mexia, *The Imperiall Historie* (London: Humphrey Lownes, 1623); Gallobelgicus, *Wine, Beer, Ale, and Tobacco, Contending for Superiority* (London: Augustine Mathewes, 1629); and George Carleton, *A Defence of the Doctine Propounded by the Synode at Dort* (Amsterdam: Successors of G Thorp, 1624). Whiteway also records: 'Thuanus', which could be any number of Jacques Auguste de Thou's works in Latin, with English printed editions not appearing until 1660 (Whiteway's editions would be French); 'Fines Morison', which could be one of Richard Morison's works; 'Anatomy

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books and particularly those that relate to governance, implying that Whiteway sees these materials as useful, connected, and worth taking notes from (Holinshed, in particular, appears frequently in his commonplace book).[45] Due to printed books being listed with Whiteway's papers and pamphlets, it is possible that they were also stored together because they pertained to the same subject. Other book lists contained at the back of Whiteway's diary (but left out of Underdown's edition), demonstrate that Whiteway owned a large number of books on a variety of subjects, and these lists point to the manner in which they were stored using multiple coffers.[46] In deploying coffers, Whiteway was able to sort his reading materials for their easy use. In his diary, Whiteway lists the contents of multiple coffers, including two that held books. In a small coffer he kept works including: 'La Bible Francoise', alongside 'Du Bartas', 'Nicolo Machiavelli', 'Speeds Maps', 'Camodeni Britania', and 'Sir Walter Raleighs History'.[47] Then a coffer with a 'clef [key]' held books including 'Guillim', and 'Herodotus'.[48] Coffers were common storage devices used for the keeping of papers and valuables.[49]

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of Pop[ish] Tyrant', which may be a pamphlet; and 'The Spanish History'. Some of the diary book lists are later and in a different hand – dated to 1645 – 10 years after William's death.
[45] See CUL, Dd.11.73, fols 31^r-36^r.
[46] See BL, MS Egerton 784, fols114^v-122^r.
[47] BL, MS Egerton 784, fol.118^r. E.g. 'La Bible'; Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas, *Du Bartas his Diuine Weekes and Workes Translated* (London: Humphray Lownes, 1613); could be any number of Niccolò Machiavelli's works, perhaps most likely, in line with Whiteway's interests, is *The Florentine Historie* (London: Thomas Creede, 1595); John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (London: John Dawson, 1614); William Camden, *Britannia* (London: Eliot's Court Press, 1587); Walter Raleigh, *The History of the World* (London: John Beale, 1613).
[48] BL, MS Egerton 784, fol.118^v. John Guillim, *A Display of Heraldrie* (London: 1610); Herodotus, *A World of Wonders* (London: Richard Field, 1607).
[49] See 'Coffer' (n.) 1a., *OED*.

Figure 4.1. Late Medieval Coffer with 16ᵗʰ-17ᵗʰ-Century Restorations. Shakespeare Birthplace Trust: STRST: SBT 1995-21.[50]

Figure 4.1 is an example of an oak coffer holding a lock, and is the sort of coffer that Whiteway may have kept some of his books in. Coffers could have been used, as Alison Wiggins explored in relation to Bess of Hardwick, as a 'system of inboxes' and Hardwick kept her set next to her desks.[51] Whiteway could well have been using his coffers in a similar manner, in order to organise his books in a way that could facilitate their easy location.

There was no significant difference between the books Whiteway kept in the locked coffer and the small coffer, but the two coffers offered different levels of access. The list for the unlocked little coffer has fourteen crossed out items, suggesting that they could have been removed, either by Whiteway or by one of his peers, and this indicates that this receptacle might have been accessible to those visiting his house.[52] There is evidence for Whiteway's sharing of books in his donation of Mercator's impressive atlas to Dorchester's library in 1631.[53] The locked coffer does not have any crossed out items in the diary, and this perhaps indicates that Whiteway kept these items for his own use. The sharing of books

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[50] Photograph from: <http://collections.shakespeare.org.uk/search/museum/strst-sbt-1995-21-ark-or-coffer/view_as/grid/search/everywhere:coffer-73206/page/1> [accessed 16/11/2018].
[51] Wiggins, *Bess*, p.97.
[52] BL, MS Egerton 784, fols 117ʳ-118ʳ.
[53] *The municipal records of the borough of Dorchester Dorset,* ed. by Charles Herbert Mayo (Exeter: William Pollard, 1908), p.582; Gerardus Mercator, *Tabulae Geographie C. Ptolemaei ad Mentem Autoris Restitutae et Emendatae* (Duysburg, 1585).

seems to have been common practice in Dorchester at this time, with the library

being circulated amongst senior members of the town's corporation for

safekeeping, before being moved in 1640 to the Free School.[54] The manner in

which Whiteway separates his books, then, might evoke the way in which he

wishes them to be used.

An inventory for Alexander Kerswell, a woollen draper of Bristol, made

in 1644, shows he had a study within his house that was full of comparable

books to Whiteway's. He owned Du Bartas' *Works,* historical texts, devotional

books including Fox's *Acts and Monuments,* and even a conduct book (William

Whately's *A Bride-Bush*).[55] Other inventories for Devon and Bristol, containing

similar numbers of books to Kerswell and Whiteway, also had rooms furnished

for writing in which the books were kept. Richard Brace had 120 books in his

study, and Nathaniel Merchant stored 'sundrie bookes' in his 'upper counter'

(counting house).[56] Although it is impossible to know the details of Whiteway's

writing space, from these comparable examples it is possible to make an

informed speculation that he kept many of his books in his writing room for ease

of reference.

The 'Materialls for the History of the Raignes of K.J & K.C' list in

Whiteway's commonplace book becomes spatially significant when it is

imagined as an inventory of books and papers stored in Whiteway's writing

room.[57] Whiteway's 'papers' are presumably notes taken from the books he

owns, and this gives an indication of the movement of text between books: from

print, to Whiteway's papers, then into his commonplace book or diary.

[54] *Municipal Records,* p.583.
[55] George (ed.), p.146; Du Bartas, John Fox, *Acts*; and William Whately, *A Bride-Bush. Or, A Direction for Married Persons* (London: Bernard Alsop for Benjamin Fisher, 1623).
[56] Ibid., pp.65 and 127.
[57] CUL, MS Dd.11.73, fol.3^r.

Whiteway's varied intertextual practices are clear to see in his commonplace book, where, for example, he copies a variety of texts and images from *sententiae* in Ovid, to drawings of estates, to charters of Henry VIII.[58] Having his library and papers close at hand would have enabled this intertextual practice, and, if in a dedicated room, would mean Whiteway could have controlled how these texts were organised to best assist his reading and writing.[59] The kind of piecemeal writing performed within commonplace books, where a patchwork of material was gathered from various sources, was ideally suited to organised studies, closets, or counting rooms.[60]

An example of how a small-scale collection could be organised in a writing room appears in a 1699 painting by Edwaert Collier (Figure 4.2). Although much later than the textual examples discussed in this chapter, this image displays a mixture of correspondence, printed pamphlets, and writing materials, facilitating the conversation between reading and writing. The bottom right-hand bundle is endorsed with the phrase 'Memory', signifying the mnemonic function of note-taking and filing. This image is a useful way into imagining how small-scale collections of papers, like Whiteway's, could have been kept for ease of reference.

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[58] CUL, MS Dd.11.73, fols 49ʳ-54ᵛ.

[59] Hamling and Richardson give the example of John Hayne, a merchant for whom an account book and inventory exist, when discussing study spaces, which for him was organised like 'the cockpit of an aircraft […] where objects are arranged around the occupant within easy reach'. *A Day,* p.153.

[60] This opposes Cambers' characterisation of 'piecemeal' writing being related to the kitchen, p.102.

Figure 4.2. Edwaert Collier, 1699, London.[61]

As this painting suggests, these books and papers could also have characterised Whiteway's writing space. The physical presence of books on governance, history, geography, and heraldry (in the case of Guillim), defined Whiteway as an officeholder keen to develop knowledge of subjects pertinent to his corporation roles, and they could even have acted as inspiration for Whiteway's aspirations to governance.[62] In his book-use, Whiteway often brings the local into conversation with the national in a manner that emphasises Dorchester's importance. For example, he copies a section on Dorchester's

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[61] <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/a-trompe-loeil-of-newspapers-letters-and-writing-implements-on-a-wooden-board-117763/view_as/grid/search/category:communications-64134/sort_by/object.lifecycle.creation.date.earliest/order/asc/page/1> [accessed 27 /12/2018].

[62] Ryan Perry writes of how 'the self is invariably shaped in complex relation to the objects that surround it' and that includes books, in 'Objectification, Identity and the Late Medieval Codex', in *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings,* ed. by Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p.309.

history from Holinshed's *Chronicles,* about Dorchester being 'the chiefe citty of the kingdome of the west Saxons'.[63] This extract could have been used in future conversation with his peers to evoke a sense of shared belonging and importance in the town. The writing Whiteway completes at home is interrelated with his office-holding duties, with information on governance and history brought into this space through the collection of texts, and organised in his writing. Domestic spaces crafted to facilitate a male officeholder's textual activities were a powerful way through which patriarchal identity was performed.

A similar sense of identity being expressed through book-ownership can be gained from a list contained in Adam Winthrop's account book. This list differs from Whiteway's in that it is structured as a memorandum of books he has lent:

> A note of the books w[hi]ch I have lent
> The perambulation of kent to mr Nicholson
> the termes of the lawe to mr J. Grymwade
> Dr Bright de sanitate tuen[d]a in Latine
> Petrarcha his woorkes mr J.C tooke awaye
> To Mr Ellyson the remes testament
> The defence of the apologie to my sister mildmay
> Eusebius & Socrates in English to my cosen munning
> Item lent him iiii volumes of Lyra & googes husbandry[64]

Adam Winthrop accumulated a wide variety of books, and his collection, like Whiteway's, displayed the scope of his interests. He owned works by Camden, in addition to a large number of protestant works, antiquarian books, and books concerned with governance, such as Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum*.[65]

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[63] CUL, MS Dd.11.73, fol.175ʳ.

[64] BL, Add MS 37419, fol.22ᵛ. An annotated version of this list can be found: 'The Winthrop Family Papers Digital Edition,
< http://www.masshist.org/publications/winthrop/index.php/view/PWF01d043> [accessed 15/1/2019].

[65] For a list of books owned by Winthrop kept at the Massachusetts Historical Society: 'Adam Winthrop's Library' <https://wiki.millersville.edu/display/HIST/Adam+Winthrop%27s+Library> [accessed 23/11/2018]. For a comprehensive study of the multi-generational reading practices of

In this list of the books he has lent, Winthrop's interest in legal matters is represented in 'the termes of the law', and his ownership of 'Googe's *Husbandry'* is in line with his yeoman status, where, in addition to his scholarly pursuits, he would manage the land at Groton Manor.[66] Winthrop's collection, like Whiteway's, also included pamphlets, and a recent article argues that this indicates his interest in 'more ephemeral publications'.[67] Perhaps, for Winthrop and Whiteway, this mixing of expensive printed volumes and cheaper, 'ephemeral publications' would not have been unusual for officeholders of their status, where pamphlets could keep them up-to-date with a variety of topics to carry into their conversations and writings. Winthrop's close watch of the books he has lent indicates that they are important to his sense of identity within a community of readers. Books carry Winthrop's identity as a literate man (interested in topics pertinent to governance) in a similar manner to Whiteway. This would be visible within his living space.

An extant copy of Winthrop's *Perambulation of Kent,* which he lends to a 'Mr Nicholson', includes Winthrop's annotations. He writes of Lambard's rise in status, describing him as 'wise and religious, as appeareth by his booke, and divers others w[hi]ch he compiled'.[68] In these biographical notes, Winthrop demonstrates an interest in Lambard's similarities to him in his education and status. This curiosity suggests how books could act as inspiration to those of middling or minor gentry status, who could use texts as models for self-improvement. The Mr Nicholson, to whom Winthrop lent this book, might well

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the Winthrops, see: Richard Calis et al, 'Passing the Book: Cultures of Reading in the Winthrop Family, 1580-1730', *Past & Present,* 241:1 (2018), 69-141 (pp.72-74).

[66] See Calis et al, p.72, and Bremer, p.49.

[67] Calis et al, p.74.

[68] <https://wiki.millersville.edu/display/HIST/Adam+Winthrop%27s+Library> [accessed 11/12/2017.]

have encountered the *Perambulation* with Winthrop's notes. These annotations could have facilitated a conversation and a shared understanding of the text's meanings. Significantly, all of the books in the memoranda list are extant, apart from the *Terms of the Law*, and this gives an insight into Winthrop's diligence in ensuring the return of his books, and their importance to him as objects for reading and reference.[69] Whiteway and Winthrop, then, suggest a means through which an officeholder's identity might be crafted and expressed through book ownership. Both wrote profusely at home, and responded to the texts they read in writing, suggesting that these books inspired their own creative practices.[70]

Within their spaces of reading and writing, Whiteway and Winthrop enabled the use and study of books in the organisation of their reading materials, and corresponding lists that kept track of them. There is a dialogue between writing, the kinds of books these officeholders own, and also the way in which they utilise cheap print, such as pamphlets.[71] This dialogue suggests that the officeholders discussed in this chapter read widely on topics that are pertinent to current affairs, governance, and history. This is important to the creation of an occupational identity through text, where officeholders might form a sense of their authority and aspirations to governance through reading and writing. The dialogue between reading and writing would be facilitated by the spaces in which these men wrote, where papers and books were kept close to them to inspire focused study and manuscript compilation.

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[69] Ibid.

[70] Winthrop also kept many almanacs not used in this chapter due to their location in Massachusetts Historical Society. Calis et al, p.86.

[71] See Raymond.

4.4. Intertextual Spaces: William Whiteway's and Walter Yonge's Diaries

Intertextual spaces, where printed and manuscript texts sat alongside each other in writing rooms like closets, studies, and counting houses, were important to the way in which information was organised in diaries and commonplace books. This section focuses on William Whiteway's and Walter Yonge's diaries, to understand how the spaces in which they wrote impacted upon their diaries' forms. William Whiteway's and Walter Yonge's diaries meet expectations of this genre as far as they are 'a daily record of events'.[72] Adam Smyth's observation of early modern diaries as being 'texts as much linked with the recording of actions in the world and public events as they were registers of any kind of inner life' is fitting for these two manuscripts.[73] Yonge and Whiteway organise national, international, and local happenings into chronological order within their diaries, situating themselves within a sequence of occurrences.

Walter Yonge was geographically close to Whiteway.[74] Yonge was from a minor gentry family based in Colyton and Axminster, Devon, and his father was granted arms in 1583.[75] Like Whiteway, Yonge took up multiple offices during his career including: Sheriff of Devon in 1629, Justice of the Peace from 1622, and MP for Honiton in 1640.[76] He kept multiple manuscripts, with some extant in the British Library, including journals about the House of Commons, and sermon notes, as well as two diaries.[77] Yonge's geographical location in the Southwest, away from London, is something Paul Salzman argues was a

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[72] 'Diary', (n.) 1, *OED.*
[73] Smyth, 'Diaries', p.434.
[74] BL, Add MS 28032, and Add MS 35331.
[75] *Diary of Walter Yonge*, ed. by George Roberts (London: Camden Society, 1848), p.IX.
[76] George Yerby, 'Yonge, Walter,' *ODNB.*
[77] BL, Add MSS 18777-18780, Add MS 22474, Add MS 18781-18782, Add MS 35331.

significant motivation for his diary-making, prompting his records of news and political events (something that applies to Whiteway too).[78] As merchants and officeholders, Yonge and Whiteway made regular visits to London, and Whiteway even sourced books there. These visits could have involved the collection of news.[79] Although geographical distance from London could have been part of their motivation for keeping diaries, it is clear their writing is also characteristic of other diaries produced by office-holding scribes in Devon and Dorset, including Denis Bond of Dorchester, Robert Furse of Moreshead, and Philip Wyot of Barnstaple.[80] The way in which these diaries are structured is likely to have been socially transmitted, with manuscripts like Yonge's and Whiteway's shared and read within a community, acting as markers of their positions as literate officeholders.[81]

The form and materiality of these diaries are important indicators of Yonge's and Whiteway's writing habits. Diary writing must be considered a meticulous craft, involving scribes who carefully plan and arrange their content. As Adam Smyth argues, we must consider the:

> writerly aspects of the diary (its rhetorical forms; its discourses; its generic debts), and the sustained processes of transmission and redrafting that often lay beneath these apparently artless texts.[82]

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[78] Paul Salzman, *Literature and Politics in the 1620s* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillian, 2010), p.185.

[79] In the book lists within his diary, Whiteway records buying ('acheté') books from Cambridge in BL, MS Egerton 784, fols 114^v-122^r.

[80] Denis Bond, DRO, D-53/1 (as transcript from current keepers of the MS), the other two also exist in transcriptions: J.R. Chanter, *Sketches of the Literary History of Barnstaple; being the Substance of a Series of Papers Read at The Literary Institution, Barnstaple. To which is Appended the Diary of Philip Wyot, Town Clerk of Barnstaple from 1586 to 1608* (Barnstaple: J.Arnold, 1866); and H. J. Carpenter, 'Furse of Moreshead: A Family Record of the Sixteenth Century', *Reports and Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art*, 26 (1894), 168-84. I have chosen to focus on Whiteway and Yonge because the other diaries survive in 19th century transcriptions, so it is impossible to know anything about their materiality.

[81] This aspect is discussed later in this chapter.

[82] Smyth, 'Diaries', p. 449.

The material circumstances of these diaries' production, where the collection and organisation of news and notes facilitates and inspires written response, also encourages the 'sustained' writing, 'redrafting', and planning that goes into them. These diaries present a curated version of the self and events. The purpose of the following sections is to understand how these diaries were crafted.

Whiteway's and Yonge's chronological narratives, as they appear within their diaries, were facilitated by their collection of information over time from reading and social connections. These influences were brought into their homes and writing spaces in the form of notes, pamphlets, and printed books that were arranged to enable the organisation of information into their diaries. Their diaries are the result of the curation of material over time, and are not reactive to immediate events.[83] Ann Blair observes that scholars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries kept 'treasuries or storehouses [of papers] in which to accumulate information even if it did not serve an immediate purpose'.[84] Yonge and Whiteway were clearly using a similar practice in order to collect information for use in their diaries. At least for Yonge, this practice is evidenced in the study location in which his diary was written. The organisation of loose papers and books at home to facilitate their use, then, was likely to have been the first step in Whiteway's and Yonge's diary writing. This spatial aspect to their diary compilation shaped their writing practices.

A key piece of evidence for this retrospective diary writing practice can be seen in the manner in which dates and writing habits in Yonge's and Whiteway's diaries do not align. Just because an event was attributed to a certain

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[83] It is in line with Smyth's observation that 'the biggest misconception about diary writing is that it was immediate and artless', 'Diaries', p.444.
[84] Blair, Ann, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information Before the Modern Age* (Newhaven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), p.63.

date, it does not mean that this was when Whiteway and Yonge received the information. In Whiteway's diary, the key organising unit is the month and Whiteway heads each folio with the month and year to which events correspond. Rarely do the entries contain corrections, crossings out or additions, though these are occasionally present.[85] Whiteway frequently writes a lot of information in one sitting, perhaps even up to a month at once. This is expressed in his language, where he often uses the phrase 'in this month', which situates his writing-self as distant to the month he is recording.[86] The type of ink Whiteway uses remains consistent throughout, a material continuity that is only broken in the case of additions and crossings-out; this suggests that he is writing large chunks of information at once. The material continuities within the diary indicate that Whiteway practised the kind of 'focused mental activity' that Hamling and Richardson argue was performed in the studies, closets, and parlours used by mercantile men. This temporal distance from the events described would also mean Whiteway has time to process difficult moments, and gives context to the objective manner in which he records his children's deaths.[87]

Yonge adopts a similar practice to Whiteway, with folios also labelled by month, few alterations and additions, and continuity in his use of script and ink for large chunks of text.[88] Occasionally, Yonge experiments with script, deviating from his usual mixed hand to an italic hand – for example, when describing the gunpowder plot – and these shifts give a sense of the intervals in

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[85] See for example, a crossed-out entry, and addition of a date '10th of October' to an entry. BL, MS Egerton 784, fol.21r.
[86] BL, MS Egerton 784.
[87] See, for example, BL, MS Egerton fol. 133r. 'God took to his mercy my daughter Margaret being about 3 years and half old'.
[88] BL, Add MS 28032.

which he is writing.[89] By the middle of 1606, Yonge becomes more consistent in his presentation, using his own mixed hand. Shifts in ink often coincide with the month's end, except in cases where information is added. This gives a sense of Yonge's diary writing as a regular habit where news is gathered across the month and then organised into a chronological narrative at the end of it.[90] Whiteway's and Yonge's writing habits were, then, sustained and removed from the immediate event they recorded. As a result, it is likely that these men collected information and notes, and stored these in the kinds of dividing furnishings evident in the studies of their peers. This is significant because it gives an insight into the way the material world of papers that surrounded these men enabled sustained, incremental, and habitual writing practices.

Yonge's and Whiteway's temporal (and often geographical) distance from the events they organise into their diaries is also an important part of their diligence in collecting information that is reliable and relevant to their lives. Distance would allow time over which new information could arise about an event and be collected, and so time could enable accuracy. Both men use information from a variety of sources: correspondence, proclamations, meetings, pamphlets, and books. The information, as presented within their diaries, is the pulling together of an intricate web of oral, manuscript, and printed evidence. Their placing information into chronological order is a manner of imposing stability onto the material/textual world that surrounds them: stability, which, as officeholders, they would be expected to generate in the leadership of their towns. Conceptually, the management of information is connected to the officeholder's identity as an urban official, expected to know important events

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[89] Ibid., fol. 3r.
[90] Ibid., fols 3r-9r.

relevant to the leadership of their locale. This order is, then, expressed in the way these men digest and organise information in writing.

4.5. Gathering Information in Whiteway's and Yonge's Diaries

Whiteway's and Yonge's gathering practices, from printed, oral, and manuscript sources, represent a kind of 'active reading', where readers use, annotate, pick out from, and circulate their books in a manner learnt as part of a humanist education.[91] In another way, it is more than 'active reading' related to words on a page, but a materially situated act of engaging with verbal and textual information in a manner that forms a new narrative. As in Chapter Two, where arms-drawers literally and metaphorically cut information from a variety of sources, Whiteway and Yonge bring together diverse texts in their diaries.[92] Collections of notes composed from peers, printed books, pamphlets, and correspondence, would have created a busy background from which Whiteway's and Yonge's diaries emerged. We might see their manuscript gathering as Tim Ingold describes making as being like cooking, where the world is 'continually "on the boil"' and:

> stuff is mixed in various combinations, generating new materials in the process, which will, in turn, become mixed with other ingredients in an endless process of transformation.[93]

All of the texts and notes Whiteway and Yonge store in their studies can be seen as having the potential to 'generate new materials', in the sense that in the

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[91] See Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, '"Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy', *Past & Present*, 129 (1990), 30-78; and Ann Blair, pp.11-28.
[92] Fleming, 'Afterword', p.545.
[93] Ingold, 'Textility', p.94.

navigation of their writing space, these two scribes collapse the boundaries between texts in a process of picking out information to be placed into their diaries. Distinctions between reading, listening, and writing within this world are blurred; one act spills over into another. Events are evaluated, and rewritten until the point they are recorded in the diary. The diarists could then share recorded events with their peers.[94]

These diaries materialise Yonge's and Whiteway's understandings of events in relation to their own lives. The information they record goes through a diligent processing procedure, where they make sense of, and situate their lives within, on-going political events. In order to explore this, it is useful to look at a single folio from each of Yonge's and Whiteway's diaries to see how information is organised. Figure 4.3 displays a folio from Walter Yonge's diary. This folio, dated April 1606 contains information about the trial of Henry Garnet, a visiting commission from London to survey recusant lands and fines, and the deaths of prominent local people.[95]

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[94] Smyth writes that 'manuscript copies might circulate widely within communities', 'Diaries', p.440.
[95] BL, Add MS 28032, fol.5ᵛ.
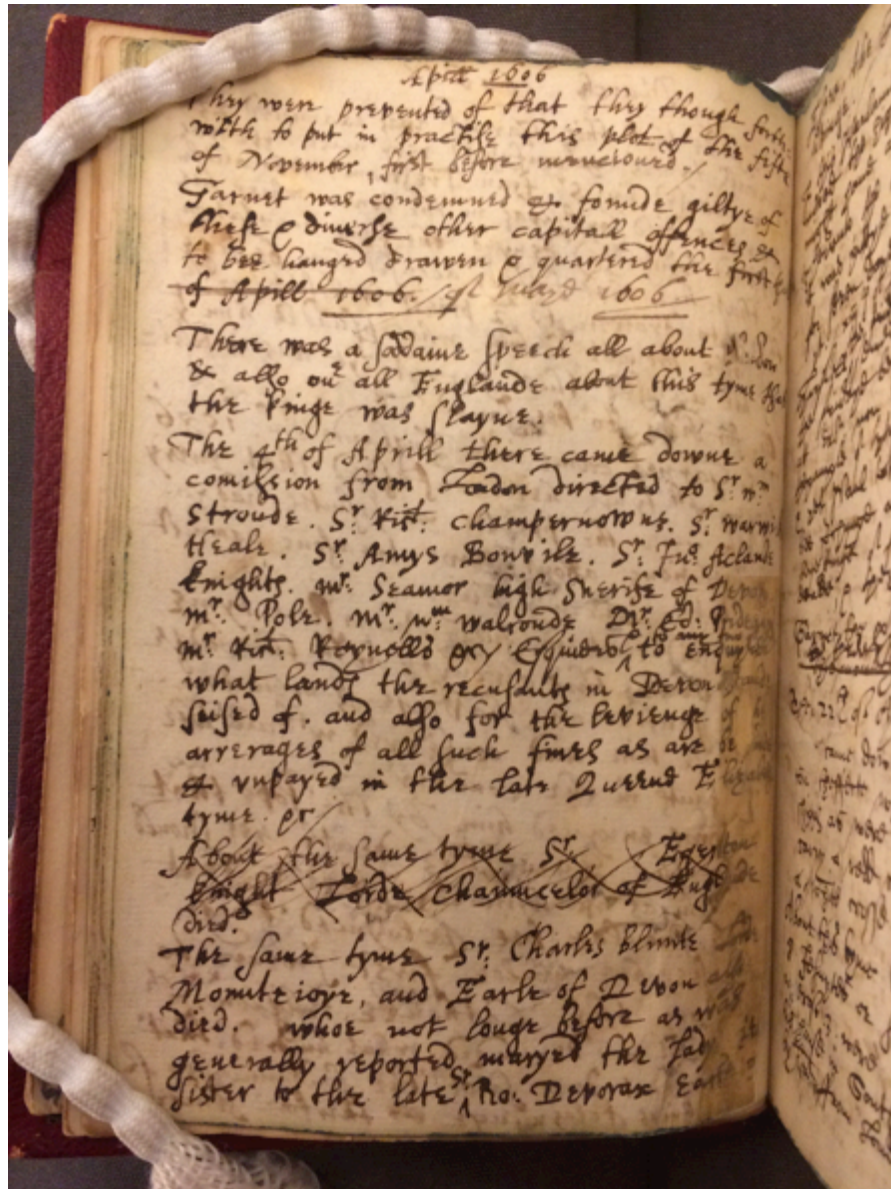
Figure 4.3. Walter Yonge, BL Add MS 28032, fol.5ᵛ.

Each recorded event appears as a distinct paragraph, but Yonge brings events into temporal proximity using phrases like 'about the same tyme'. The bringing together of local and national events is significant here, as it situates the near with the far, and local politics with national politics. Yonge creates a narrative through which complex and simultaneous events can be made sense of.

Yonge's edits to the page indicate his revisiting of the diary. He crosses out 'the first of Aprill 1606' and replaces it, using a different ink for 'of maye 1606'. He then crosses out an incorrect entry about Sir Thomas Egerton's death,

which did not actually take place until 1617.[96] In comparison, his incorrect entry about the king being slain is not crossed out, however he is careful not to record it as fact with: 'there was a soddaine speech all about London & also ou[e]r all England' to qualify the entry as rumour.[97] As F. J. Levy argues: 'Yonge is not only avid for news but also careful in accepting and recording it'.[98] The care with which Yonge approached recordkeeping intimates that he valued his manuscript as an object to aid his memory, and for recording trustworthy news, but also demonstrates his commitment to being a local political authority. By holding and recording this knowledge, and by making sense of the news filtering down to Devon, Yonge can situate himself as a centre for this knowledge amongst his peers.

Figure 4.4 is a folio from William Whiteway's diary, which is similar in form to Yonge's.[99] Like Yonge, Whiteway entwines local and national events, with this folio recording information about London taxes, trade in Germany, and a disruptive tailor in Dorchester. He also uses the phrase 'about this time' to bring these moments into temporal proximity.[100]

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[96]J.H Baker, 'Sir Thomas Egerton', *ODNB*.
[97] BL, Add MS 28032, fol.5ᵛ.
[98] F.J. Levy, 'Staging the News', in Arthur Marotti, and Michael Bristol, *Print, Manuscript and Performance* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000), p.268.
[99] BL, MS Egerton 784, fol.24ᵛ.
[100] Ibid, fol.24ᵛ.
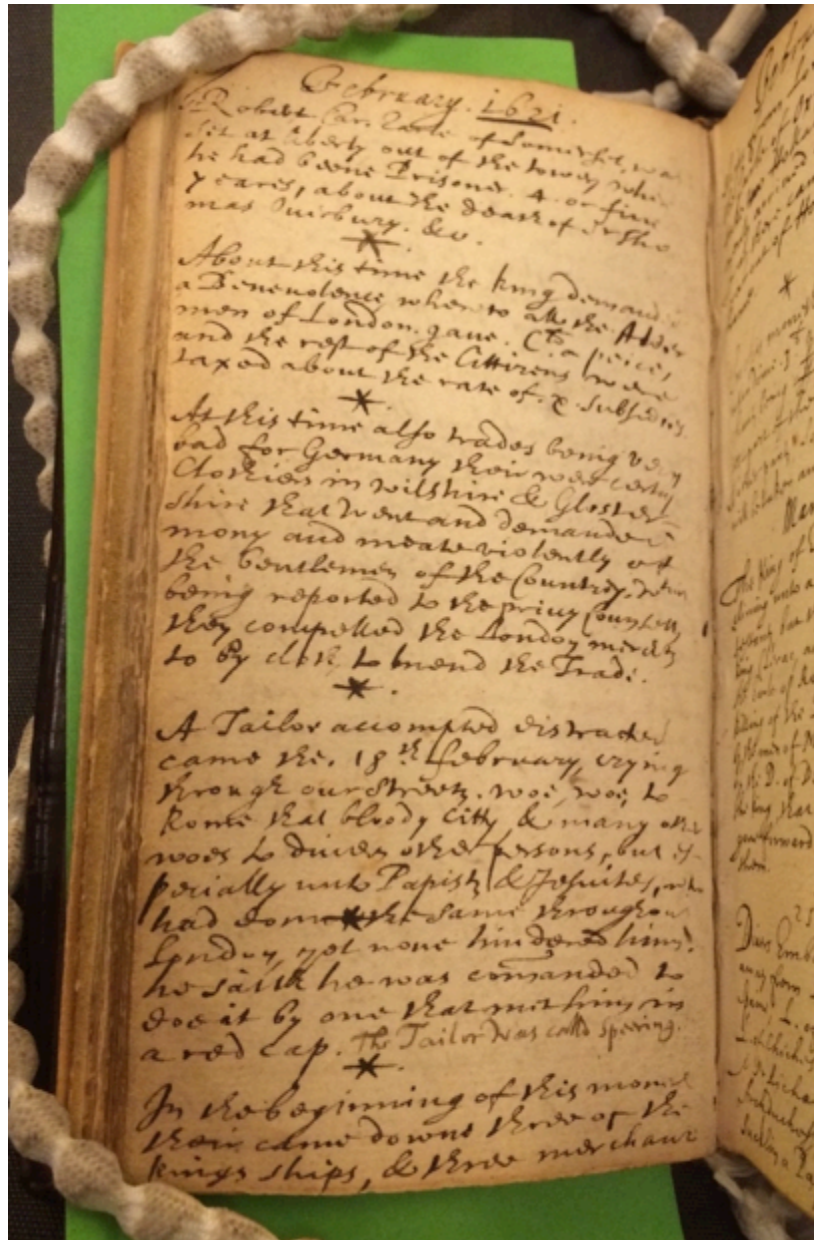
Figure 4.4. BL, Egerton MS 784, fol.24ᵛ.

Like Yonge, Whiteway adds extra information when he receives it, like 'the tailor was called Speering', and separates events into paragraphs, adding a small asterisk to provide a clear separation. There is a material continuity in the manner in which Yonge and Whiteway organise events, despite the fact that there is no evidence that they knew one another. This suggests the widespread use of this format for organising information, with these two men perhaps being two of many Southwest officeholders that made similar diaries. As manuscripts,

these diaries are designed to materialise Yonge's and Whiteway's personal

knowledge of current affairs, and their ability to process large quantities of

information into an organised sequence of events. In doing so, Yonge's and

Whiteway's responsibility towards order in their communities is enacted through

their organisation of news into their diaries, in which they entwine their lives

with societal structures of power. Michael Mascuch has argued that early modern

autobiography reflects 'the specific roles the writers conceived for themselves

[…] those of son, brother, husband and father'.[101] At home, these diarists'

identities would be connected to their moral responsibility to their household.

However, for Yonge and Whiteway, their position as heads of households was a

microcosm of their wider positions of authority within their respective

corporations. Both roles came into close proximity in their diaries.

Much of the information recorded in Yonge's and Whiteway's diaries

was drawn from local news networks. These local networks embed the diaries

within a social world, where news from trusted sources could be gathered and

shared. Walter Yonge's diary, in particular, mentions occasional sources for his

information. The first instance being a 1606 entry where he writes:

> 1 January 1606. It is reported from Londo[n] by credible letters that a
> childe beinge the seventh sonne of his mother [is] deafe blinde and lame
> and that the parents of the childe are popishe.[102]

Yonge was based near Honiton, which was on the Western Road linking London

to Exeter and Plymouth, and so his location meant that he had access to

important routes through which news from England and Europe could arrive and

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[101] Michael Mascuch, 'Social Mobility and Middling Self-Identity: The Ethos of British Autobiographers, 1600-1750', *Social History*, 20.1 (1995), 45-61 (pp.50 and 55).
[102] BL, Add MS 28032, fol.10^r.

be disseminated.[103] Yonge's location would mean he could access news brought across the country by carriers, who not only transmitted letters and parcels, but also 'news in oral form gathered along the highways'.[104] Whiteway, too, would have been situated upon this Western Road in Dorchester, again making his location ideal for access to news. As an MP, and high-ranking officeholder, Yonge would have had good access to regular news from London and Southwest cities passed to his corporation and pertinent to record in his diary.[105] Although the 1606 entry does not cite the exact source of the letters, there is a clear indication that Yonge trusts the informant in his use of the word 'credible'. Trust was important in news networks of the period, with Sara Barker observing that:

> People would judge how much they trusted the information shared by what they knew of the character of the news-bearer, whilst making judgments on the credibility of the same news-bearer resulting from how reliable the news they brought turned out to be.[106]

Within his manuscript, then, Yonge demonstrates discretion in the news he records and uses certain trusted sources as his means of gathering information. Local networks would be important in the verification of information from outside of the area, with specific individuals becoming trusted sources for news. Whiteway and Yonge would presumably be seen as dependable sources in their own right for their communities, making their creation of accurate records important to their social circle's perception of their credibility as officeholders.

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[103] Daybell, *Material Letter,* p.113. The Western Road connected Plymouth to London through Salisbury.

[104] Daybell, *Material Letter,* p.129. See also, Mark Brayshay, 'Conveying Correspondence: Early Modern Letter Bearers, Carriers, and Posts', in *Cultures of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain,* ed. by James Daybell and Andrew Gordon (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), pp.48-66.

[105] Brayshay, p.48.

[106] Sara K. Barker, 'International News Pamphlets', in *The Elizabethan Top 10: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp.145-56 (p.146).

This notion of a trustworthy news-bearer extends into other instances where Yonge receives manuscript news extracts, as in October 1607 where he records a report of a performance of 'The Last Judgment' in France which is 'confidently reported' and 'there are extante books in print […] by an eyewitness' which are 'euerywhere to be had'.[107] These books, he goes on to write, are 'penned by an eye witnesse & father to a London marchant'.[108] The printed books, from which Yonge receives his information, are trusted because a man of similar mercantile status writes them. This is important to the construction of networks of trust amongst officeholders, demonstrating how they saw themselves as situated within a wider social context of mercantile status or authority-holding men, who, through their very position within society, could be credited as reliable sources of information. Equally, the author being an 'eye-witness' was also important to Yonge's trust of the account, giving it enough authenticity for Yonge to copy.

Yonge's diary entries are often traceable to a person or are taken from another text. For example, a proclamation about recusants being commanded to leave London first comes to him orally, then in a printed copy: 'sent w[i]th Jo Willoughby and of the said proclamations'. At a later date, Yonge adds the information: 'I haue nowe one of those proclamations my selfe.'[109] The John Willoughby here is likely that of Payhembury Devon, who writes of his family in London sending him news in the form of 'pamphlets, and copies of manuscript libels in verse'.[110] Willoughby was a minor gentry member with multiple

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[107] BL, Add MS 28032, fol.11ᵛ.
[108] Ibid., fol.12ʳ.
[109] Ibid., fol.16ʳ.
[110] David Cressy, *England on Edge: Crisis and Revolution 1640-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp.312-313; and James Stokes and Ingrid Brainard, '"The Olde Measures" in the West Country: John Willoughby's Manuscript' *Records of Early English*

Devonian houses and many contacts within the Inns of Court, with whom he corresponded to gain information about current affairs.[111] Yonge's mention of this gentleman situates him within gentry networks of correspondence in Devon, through which he is able to gain information. The actual printed proclamation reaching him later, affirms the news already brought to him by Willoughby, reinforcing the reliability of his diary record. Similar sources for news can be seen in Whiteway's diary. In an early entry, Whiteway writes of the death of a French cardinal explaining that: 'this I heard from a Gentleman coming from Wareham'.[112] Here, again, there is a sense of an oral and social world spilling into a textual and material one, with Whiteway's recording of the news. His citing of a 'gentleman' signifies that the status of the teller is important to Whiteway's trust and experience of the information given.

Keeping a diary, for Yonge and Whiteway, involves the combining of multiple forms of information into a chronological account. Writing, for these men, is materially situated in a network of texts, involving the bringing into proximity of personal experience, local, national, and international news. By bringing this information together, there is a sense of these two men's importance as news gatherers and transmitters within their locales. Reading, writing, and listening entwine in their paper books, placing forms of information into chronological sense, and into a useful, portable object, which is navigable by date. This is especially vital for officeholders, who, as part of their position of authority, would have to know of important national and international events in order to inform their community. Although it is difficult to know from the diaries

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Drama, 17.2 (1992), 1-10. John Willoughby's papers are preserved amongst the Trevelyan Family papers at Somerset Records Office.
[111] Brainard and Stokes, "The Olde", p.2.
[112] BL, MS Egerton 784.

exactly how they were used, Whiteway's diary has some book lists dated 1645 (separate from his own) that suggest his diary found at least one reader a decade after his death.[113] His lists of officeholders (in which his name often appears) within his diary also demonstrate a clear connection between his personal and professional lives, expressing his links to the highest status officials in Dorchester.[114] This association suggests that Whiteway's writing is joined to his self-perception as part of an office-holding group within the town, and his recording of each year's officeholders shows his concern with Dorchester's governance. Yonge also attaches his personal writing to his professional life in his keeping of diaries detailing proceedings in the House of Commons and national events from 1642-1645.[115] His diary writing at home clearly found a professional use whilst he was MP for Honiton too. The 1627-1642 volume of his diary shows Yonge's frequent copying of political information from other manuscript sources.[116] For example, his record of the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham is taken from the statement of John Felton (Buckingham's assassin), and there are at least two other manuscript witnesses to this text collected by the *Manuscript Pamphleteering in Early Stuart England* project.[117] These records are entwined with local news, giving the sense that Yonge's diary is a personal and professional record of significant events. Knowing news that was being spoken about and transmitted within their towns and nationally, would also give Yonge and Whiteway a sense of belonging within their communities.

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[113] Ibid., fol.115[r].
[114] Ibid., (examples on) fols 10[r], 13[v]. Underdown mentions that Whiteway is 'socially selective' in his recording of local news. Underdown, *Fire*, p.51.
[115] BL, Add MS 18777-18780; and Add MS 22474.
[116] BL, Add MS 35331.
[117] Noah Millstone et al., 'Manuscript Pamphleteering in Early Stuart England', <https://mpese.ac.uk/m/BLAddMS35331.html> [accessed 13/02/2019]. BL, Add MS 35331, fol.24[r], Add MS 22959, fol.25[v], and MS Harley 537, fol.104[r].

This sense of belonging, and being rooted in a place, would give Yonge and Whiteway an understanding of their own importance in connections between families, corporations, and national governance, something that they experiment with, and bring into dialogue, in their diaries.

4.6. Commonplaces, Filing, and Material Practice

Another view of Whiteway's writing practices and self-situation as a Dorchester officeholder can be gained from his commonplace book. The practice Whiteway employs here differs from his diary, where information is organised chronologically, and a more fragmented, varied, and fluid picture of his writing practice is displayed. This section compares Whiteway's commonplace book with that of another officeholder, Thomas Davis.[118] Although it is difficult to know exactly who Thomas Davis was, from the interests displayed within his manuscript, mention of a Somerset place name, and his use of Somerset dialect, it has been possible to locate Davis, who was a Yeoman and Constable, in Easton in Gordano, near Bristol.[119] The aim of this section is to understand how textual engagement is interrelated with office-holding identities; how commonplacing is situated in space; and how it can be considered an act of self-situation within time, place, and status-appropriate interests.

Whiteway's Cambridge University Library MS Dd.11.73, and Davis' British Library MS Lansdowne 674 are described as 'commonplace books' in their respective catalogues. Adam Smyth has noted that 'particularly in library catalogues, the term "commonplace book" is used in an unhelpfully loose sense

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[118] BL, MS Lansdowne 674.
[119] See record of will: NA, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, PROB 11/329/571, Record of Land Purchase: SHC, DD\X\WI\24, and legal record describing him as 'constable': SHC, Q/SR/72/87.

to describe' manuscripts of 'miscellaneous character'.[120] This means that archival examples of commonplace books do not always follow the structure of 'headings under which aphorisms are distributed, gathered from reading, or more rarely, from conversation', which define them.[121] Smyth lists 16 characteristics that are connected to this definition, which make up a 'commonplace book culture'.[122] These characteristics define commonplacing as a practice where reading and writing involves: the 'collecting, gathering, picking out' of text; the 'ordering of fragments'; 'cross-referencing'; 'non-linear, non-narrative compositions'; 'texts that are never finished'; a 'process'; and 'an inventive materiality'.[123] All of these characteristics point to a materially engaged compositional process, where a scribe could take out extracts of texts to copy in, use their commonplace book over a long period of time, and not necessarily have a particular structure in mind. 'Commonplace culture', as Jason Scott-Warren argues, involves 'book use, which might be multiple, practical, and fragmentary'.[124] Whiteway's and Davis' manuscripts fit many of these characteristics. Texts, and sometimes images, are taken from multiple sources over time, appear without a clear sense of narrative, and represent a 'process' of textual engagement. Whiteway's commonplaces are added over a period of 12 years from 1623 to his death in 1635 and he compiles a vast amount of material

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[120] Smyth, *Autobiography,* p.123.

[121] Ibid.,p.123. For studies that engage with this structure see in particular: Ann Blair, *Too Much*, pp.69-70; Mary Thomas Crane, *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Peter Beal, 'Notes in Garrison: The Seventeenth-Century Commonplace Book', in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts*, ed. by William Speed Hill, pp.131-47; Richard Yeo, 'Notebooks as Memory Aids: Precepts and Practices in Early Modern England," in *Memory Studies*, 1.1 (2008), 115-126.

[122] Smyth, *Autobiography*, p.127.

[123] Ibid., pp.128-129.

[124] Jason Scott-Warren, 'Commonplacing and Originality: Reading Francis Meres', *The Review of English Studies*, 68.287 (2017), 902-923 (p.903).

in this time. Davis compiles his over a similar timeframe, between 1618 and 1635, but he adds to his manuscript infrequently.

The 'places' of 'commonplaces' have largely been understood in the abstract, with Mary Thomas Crane explaining them as 'a way of systematically classifying ideas'.[125] Certain rhetoricians also understood the term in this way with Thomas Wilson arguing that: 'a place is, the restyng corner of an argumente, or els a marke which geueth warning to our memorie'.[126] A small extract of text could, in a commonplace book, act as a starting point for an argument and a way of placing similar ideas together. Text could be 'placed' for future use. This physical act of placing texts also has a literal analogue within writing spaces, and commonplacing as a practice is linked to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century filing methods. Loose papers were given a place when strung up as files.[127] Each piece of paper would contain information that could be used in other kinds of documents. For example, in the next chapter, Thomas Catchmay refers to papers kept 'on files' in his household book for Chelsea House.[128] Commonplaces are a result of a similar mentality, where pieces of information are filed into paper books. William Whiteway often provides a finding aid next to a quotation from a text, noting its location in a book. All extracts from the 1633 edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, for example, are marked in this way.[129] These commonplaces are like files, or bundles of papers kept ordered in coffers and chests, or on shelves: they facilitate the 'easy retrieval' of information, and gesture to the location in which more information

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[125] Crane, *Framing*, p.18.
[126] Thomas Wilson, *Rule of Reason* (London: Richard Grafton, 1551), p.90; and Crane, *Framing*, p.28.
[127] See Wolfe and Stallybrass, 'Material Culture', p.180.
[128] KHLC, U269 AP43.
[129] CUL, Dd.11.73, fol.175ʳ.

on a subject can be found.[130] For Whiteway and Davis, keeping commonplaces was a type of recordkeeping connected to their cultural interests and textual engagements. Their commonplace books acted as a reference guide to their reading practices over time.

Commonplace books were a way in which Whiteway's and Davis' occupational identities were expressed: the manner of compiling information that took place at a corporation level and found a personal expression at home. A commonplace book was a space in which information pertinent to Whiteway's and Davis' social positions could be recorded and used. With officeholders having the responsibility to act as 'moral exemplars' to their community, it is not surprising that Whiteway and Davis are particularly concerned with moral and social improvement in their commonplaces. On 1st April 1631, Whiteway lists aspects that characterise a good man. He lists features including: 'he must embrace all opportunities that are offices/ he must follow it w[i]th reall performance'.[131] This statement suggests Whiteway's office-holding, and striving for good performance in office, were important aspects of his moral life. Davis also compiles information on morality within his commonplace book, copying multiple moral *sententiae* from Seneca and sayings like: 'love the diuill will I neu[er] while I liue will I loue God'.[132] These short, rhyming, memorable maxims act as positive affirmations of Davis' faith. By compiling sentences that discuss morality, both men situate themselves as people concerned with improvement and their moral standing within their communities. These commonplaces are also connected to patriarchal identity within these manuscripts, because both Davis and Whiteway are conscious of their

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[130] Wolfe and Stallybrass, 'Material Culture', p.181.
[131] CUL, Dd.73.11, fol.43ʳ.
[132] BL, Lansdowne MS 674, fols 4ʳ-9ʳ for moral *sententiae*, and then fol.9ᵛ for English sayings.

responsibility towards both their households and their communities. This again connects their writing to household spaces, with those places of 'focused mental activity' also often pertaining to the patriarch.

Notions of improvement pervade Whiteway's and Davis' commonplace books in other ways. They both reveal themselves to be socially aspirant and desire to develop skills at practical tasks within their manuscripts. For example, Whiteway's interest in painting emerges in his commonplacing of extracts from painting manuals. Whiteway provides extracts from Henry Peacham's *The Arte of Drawing*, namely on portraiture, making colours for limning and oil paints, varnish, rendering textiles, and preserving paintings.[133] At the bottom of these instructions Whiteway marks the name: 'Dr Maistre Charles Gagé Peinte[r] 1633'.[134] Robert Tittler identifies Gagé as an itinerant painter who 'took portrait commissions' from Dorchester residents, including Whiteway.[135] Tittler proposes that Gagé 'carried painting manuals with him and gave instructions on the craft to Whiteway and others during his stay'.[136] This would explain Whiteway's commonplacing of relevant parts of Peacham's manual, which could be referred to after Gagé continued on his travels with his library. Whiteway's commonplaces of instructions about the craft indicate that he wanted to develop this skill.

Whiteway not only demonstrates an active desire to understand painting but to actually perform it. He practices drawing in black ink within his manuscripts. These images are largely architectural, with façades and birds-eye

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[133] CUL, Dd.11.73, fols 23r-28^v, and 32^r-34^r.
[134] Ibid., fol.28^v.
[135] Robert Tittler, 'Rural Society and the Painters' Trade in Post-Reformation England', *Rural History*, 28.1 (2017), 1–19 (p.9).
[136] Mascuch, pp.45-61; Tittler, *Portraits*, p.42.

views of large, elite buildings and a single landscape scene of a country house.[137] His visual practices show his keen interest in developing skill at drawing, but also his aspirations to elite architectural styles. These interests craft a view of Whiteway's status as a prosperous officeholder and provide an exemplar to his readers of the kinds of pursuits he esteemed.

Whiteway reflects upon Gagé's visit in his diary, providing a different perspective on the painter to that of his commonplace book. He writes on 15th October 1633: 'this day mr Charles Gagé a French painter came & now right in this town for 5 weekes to draw my picture & my wiues & many others'.[138] This is one of the few insights into Whiteway's personal life in the diary, and his recording of the visit intimates that Gagé's stay was of quite some importance to him. As Robert Tittler argues concerning portraits of non-elite men and women, a portrait could be used to 'celebrate' life stages and to act as 'social legitimation' by recording 'the leaps made from one rung to another'.[139] In 1632, Whiteway became bailiff of Dorchester for the second time, and in 1633 he became feoffee for All Saint's Church in Dorchester, prominent positions within the town that were cause for this kind of commemoration.[140] Portrait and text work together in this sense to materialise Whiteway's urban importance. Whiteway's diary and commonplace book are in dialogue here, and the diary provides an account of a significant event in his life, whilst the commonplace book is a record of what he learns during Gagé's visit. The diary provides detail of the related event to which information contained in the commonplace book refers.

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[137] CUL, MS Dd.73.11, fols 1ᵛ, 35ᵛ-36ʳ, 37ʳ-38ᵛ, 42ᵛ, 49ʳ, 104ᵛ, 114ᵛ, and 187ᵛ.
[138] BL MS Egerton 784, fol.96ʳ. 15th October 1633.
[139] Tittler, *Portraits*, p.28.
[140] CUL, MS Dd.73.11, fol.47ʳ.

As with Gagé's painting instructions in Whiteway's commonplace book, Thomas Davis also uses his commonplace book to record instructions. Davis demonstrates a keen interest in games. As entries within a commonplace book, these give a glimpse into the social world of Davis and his love of memorialising activities in textual form. His compilation of a card game is rough, as if he wrote it soon after playing the game to remember the process.[141] This demonstrates the interrelation of action and writing in an interesting way, because Davis used this written record to act as a future memory prompt when playing. Equally, cards is a game associated with leisure time, something those of higher social status in positions of urban authority are likely to have more of, meaning that, in expressing the rules of a game within his manuscript, Davis places himself amongst this privileged social group.[142]Alongside these games, there are also a number of perfuming recipes, related to gloves, a pomander, and damask powder.[143] Through these recipes Davis materialises his high social standing, as gloves were a marker of the gentry or those of middling status, particularly the types of perfumed gloves described in Davis' book.[144] Davis, like Whiteway, thus demonstrates an interest in status-appropriate leisure pursuits and goods. Indeed, pomanders would be a visual indication of social status, and make a person sweet smelling, which, as Maria Hayward argues, would 'convey messages about respectability, leisure and social status'.[145] In writing about these perfumes in his commonplace book, Davis crafts a sense of how he wishes to be

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[141] BL, MS Lansdowne 674, fol.10ʳ.

[142] See Hamling and Richardson, p.192 (but pp.191-197 on leisure activities more generally).

[143] BL, MS Lansdowne 674, fols 39ʳ-43ᵛ.

[144] Ibid., fol. 39ʳ. For gloves and social status see Peter Stallybrass and Ann Rosalind Jones, 'Fetishizing the Glove in Renaissance Europe', *Critical Inquiry*, 28.1 (2001), 114-132 (p.116).

[145] Maria Hayward, 'Clothing' in *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Davis Gaimster, Tara Hamling, and Catherine Richardson (London: Routledge, 2017), p.178.

perceived; as a man with leisure time to spend making perfumes, writing, reading, and playing games. Through compiling information about their leisure interests, Whiteway and Davis legitimise their office-holding status and use their manuscripts as companions to these activities. Within their manuscripts, they remind themselves of recipes and techniques, and tell their families and readers about their knowledge of these leisure pursuits.

In many ways, these officeholders' manuscripts perform a life in the sense that they are part of the wider objects these men are surrounded with, materialising a certain image of their status, respectability, knowledge, and authority. As a practice-based community, officeholders' lives, as expressed within their manuscripts, are carefully crafted and performed: they select certain information about their activities, interests, and knowledge. It is through the performance of practices like painting, playing cards, and writing, that their office-holding status comes together with their economic and social status to perform exemplary identities. Kevin Sharpe and Steven Zwicker argue, due to the predominance of 'national biography' as the main form of life-writing up until the end of the seventeenth century, that: 'exemplarity is at the heart of early modern lives and early modern life writing […] early modern lives were above all lives written for use'.[146] In thinking about how the structures of national biography feed into autobiography, exemplarity is important because it suggests that the materials recorded are placed to give a positive image of an individual's life. The fact that these men would have all had to behave in an exemplary manner before their communities to keep moral order also interacts with the manner in which they recorded their lives. If early modern lives were 'written for

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[146] Sharpe and Zwicker, pp.2 and 4.

use', then officeholders perform exemplary actions before a community, and also memorialise them in their commonplace books to carry this impression for posterity.

The future uses of Whiteway's commonplace book are exemplified in his 'private chronology' at the book's centre.[147] 'Private' refers, in the chronology, to the events recorded that pertain to Whiteway and his family. Here Whiteway chronicles important moments in his life alongside significant local and national events. For example, he associates the birth of his sister Mary with King James I and VI being at Corffe and Lulworth, places local to Dorchester.[148] The chronology clearly found a purpose for his family and friends after his death. The first example of this is his brother John's continuation of it for the year of Whiteway's death. He writes: '1635. This yeare died the author of this booke W. Whiteway my brother' and follows this with other familial and national events, following the set precedent.[149] John, who came into possession of the commonplace book after Whiteway's death, went on to abandon Dorchester after the Restoration, and so this manuscript might have provided a sense of rootedness to his family's past as he established a new branch in Hertfordshire.[150]

The second interaction with Whiteway's chronology presents a more complex engagement with his commonplace book. Denis Bond, overseer of Whiteway's will and his friend, started compiling a similar chronology to that of Whiteway in 1636. This suggests that he not only read the chronology, but that he was inspired to continue it. The sense of continuation between Whiteway's commonplace book and Bond's manuscript pervades the text, where Bond

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[147] CUL, Dd.73.11. See 'private' (adj.) 3b. *OED*. 'Particular to a particular person, community'.
[148] Ibid., fol.92^r.
[149] Ibid., fol.47^r.
[150] Underdown, *Whiteway*, p.183.

mingles his own family's narrative with those of Whiteway's sons and daughters. [151] It is clear that through John's and Denis' interactions with Whiteway's commonplace book, his writing gained an audience and, moreover, served a purpose for his family and close friends. This purpose is suggested in Whiteway's recording of his own achievements against wider local and national events, creating a narrative of how he wished his life and genealogy to be remembered. Andy Wood argues that this use of ancestry, and the association with a local area within documents, is important for a person's 'sense of identification with a local area', where an awareness of 'place and belonging' could be evoked through familial history. [152] This chronology, then, is a rich layering of Whiteway's autobiography upon his family's past, which is embedded within Dorchester. Place and achievements in office combine to give a sense of Whiteway being shaped by his town's social world during his life. As a family new to Dorchester, and quickly rising to high office within the town's corporation, this chronology grounds Whiteway within Dorchester's significant recent past and starts to shape a history upon which future generations can build. As Daniel Woolf has argued with regards to heredity: 'there existed a sense of duty to protect and conserve familial achievements' in records, and a desire to connect 'families and external historical events'. [153] In continuing Whiteway's chronology, Denis Bond and John Whiteway demonstrate this sense of duty and protection over the genealogical narrative William creates within his commonplace book, verifying the importance of keeping a record of significant familial achievements in relation to 'external' events.

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[151] DRO, D-53/1, pp.25-30. Manuscript keeper's transcription held by Dorset Record Office.
[152] Andy Wood, *The Memory of the People: Custom and Popular Senses of the Past in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p.321.
[153] Woolf, pp.83 and 99.

Genealogical concerns also appear in Whiteway's compilation of coats of arms. At the start of his diary, and twice within his commonplace book, there are renderings of coats of arms, which demonstrate Whiteway's desire to learn and perform the visual language of the gentry. The earliest coat of arms appearing within his diary (1618) demonstrates less skill at proportion and precision in arms-drawing than the later two arms within his commonplace book (1623, 1634).[154] There is no evidence in visitation records that Whiteway had the right to bear arms, though he is mentioned in a herald painter's workbook, suggesting that he might have hoped to have them granted.[155] The arms he draws, appearing in Figures 4.5 and 4.6, might well be arms he has fashioned for himself and his family.

Figure 4.5. CUL, Dd.11.73, fol.2ʳ (1623).

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[154] BL, MS Lansdowne 784, fol.1ᵛ; and CUL, MS.Dd.73.11, fols 2ʳ, 146ʳ.
[155] See COA, IB 24, fol.14ʳ.

Figure 4.6. BL, Lansdowne MS 784, fol.1ᵛ (1618).

The motto '*ic itur ad astra*' or 'thus one journeys to the stars' speaks to Whiteway's desire for social improvement, and his ambition. In one of his book lists is written 'Guillim' suggesting that he owned the popular *Display of Heraldry*, discussed in Chapter Two, written as a guide to coats-of-arms, and it is this book that Whiteway might have used to guide his arms-drawing.[156] Whiteway's arms-drawing is different in character to the practice discussed in Chapter Two, because he draws coats of arms for his own manuscripts and not for a patron or employer. Through his own arms-drawing, Whiteway crafts an identity for himself as a gentleman. The connections between Whiteway's reading, his writing practices and his aspirations here are very clear to see. His commonplace book is connected to his library, and the way in which these books are used within Whiteway's home in order to facilitate his self-improvement.

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[156] Guillim, *A Display.*

Both Davis and Whiteway use their commonplace books as a means to express their social aspirations, and as a way of situating themselves within a network of interests in practices that express their responsibility as officeholders. These household books were entwined with the recordkeeping practices these two men experienced in their occupational lives within their respective corporations, providing a practical link between the skills at compiling relevant material in a commonplace book and those used in storing and using documents for the benefit of their towns. By organising their reading material for use into commonplace books, these two men demonstrate the mnemonic significance of note taking and craft an occupational identity through their manuscripts that creates a sense of their significance within their locales, offices, and homes.

4.7. Practical Knowledge and Paper Books

The officeholders within this chapter use writing as a means of expressing an occupational identity, in the sense that their writing intersects with their profession by engaging with news, governance, and history. Writing, as a practice, also expresses an occupational identity in the sense that it is a habitual act, a way in which these officeholders spend a significant amount of their time: in collecting books, pamphlets, and papers; note-taking; and producing manuscripts. As such it is important to look at the relationship between tools, materials, and officeholders in order to understand the connections between social position, writing, and space. One of Edward Howes' visions, which he records in his manuscript, is a way into thinking about how writing is a

materially situated act.[157] On New Year's Eve 1622, Howes dreams of an 'angell' visiting him, who:

> tooke a paire of compasses and set one point on the mydle & made 3 pricks at the bottom of the heart & at each side one each equally distant then he took a carpenters ruler drew a straight line upon the upper part of the heart and two lines from each end to the bottom which made a perfect triangle within it he made or engraued 3 words namely on the right side PEACE on the upper side LOVE & on the left side TRUTH which three he said was the name of God and the name of the Cittie of God & the way thither. Then he took the compasses againe sett one point in the center & opened them to the ends of the Triangle & there drew a circle and within the circle HE writ or engraued the words THE HOWSE OF GOD and without the circle he engraued ^a brightnes^ as it weare a flame of fire around about and writ about it MY God is a consuming fire then the Angell deliuered the heart to me againe and commanded me to make the patterne thereof and that I and the children that God would giue me would wear it always about them as a brest plate of righteousness and as the Testimonie of the ^covenant^ between God and them for euer throughout all their generations.[158]

Figure 4.7. BL, Sloane MS 979, fol.11ʳ.

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[157] BL, MS Sloane 979, fols 10ᵛ-11ʳ.
[158] Ibid., fols 10ᵛ-11ʳ.

The description of Howes' vision is also depicted in the manuscript (Figure 4.7). As an extract, this vision provides a detailed description of tools used to create a geometric, devotional emblem. Here, Howes sets out a description of the relationship between the tools of writing, his body, and the emblem as it appears in the manuscript. The manuscript acts as a testimony to Howes' vision. This is reinforced by his use of distinctly legal language: 'testimonie of the covenant', with 'covenant' suggesting 'a promise or contract under seal', the seal being represented by his visual rendering of the emblem.[159] Howes would have intimate knowledge of legal forms and language, having received an education in law at the Inner Temple, so his use of this language is giving a legally binding strength to his devotion to God.[160] In this description, the boundaries between words, images and materials are blurred, with Howes imagining the image upon the page as 'a breast plate of righteousness' to be 'worn'. Thus, the physical presence of the image on the page becomes a manifestation of the same image upon his heart. In a letter to John Winthrop, Howes writes 'fire cannot destroy what is written on the heart', echoing the entwinement of the heart, writing, and faith that is contained in this extract from his manuscript.[161] Thus, the act of writing here helps Howes reflect upon his devotional visions, whilst also giving an insight into tools used in rendering images.

Howes' devotional experience is given importance in his recording of it, and writing for all of these officeholders is tied to their perceptions of themselves in relation to events that take place around them. With writing being an activity restricted to those privileged enough to attain an education in literacy, its physical act is a significant marker of someone's identity. In printed writing

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[159] 'Covenant' (n) 4a, *OED*.
[160] 'Edward Howes', *ODNB*; BL, MS Sloane 979.
[161] Shrieves, 'Mapping', p.277.

manuals of the period, skill at writing is also often imagined to be an outward expression of a person's moral character. Consequently, it is important to consider how the repeated practice of writing could be considered an expression of an officeholder's moral identity.

Although the use of educational manuals to gain an insight into actual writing practices is problematic, as they offer prescriptive advice on the subject, they are useful in thinking through the moral significance of a good hand. John Brinsley states in *Ludus Literius* that a good scholar needs to 'expresse his mind in some good forme of words' as well as 'write faire'.[162] To gain this skill, Brinsley argues that a scholar needs good equipment, a positive attitude towards writing, and to practise daily, saying that to 'take delight in writing faire' is 'one halfe the skill'.[163] He warns that not taking delight in fair writing could have bad consequences because, unless a hand is rectified with daily practice, a person: 'will fall unto their bad hand againe: so great a force hath any euill custome'.[164] The word 'evil' here suggests an immoral, harmful practice that does not conform to the kinds of ideals of script suggested in copy books. If we link this to Mauss' ideas about the transference of movement being social, a non-conforming writing practice would mean falling outside of a community.[165] This is important when thinking about an officeholder's role in keeping order and conformity within their local community, and as such, their compliance with those structures of moral authority that reach into the very practice of writing.

Good writing is often described as being evocative of other positive qualities in these printed educational books. For example, Peter Bales in *The*

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[162] Brinsley, p.38.
[163] Ibid., p.36.
[164] Ibid., p.37.
[165] 'Evil' (adj.) 1., *OED*. Mauss, 'Techniques'.

Writing Scholemaster ends his instruction with the phrase: 'skill, rule and grace giue all their gains to thee/ swift art, true pen, faire hand, together meete;/ minde, wit, and eye, skill, rule & grace to greete'.[166] Here, Bales conflates the skill of writing and having a 'faire hand' with having other positive values like 'wit' and 'grace'. Thus, the physical trace of ability is seen here as a manifestation of abstract qualities. The labour at attaining proficiency at writing becomes an important sign of a scholar's moral reputation in these books. So, although it is difficult to know whether all writers carried out the practices within these manuals, or thought of writing in the same way, it is clear that the officeholders in this chapter see writing as an important occupational practice to conduct habitually. This repeated practice to gain writing skill might contribute to an officeholder's reputation as a person in possession of qualities like 'wit' and 'grace', and able to provide a good standard of behaviour for members of his community to emulate. Although we know from the previous chapter that this image is complicated in the case of scriveners, whose mastery of lots of hands was often depicted as a sign of their dishonesty and focus on outward appearance, it is nonetheless clear that, for those outside of this profession, skill at writing was viewed positively.

4.7.i. *Handwriting*

William Whiteway, Edward Howes, and Thomas Davis use mixed hands for the most part, and rarely deviate from using their natural script when writing at home. This means that they would be able to write quickly, without necessarily thinking about whether the letterforms they make conform to a set hand. As such,

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[166] Bales, sig.R3[r].

this chapter's Image Processing experiment compares four scribes to see in what ways ideas about handwriting, skill, and performance of good character actually translate into practice. If handwriting does relate to good character, then the expectation would be that Whiteway, Howes, and Davis would use very similar hands, as they would attempt to write to aesthetic expectations of script. If their results show very different handwriting practices, then this might suggest that 'good' handwriting does not necessarily rest on conformity, but on other qualities like speed and consistency.

	Scribes and Number of Samples			
	Whiteway	**Wallington**	**Davis**	**Howes**
A	3	4	5	0
H	2	0	1	1
L	3	2	1	1
M	0	8	1	1
P	2	0	3	3
a	5	6	5	5
h	5	5	0	6
l	3	5	5	9
m	10	10	7	7
p	4	5	4	5

Table 4.1. Table showing number of samples for each letter.

Although Whiteway, Howes, and Davis do not comment on their own handwriting, another officeholder, with whom they are compared in this experiment, does. Nehemiah Wallington writes in a roman hand, deliberately, in order that 'others mite benefit'.[167] The suggestion here is that the form of italic hand he uses is legible, making his work easily disseminated amongst his peers. This legibility could also be considered important to the other three scribes' writing, with, for example, Whiteway's manuscripts used after his death, and all

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[167] *The Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington, 1618-1654: A Selection*, ed. by David Booy (London: Routledge, 2007), p.10.

four scribes' writings being perceived as valuable to those who inherited and preserved them.

Table 4.1 shows the number of samples taken for each letterform. Due to the small sample of writing for Howes and Davis in particular, there are very few capital letter samples. However, across the lowercase letterforms, there are plenty of samples in order to make a comparison between these four scribes. Some differences between these four individuals in terms of their handwriting are striking, especially considering all four received a similar education in writing. These differences suggest the diversity in handwriting education at non-elite level, where the emphasis is on qualities of speed and legibility.

The area measurement for these officeholders' letterforms shows some clear differences in the size of handwriting between these four scribes.
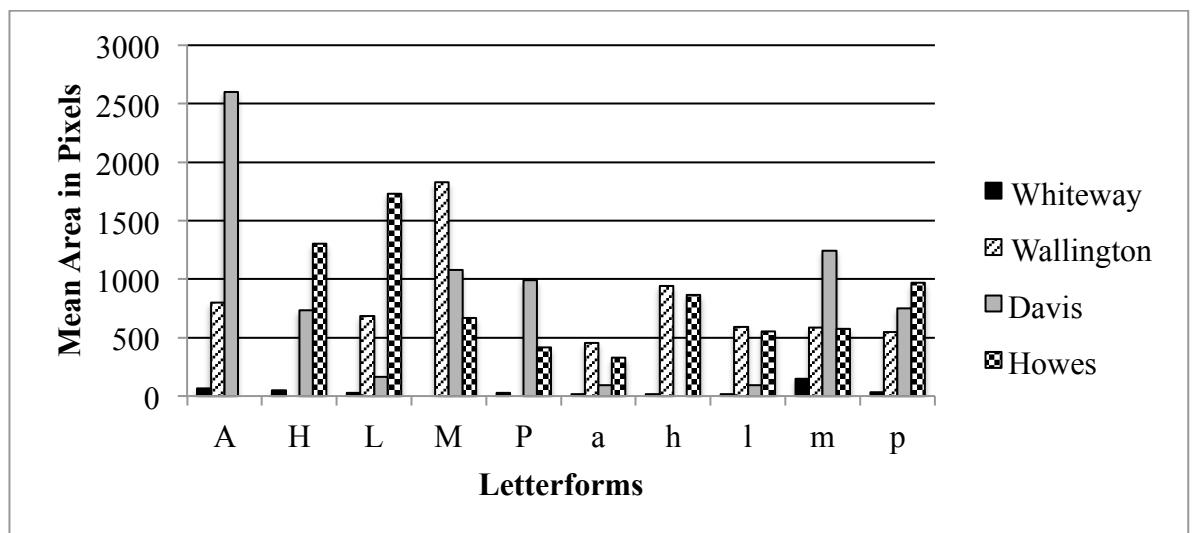
Chart 4.1. Mean area for officeholders' letterforms in pixels.
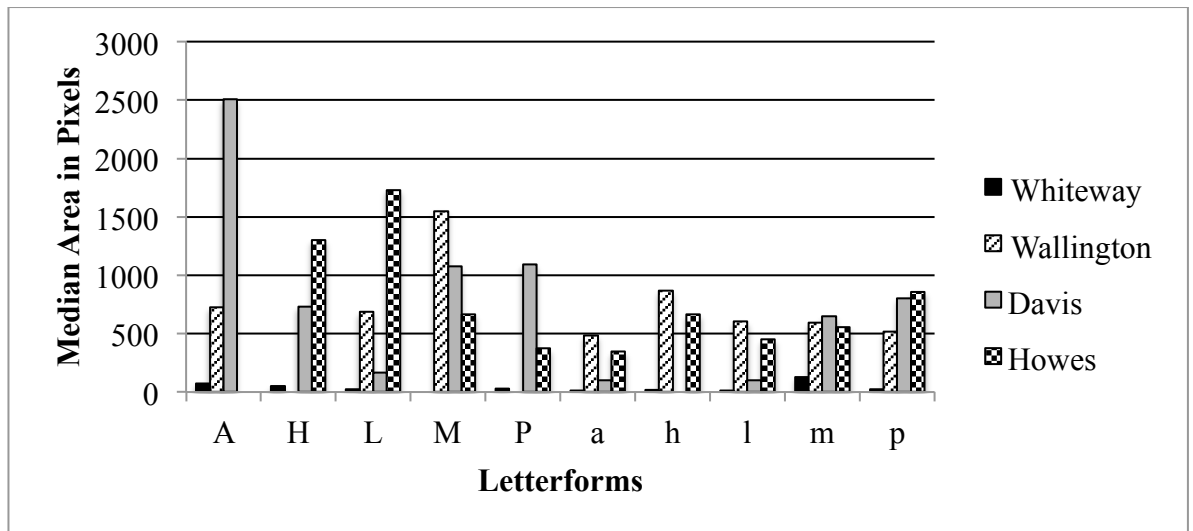
Chart 4.2. Median Area for officeholders' letterforms in pixels.

Across the capital letterforms, none of the officeholders use letters that are consistently larger than the others. Due to there being only one sample used for Thomas Davis' capital 'A', it is possible that the large size of this letter is an anomaly. In comparison, the lowercase letters are largely consistent between three of the scribes, Wallington, Davis, and Howes, in terms of their size, with the difference between the means and medians for Davis' lowercase letter 'm' sample, suggesting inconsistencies in the area of this letter. Equally, Davis shows the most inconsistency in area of letterforms across the sample, and this suggests either some experimentation with handwriting within his manuscript, or inexperience. Due to Davis' frequent compilation of ink recipes (discussed in the next section), it seems that these inconsistencies are due to experimentation with handwriting in the process of testing ink. This can be seen in Figure 4.8 where Davis moves from a recipe for wax, written in his natural hand, to some larger letters in an italic hand, which demonstrate experimentation with a quill.
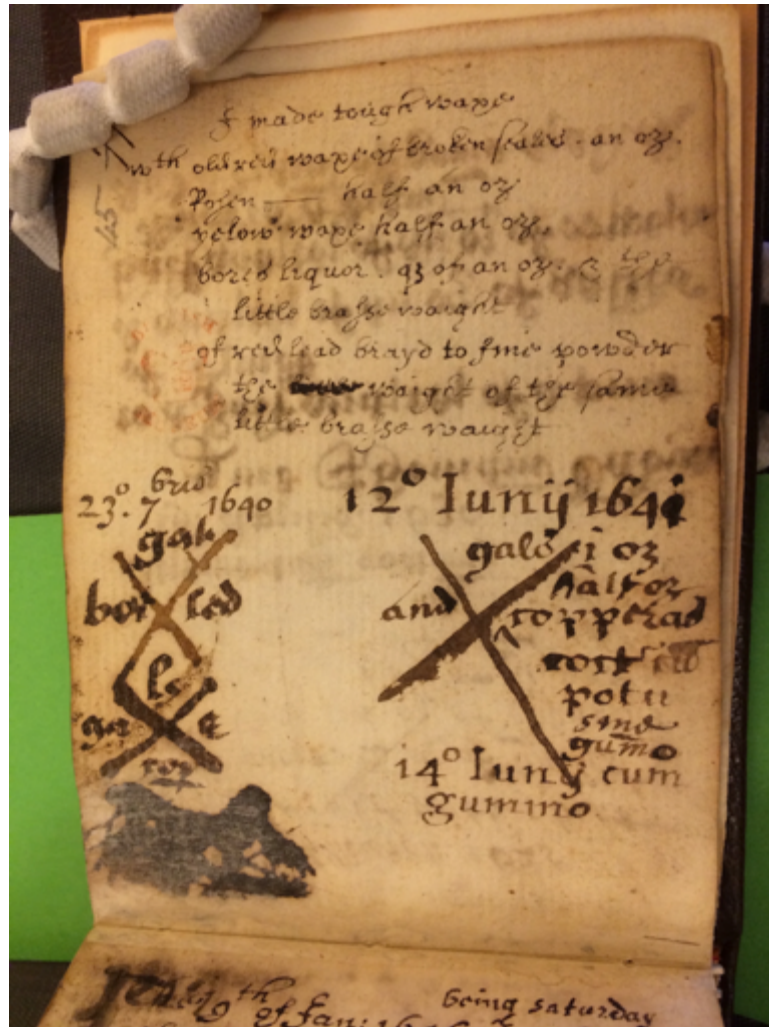
Figure 4.8. BL, Lansdowne MS 674, fol.45^r.

In terms of area, Whiteway is the most consistent of the four officeholders, and also uses the smallest script. This small script is in line with the diary, which measures only 74mm x 140mm.[168] Whiteway's handwriting suggests that he intended to use this manuscript across a long period of time, or for sustained writing, so that he could fit a lot of content onto each page. This practice is evinced when his diary is viewed in comparison with his commonplace book, where he uses much larger handwriting.

Whiteway's consistency within his diary is also important, because it suggests that he is writing naturally, and was practised in producing a consistent

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[168] BL, MS Egerton 784.

script. One of the key pieces of advice given in writing manuals is to: 'write of even height' and keep 'uniformitie', and Whiteway's area measurements can be understood to be in line with this advice.[169] Whiteway's uniformity also emerges in the results for major and minor axis lengths.
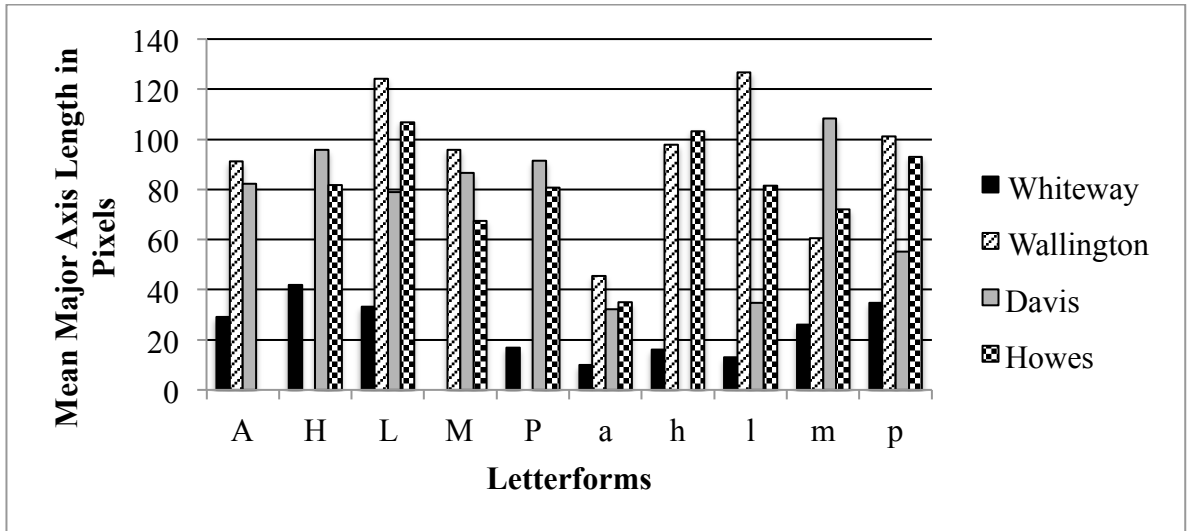
Chart 4.3. Mean Major Axis Length in Pixels.
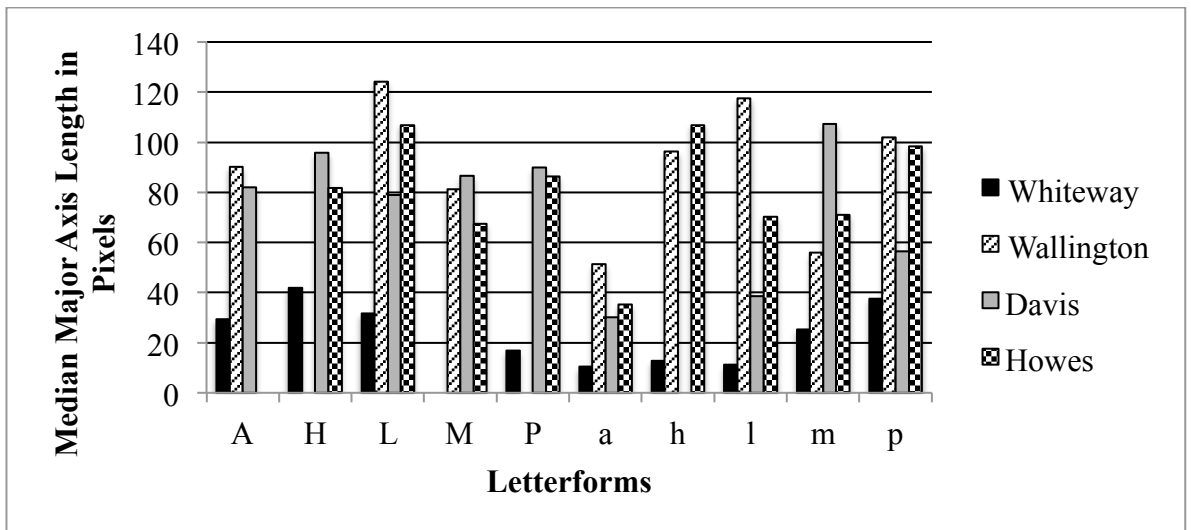
Chart 4.4. Median Major Axis Length in Pixels.

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[169] Bales, R2; and Brinsley, p.33.
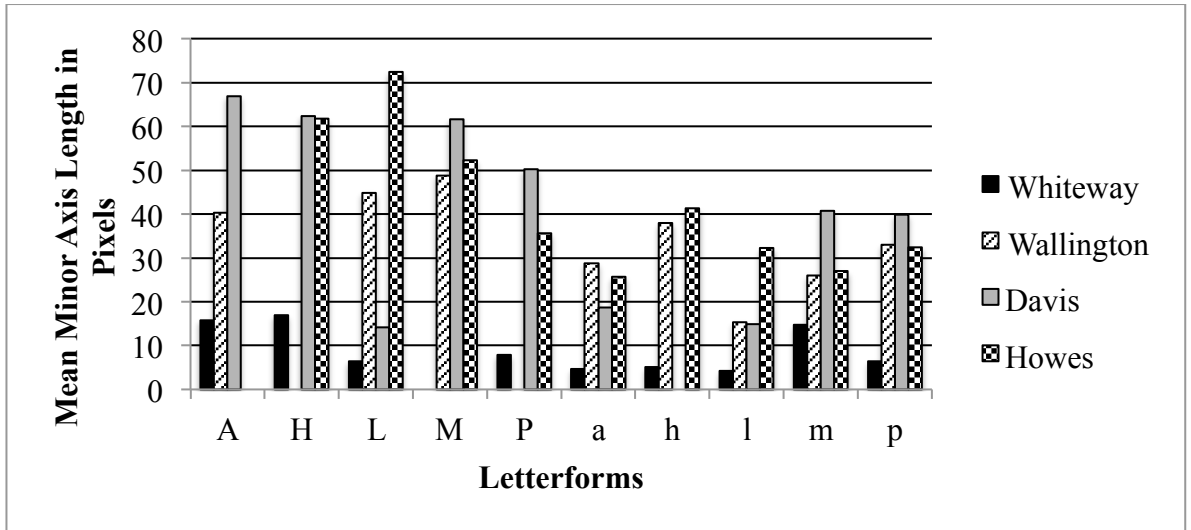
Chart 4.5. Mean Minor Axis Length in Pixels.
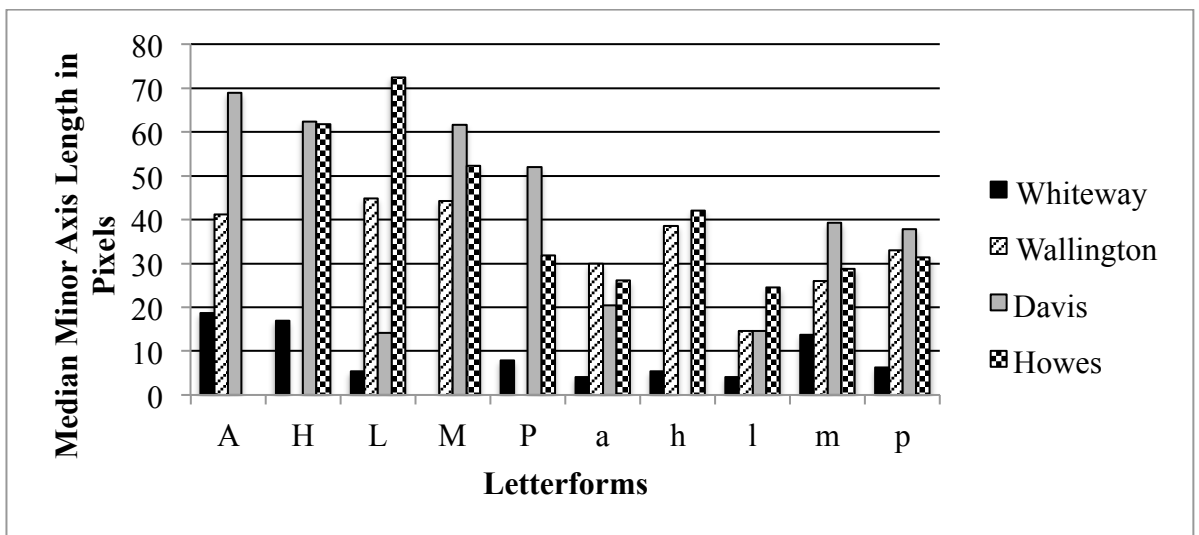
Chart 4.6. Median Minor Axis Length in Pixels.

The uniformity of Whiteway's measurements across letterforms for major and minor axis lengths demonstrates his ability to generate consistency in his writing, and indicates that he is a very frequent scribe. Repeated practice would generate this uniformity. The other officeholders also show some consistency across their major and minor axis length measurements, but use more elongated and larger letterforms than Whiteway. These measurements gesture to different types of quills used by these scribes. For smaller scripts, Peter Bales advises that the pen

have a proportionally small nib, to fit the 'scantling of your writing'.[170] 'Scantling' has a material significance in its meaning, as the word is a technical term that describes the appropriate proportion of one material to another.[171] As such, in cutting a quill, a scribe would have an appropriate understanding of what would make it fit for the purpose for which they were writing, and the size of handwriting they wish to perform. To generate small, well-proportioned, consistent letters, Whiteway would presumably have used a very small nibbed quill, with a rounded end to generate consistently sized strokes. The results across these size categories suggest the manner in which scribes work to write in a way that is fit for purpose, with Whiteway using a small hand to fit as much writing as possible into his manuscript.

Across area, major axis length, and minor axis length results for these officeholders there is also very little difference between the capital and lowercase letterforms. This is a way in which Image Processing exposes an important difference between the officeholders in this chapter writing at home, and all other occupations, in which there is a clear separation between upper and lowercase letters. Davis and Howes are the only two officeholders who demonstrate a difference in the size of their capital letters in comparison to their lowercase forms. This suggests that, in writing at home for a circle of close friends and family, scribes did not use capital letters as distinctive markers of their hands like the Lydd clerks and arms-drawers. In Image Processing experiments within the previous chapters, capital letterform measurements were usually larger, and also demonstrated larger variation than lowercase forms, but this differs for the officeholders analysed in this chapter. This result points to a different kind of

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[170] Bales, sig.R1[r].
[171] 'Scantling', *OED*.

writing practice happening within the home from the kinds of scribal work occurring in corporation contexts, where a greater emphasis might be put on presentation and adherence to set hands. The results demonstrate that officeholders at home write naturally to generate fast, legible results, and do not innovate upon capital letters as consistently as scribes in the previous two contexts explored.

The speed at which these officeholders write is clear from their orientation results.
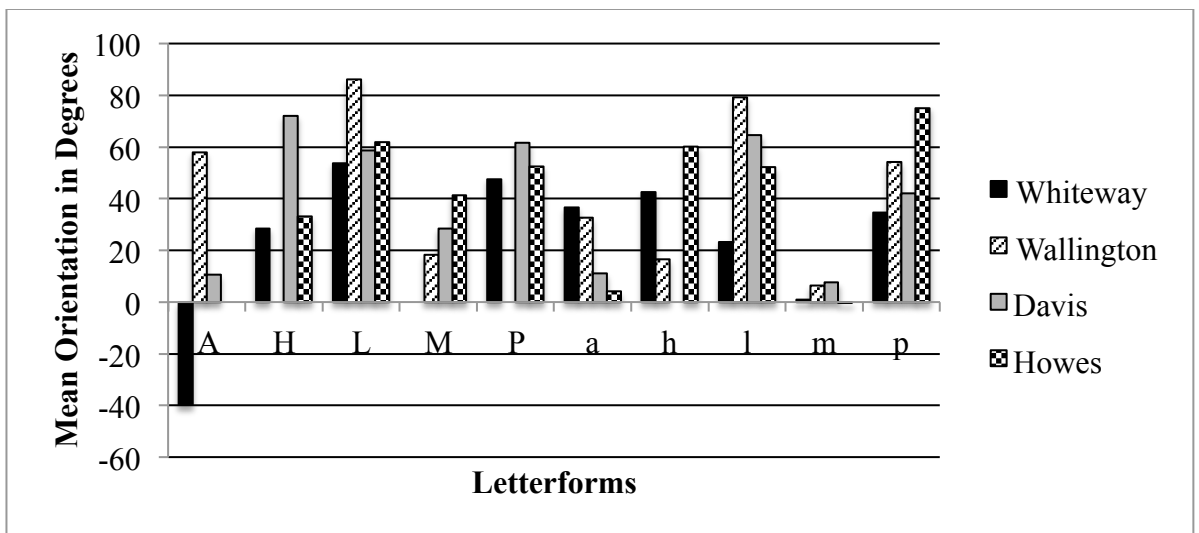
Chart 4.7. Mean Orientation in Degrees.
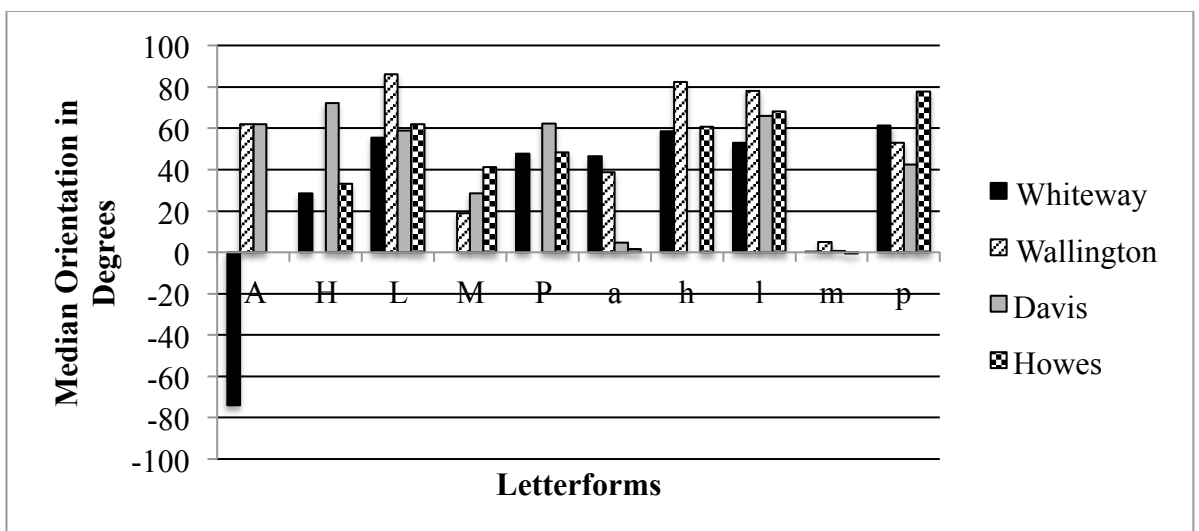
Chart 4.8. Median Orientation in Degrees.

For the majority of letterforms, particularly those holding ascending and descending strokes, all officeholders sampled demonstrate letters that are italicised to the right. This suggests that they are writing at speed, compiling materials quickly.[172] The speed of writing could also be related to the manner in which many of their extracts are from other texts. This means that the choosing of the correct extract to compile might take time, but the actual copying would take place quickly without the necessity of thinking about what to write. The only clear anomaly to this rule is again for Whiteway's sample, where he demonstrates a left-leaning capital letter 'A'. As the mean and median values are similar for this letter, it appears that this tilt is part of his natural hand. It also suggests that when using capital 'A's in his diary Whiteway orientates the paper slightly to the right in order to enable him to perform the required order of strokes.

Overall, it is clear that the emphasis in handwriting at home for officeholders is speed and legibility. Across the samples, officeholders show similar measurements across upper and lowercase letters and a consistency, which suggests that, on the whole, they are not embellishing their capital letters like scribes writing for an employer. The difference between capital letter use by officeholders writing at home, in comparison to the elaborate uppercase letterforms used by scribes in the previous two chapters, suggests a division between 'public' (in the sense that it is practiced for an employer) writing, and 'private' (practiced at home for friends and family) writing. The 'private' writing of officeholders is defined by its clarity and plainness, and the manner in which it is completed as a hobby, whereas 'public' handwriting caters to the aesthetic

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[172] Parkes, *Their Hands*, p.154.

expectations of an institution or employer. This seems to manifest in the results for capital letter samples, where officeholders' uppercase and lowercase letters do not demonstrate such strikingly different characteristics in comparison with those letterforms studied for Chapters Two and Three.

The consistency these officeholders show in their writing, particularly William Whiteway, converses with the habitual nature of their compilation. By regularly practicing writing, officeholders would develop a consistent, natural hand, and perform, in handwriting, the diligence and perseverance that would also be important to their role within a community. In doing this, these officeholders would also develop an understanding of how to use tools in their writing that would be 'fit' for their hand, with Whiteway, for example, cutting a small quill tip to assist with the tiny handwriting he uses in his diary. Through writing, officeholders could perform their identities as responsible, educated men in their communities. Their writing demonstrates how habits started in their schooling continued into their adult lives, with the development of natural hands to compile information in an efficient, legible manner. As such, some of the qualities of good handwriting, like a swift pen, clear hand, and consistency, can certainly be seen in officeholders' practices, suggesting that the dialogue over what constituted good practice was not restricted to these printed manuals, but carried into the domestic writing worlds of individuals.

4.7.ii. *Ink*

Ink also has an impact on writing, and this is a material that scribes experiment with, which can be seen in their compilation of recipes. As explained in Chapter One, ink was available for people to buy, but there were numerous

recipes circulating in print and manuscript form for scribes to try. Knowledge of how to make ink could be individual to a scribe, and relied on repeated practice and improvisation. From the perspective of Pamela Smith's 'artisanal literacy' or Tim Ingold's 'personal knowledge', ink-making was a skill that was practised and developed over time. Recipes, although they cannot specify making actions and perceptions as they were physically experienced by the ink-maker, do demonstrate the role of discretion and taste in their verbal expression.[173] Writing down an ink-making process reduces the interrelationship between time, the body, ingredients, and environment to a material trace upon a page that is difficult to unpick. Through situating the ink on a page within an individual's household context, it is possible to begin to explore some of the factors that are important to these person-specific making practices.

In manuscript form, recipes perform individual discretion and practice. One of the ways in which discretion is presented through written instructions, is in the repetition of recipes that demonstrate altered features after a making attempt. One officeholder who compiles multiple ink recipes within their commonplace book is Thomas Davis. For Davis, it is clear that ink-making is a household task due to references to specific spaces, objects, and practices within his recipes or adjacent to them. Ink-making, for Davis, is a practice that interacts with his home environment, falling into his daily practices and becoming associated with particular tools he possesses. An example of this is Davis' '2 lyttle black stone pots is ye waight of a q[uarte]r of a pint of water/ the lyttle blew stone pot is iust quarter of water'.[174] These objects are ascribed meaning

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[173] Ingold, *Making*, p.115; and Smith, *Artisan*, p.8.
[174] BL, MS Lansdowne 674, fol. 47ʳ.

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and purpose in the ink-making process due to their weight and ability to help measure appropriate quantities of ingredients.

In relating practice to these pots, there is the sense that individual experiences of recipes are intricately entwined with the environments in which they take place, and the materials that are present within these spaces. The relationship between Davis and these pots can be situated within Lambros Malafouris' notion of agency as 'an emergent property', where, at the moment Davis uses them, the pots possess agency.[175] These black and blue stone pots have size qualities that make them fit for use. In reality, it does not matter whether these pots represent exactly one quarter of a pint, rather, that they represent an appropriate quantity. Davis' spatially situated practice also comes through in his reference to a specific space in one of his recipes where he writes that he let an ink mixture 'stand in the rooch 3 daies till the wort/ was coloured black then took ther out'.[176] A 'rooch' denotes a 'cave' or 'tunnel', suggesting a dark space in which Davis leaves the mixture. As a place, 'rooch' along with the definite article 'the' indicates a space known by this name for Davis, a place that he uses for the purpose of allowing the ink to colour. Davis also knows the time at which the ink reaches the shade he desires, using his eye to decide when it is black enough to use.

Davis' use of wort, as the liquid element, also gives this sense of ink-making being situated within his household spaces, where ink and beer production are interrelated.[177] It is clear from his will that Davis owned a large quantity of land and tenements, including some woodland from which he might have gathered galls, so it would certainly not have been remarkable for him to

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[175] Malafouris, 'Potter's Wheel', p.34.
[176] BL, MS Lansdowne 674, fol.2^v.
[177] Wort is sugar water made at the start of the brewing process before fermentation.

produce a variety of foodstuffs for his own household and to be sold.[178] Indeed,

Mark Overton *et al* argue that high status families 'kept a well-equipped brew-

house and produced large quantities of beer' for their 'household and estate

employees'.[179] Davis, as a yeoman, could well have fallen into this category of

brewer. It is also unclear as to whether Davis might be running a tavern (in

Easton in Gordano) – due to the quantity of political verses, rhymes about malt,

and card games – another enterprise that would demand the brewing of beer. In

either situation, by choosing to use a liquid he makes himself, Davis connects

two kinds of practices – brewing and writing – both of which would be markers

of his yeoman status.[180] Here, decision-making becomes linked with space and

status in an expressive way, with the very ink Davis uses to communicate

imbued with a substance that he produces in enough quantity to use in both ink

and beer.

The entwining of self, materials, and writing is thus brought together

through the appearance and existence of Davis' written recipes. Here, he often

records a recipe for ink he has recently made, creating a material fingerprint for

his making practice and drawing a link between production, time, and person.

Davis often also records the date upon which ink is finished, and signs his name

underneath, reinforcing the relationship of ink-making to his life. For example:

> This inke was made ye 11th of march 1625
> With a pint of wort
> 2oz galles
> 1oz copperas
> 1oz gum Tho. Dauis.[181]

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[178] See NA, Prob/11/329/571, fol.1[v].
[179] Overton et al., p.35.
[180] Overton et al, comment on these places as being spaces in which brewing equipment is found, p.35.
[181] BL, Lansdowne MS 674, fol.46[r].

'This ink' draws attention to the fact that the ink that appears on the folio has been made by Davis. His recordkeeping of ink-making in this way provides a verbal record of his practices, but also a visual one, where a reader might judge the success of the recipe from its appearance on the page.

Within Davis' ink recipes, practice and material evidence combine in the physical presence of ink on the folios. Understanding the material processes that go into making ink goes beyond the text, and into his home environment, alongside other activities and objects that inhabit it. Davis demonstrates how writing practice and preparation for writing in the making of ink are entwined with other household activities, particularly the brewing of beer. As a man of yeoman status, his use of wort is a significant personalisation of his material world of writing. Skill at ink-making, then, is not merely the repeated practice of a recipe, but a personal expression of the ink-maker's own situation within space, and their relationship to tools, materials, and ingredients. As such, it is important to extend Pamela Smith's assertion that:

> The goal of a practitioner's repeated trial and error was "skill," that is, a capacity of "judgement" that made him able to improvise in response to the contingencies of the […] materials.[182]

Skill in the case of Davis, and other early modern ink-makers, is not only the capacity to improvise, and the development of material judgement that Smith speaks of, but the ability to make ink that is fit for use for an individual hand. Thus, skill becomes the development of discretion between materials within an environment, in order to create a recipe that fits the tools and ingredients present. Within this environment, a material's extrinsic and intrinsic meanings are

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[182] Smith, 'Making Things', p.197.

released in its use. Wort, for example, becomes a signifier of Davis' wider household activities as well as a useful liquid element for ink.

Practice-based research experiments can further extend how recipes are understood. Practice-based approaches to material culture, where processes are tested by researchers who often collaborate with practitioners in the trying of instructions contained in historical texts, have been brought to the fore recently by two high-profile projects – the *Making and Knowing* Project led by Pamela Smith and the *ARTECHNE* project led by Sven Dupré.[183] As those working on the *Making and Knowing* project argue, 'simply having the legible text of a recipe is often insufficient for understanding either the process being described or the desired product'.[184] In the case of Thomas Davis' ink, although we have a notion of the steps involved and the final product, in the sense that he used this ink to write, it is difficult to grasp its material qualities as a liquid, rather than as it appears on the page. Its manifestation on the page is also complicated in the way it slowly erodes the paper beneath it and turns from a bluish hue to shades of brown over time.[185] Further, they argue that 'reconstructions have fostered perceptive reading modes', shedding light on verbs and adjectives used to convey processes in writing.[186]

So, in making one of Davis' ink recipes, what can be learnt about the relationship between his written record and the substance he produces? And what challenges emerge from the non-specific terms used to convey material qualities

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[183] See their project websites: <http://www.makingandknowing.org/≥> and <http://artechne.wp.hum.uu.nl/≥> [accessed 20/07/2017].
[184] Donna Bilak, Jenny Boulboullé, Joel Klein and Pamela H. Smith, 'The Making and Knowing Project: Reflections, Methods, and New Directions', *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History & Material Culture*, 23.1 (2016), 35-55 (p.37).
[185] For information about the acidity of ink and its effect on premodern paper see: <https://irongallink.org/igi_indexfed1.html> [accessed 20/11/2017].
[186] Bilak et al, p.41.

or actions within his recipes? In producing a recipe from the manuscript, it is important to state that accuracy cannot be the aim, not only because the environment in which the ink is being made is far removed from Davis' home, but also because a perfect reconstruction is not possible. The making experience for each person and for an individual over time is always changing. It is also the case that we assume the instructions left in printed and manuscript texts are there to be used. Pamela Smith writes that processes are hard to capture in writing because they require 'acute observation and attention to the circumstances of the ephemeral moment'.[187] However, assuming that Davis was paying this kind of attention to his practices in order to capture 'the circumstances of the ephemeral moment', in the sense that he is trying to hold onto the actions involved in ink-making, is problematic. It assumes that he is writing these recipes down in order to reflect on his practices. The very details Davis captures within his recipes are those like measurements for each ingredient, time spent, and occasionally the places in which to keep the mixture. These are not concentrated reflections on intricate processes, rather memoranda of the bare bones required to produce ink so that he can remember the quantities and timings to use. As such, Davis is not being specific about the making process, and this means that reconstructing one of his recipes is not that far removed from his own improvisational ink-making practices.

In order to make Davis' ink recipe, I collaborated with forensic scientist Michael Went to explore ink-making within a lab environment, drawing on the chemical knowledge of the lab technicians in making the recipe. The recipe used

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[187] Pamela Smith, 'In the Workshop of History: Making, Writing, and Meaning', *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History & Material Culture*, 19.1 (2012), 4-31 (p.7).

was the most intricate of all the recipes within Davis' manuscript, and is as follows:

> The 9th Jan 1646 being Saturday a pint of woorte of the first shut letting it stand until the evening to settle & then pwred out the cleere from the ground w[hi]ch cleere wort being a iust quarter of a pint I put into a very cleane earthern pott and put therto hald an oz of galls grosly bruised and stirred it very well thrice a day of 3 daies together. Then upon the 12th day in the evening being Tuesday I put therto a quarter of an oz of coppas and stirred it very well thrice a day for other 3 daies just until Friday in the evening at w[hi]ch time I put into it a quarter of an oz of gome arabick and stirred it very well for other 3 daies. Thrice a day and now this present Tuesday being the 19th of Jan it is fytt for use. [188]

The first feature of this recipe that becomes apparent when looking at how to make this ink is that the days do not add up. There are 10 days between the first date Davis mentions and the last, but the recipe demands 18 days. It seems Davis, in his subsequent recording of the recipe, forgot upon which date he started making it. The labour involved in the making of the ink is also clear to see, with Davis having to stir the ink three times a day during the process. To avoid the complications of stirring at specific times, Michael suggested we use a glass beaker and an electric stirrer in the place of an earthen pot and hand stirrer to lessen the need for constant attention and so that it would be easier to see the reactions within the mixture at each stage. The wort I sourced from Canterbury Brewers in a gesture to Davis' local sourcing of materials.[189]

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[188] BL, MS Lansdowne 674, fol. 44v.
[189] Thank you to John Mills, head brewer at Canterbury Brewers for sharing his expertise and wort.

Figure 4.9. Broken galls. Picture my own.

In making the ink, the key issue with specifying material qualities and actions in words became clear, challenging how we might transfer abstract terms into specificities. For example, 'grossly bruised' (in reference to the oak galls) could have multiple connotations, with the *OED* definition of 'grossly' giving applicable meanings like 'coarsely' and 'roughly'.[190] As a result, rather than breaking the galls to a powder, I broke them open in a pestle and mortar to get the uneven sample visible in Figure 4.9. On occasion, the opposite happened, with the meaning of adjectives becoming clearer on encountering a material, with for example, the meaning of 'cleere' before 'wort' becoming obvious when looking at the wort, which was full of particles and sediment that had to be left to settle in order to get a clear sample. Equally, the ratio of galls to liquid proved surprising, being almost equal. This meant that the mixture was very thick and turned a rich black upon adding the copperas.[191] The resulting ink was a very dense, textured substance. This is visually gestured to in the resulting trace of the recipe within the manuscript, where, even after the ink's decay over time, it still appears remarkably dark and thick.

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[190] 'Grossly' (adv.), *OED*.
[191] Iron II Sulphate. Section 1.3.ii in the introduction discusses black ink ingredients in detail.

In making the ink, what became clear is the rhythm of ink-making for Davis, and how it would have punctuated his routine, with his checking of it three times each day during the making process. This labour-intensive practice involved a lot of time and energy which is particularly surprising when considering that Davis was only making enough ink for his own use, and perhaps the consumption of some of his household, and hints again at the amount of leisure time he had. It also demonstrates that non-specific adjectives for describing processes could make parts of a recipe difficult to interpret even with the ingredient in hand. This is important in terms of considering the manner in which a verbal record interacts with its material world, where, at times, the relationship gestures towards the familiarity of the maker with the materials used.
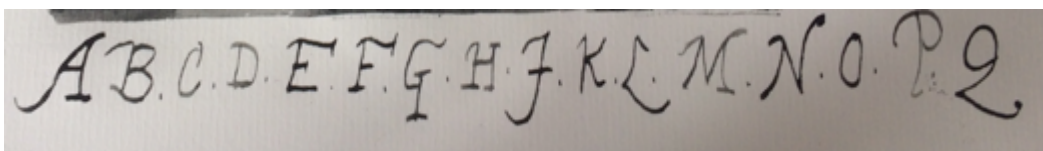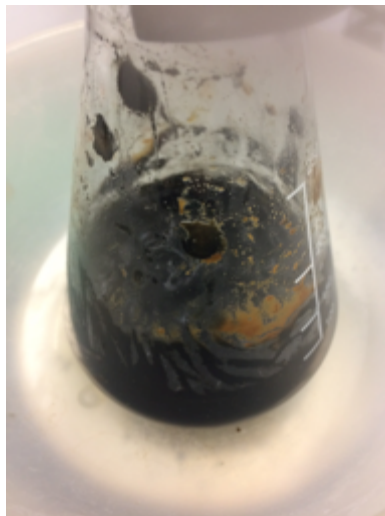
Figure 4.10. Finished ink/ Ink in use. Own photographs.

It is worth ending this exploration of Davis' ink-making by thinking about how writing and doing interact with his social status. Pamela Smith has said that technical writings:

> Sometimes sought to teach how to do something, but often they just proclaimed that "doing" is a legitimate activity, of high status, which can be expressed in written form.[192]

The act of writing being a legitimising process is important as it gives significance to certain processes within Davis' manuscript, one of which is ink-making. However, writing itself had certain connotations as an activity those of middling or elite status had access to. Equally, the material culture of writing and the processes involved in getting ink appropriate to the hand, were vital to a resulting manuscript and to how an individual's writing would appear. The attainment and demonstration of this skill was connected to the expression of a person's good character. Thus, taking care in the making – then subsequent description – of ink plays into this context of 'legitimisation' of skill, or the holding of knowledge that suggests Davis has a certain privileged social status and moral authority. As such, officeholders' engagement with the materials and practice of writing fits within a context where perceptions of authority and morality were entwined with the outward demonstration of skill.

4.8. The Compilation of Verse: Literature Embedded

Throughout this chapter, officeholders' identities, as expressed within their paper books, place scribes as the protagonists in a series of events. Officeholders' concern with moral and social improvement, and the impact of

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[192] Smith, 'In the Workshop', p.10.

wider political cultures with their own positions of governance, can be seen seeping into their reading of literature. Thomas Davis and William Whiteway, in particular, demonstrate a keen interest in a variety of verse forms, and their copying of poetry is entwined with their moral concerns and political perspectives.

For example, Thomas Davis compiles the poem 'A Somersetshire Man's Complaint', a political verse in a Somerset dialect.[193] His poem also appears in two seventeenth-century printed copies, but with striking differences to the poem compiled within Davis' manuscript. The latest dated entry towards the back of the manuscript is 1646 and the earliest entry is 1618, with this poem falling somewhere in between these dates. Of the extant printed copies, one is dated 1656, placing it far later than the manuscript copy and also after the administration of Davis' will.[194] It is titled 'The Western Husband-man's Complaint in the Late Wars' situating it after the civil war in its placement within this volume, unlike Davis' compilation of the verses, and his title that specifies 'Somersetshire' as its origin.[195] The other printed copy is more difficult to place. It appears in a single printed sheet: a cheap edition that could easily be distributed to spread Royalist sympathies, or conversely mock those holding them, through the satirical presentation of an unhappy husbandman.[196] An annotation on the sheet in a seventeenth-century hand situates it in time and place: 'London 5th March 1644'.[197] As such, it is likely this printed sheet is

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[193] A full transcription can be seen in Appendix Two.
[194] R.P., *Choyce Drollery, Songs & Sonnets being a Collection of Divers Excellent Pieces of Poetry, of Severall Eminent Authors, never before printed* (London: J.G. for Robert Pollard and John Sweeting, 1656), pp.57-59. Preface states however that 'thy grateful reception of our first collection hath induced us to a second essay of the same nature', A2.
[195] R.P, *Choyce*, p.57.
[196] Anon, *The Western Husbandmans Lamentation* (London: S.N, 1644 or 45).
[197] Ibid.

almost contemporary with the poem within the manuscript. However, it also removes the poem from a specific place, again using the more generic 'Western' in the title. Judging by the annotation, this copy was received and printed in London, far from Davis' home. Due to the dialect present within Davis' compilation, which is also used within the printed versions, and due to the situation of the poem within his locale, it is likely that Davis is not copying from a printed copy of this verse.

Differences that are apparent between the printed and the manuscript copies reinforce this idea, due to the significant diversions. The most obvious are that the third and fourth verses within the manuscript copy are in reverse order compared to the one on the printed sheet, and that, unlike the printed copy, the manuscript uses idioms like 'Gods Boddikins', 'Gods zores', and 'Gods bores', that the printed text avoids. Subtler but very significant differences in the manuscript text certainly make Davis' version either a poem copied from another manuscript, or one he has heard orally. This is due to the manner in which some of the words within it only make sense when said aloud like 'vree' for 'free', 'chill' for 'I'll', 'voeld' for 'field', and 'voke' for 'folk'.[198] These terms are distinctly colloquial, and probably from a Somerset dialect. They also fit with the metrical rhythm and rhyme-scheme, where here, at times, the need to keep to the verse's musicality overcomes its sense: 'Ire had ripe oxen tother day' has less musicality in the printed version, that reads: 'I had zix oxen tother day'.[199]

These differences suggest that the verse, as Davis compiles it, is one circulating within his local Somerset community, perhaps both orally and in manuscript copies. According to David Cressy, songs written on paper criticising

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[198] BL, MS Lansdowne 674, fols 21ᵛ-23ᵛ.
[199] Ibid., fol. 23ʳ, Anon, *A*.

parliament were circulated in West Country taverns and, as it is not entirely certain whether Davis was brewing for his household or for the running of an alehouse, his access to, and recording of, these rhymes could suggest his situation within a drinking community.[200] Equally, he records other verses that also hold similar civil war sentiments, like part of 'The Parliament Fart', a poem that circulated widely in print and manuscript during the civil war period.[201] The compilation of this poem, feeds not just into Davis' political situation as an officeholder, but also into his daily experience of listening to these verses as well as perhaps gaining manuscript copies from his peers. His copying of this verse is important because it suggests he wishes to remember it. Indeed, Davis suggests his approval of it in the final word he adds below: 'verum' meaning 'reality' or 'fact' in Latin, certifying its reliable approximation of the current political situation from his perspective.[202]

Likewise, Whiteway also compiles a variety of verses where it is not clear whether he is gaining them from manuscript copies, or from listening to them being sung. For example:

> 1.
> The blacke Jacke the merry blacke Jack
> As it is tost on hy a
> Grows-flowers-till at last thi fall to blows
> And make their noddles cry a
> 2.
> The browne bowl the merry browne bowle
> As it goes round about a
> Till-still-lit thi world say what it will
> And drinke the drinke all out a
> 3.
> The deep can the merry deepe can

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[200] Cressy, *England,* p.331. Adam Fox writes of the connection between verse libel and alehouses in: 'Popular Ridicule in Early Modern England', *Past and Present,* 145 (1994), 47-83 (p.72).
[201] BL, MS Lansdowne 674, fol.19ᵛ. See 'Early Stuart Libels Online': < http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/parliament_fart_section/C1i.html>. [accessed 20/11/2017].
[202] BL, Lansdowne MS 674, fol.23ᵛ.

> As we do freely quaff a
> Fling – sing – be merry as a king
> And sound a lusty laugh a[203]

This is a drinking song, again appropriate for the activities taking place within a tavern. It is clearly for singing or speaking aloud, with the 'a' at the end of every other line leading each part into the next on a sustained sound. Again, like the previous verse, this does appear in a copy printed in 1656. But, as Whiteway compiles this in July 1620, the printed version is not his source, despite the similarities. Whiteway likely either heard it or copied it from another manuscript.[204]

    This song's situation within Whiteway's diary is also interesting because it comes just after his recording of an event in Hampshire where:

> a company of drunkards […] hanges up one of their Companions by the wast, and powred drinke into his mouth, so that they killed him with itt. And neare that tyme and Place another dranke himself starke deade, a Gentleman.[205]

Here there is a juxtaposition between this account – which warns against the dangers of excessive drinking – and a merry song, which sits alongside this warning. This contrast leads the reader to take the verses as a satire on excessive consumption of alcohol, with the movement of the black jack in hand growing and flowering as the drinking progresses, leading to the reveller becoming 'merry as a king' – suggesting alcohol's ability to make a man transgress his social standing.[206] In placing an entry about the Hampshire deaths next to this

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[203] BL, MS Egerton 784, fol.13[r].

[204] John Phillips, *Sportive vvit the muses merriment, a new spring of lusty drollery, joviallfancies, and a la mode lamponnes, on some heroic persons of these late times, never before exposed to the publick view / collected for the publick good by a club of sparkling wits, viz. C.J., B.J., L.M., W.T., cum multis alsis* (London: Nath. Brook, 1656), C2.

[205] BL, MS Egerton 784, fol.13[r].

[206] Ibid., fol.13[r].

song, we get a sense of Whiteway's interpretation of it as satire, and his sense of moral duty to keep note of the dangers of excessive indulgence.

In addition, Whiteway records libel verse within his commonplace book; verses that would have been in circulation in the civil war parliamentarian circles of Dorchester.[207] A particular target for the libel Whiteway records is the Duke of Buckingham, who is described as a 'traitor' (even compared to 'Judas') after his failed campaigns in Spain.[208] This is echoed in the news he records within his diary, with a long 1624 account describing the duke as a man who has 'dishonoured' the king.[209] It seems the news he receives directly influences his enjoyment and subsequent commonplacing of libel about Buckingham, with the libel verse making hyperbole out of the Duke of Buckingham's poor work and subsequent assassination.[210] Whiteway's cultural life is then interwoven with the political and moral issues that he is interested in, finding a meeting point in verse libel. These libel verses also provide a means through which professional interests and leisure pursuits can be combined within these manuscripts. Earlier in the chapter, Walter Yonge's citation of John Felton's speech after the Duke of Buckingham's testimony suggested how his role as MP was entwined with his writing. Here, Whiteway is copying the same information but in a vivid, celebratory form. Another very important aspect of both Whiteway's and Davis' copying of verse libel is that they provide manuscript witnesses to ephemeral publications.[211] In copying verses into their manuscripts, these men ensure their

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[207] Underdown, *Fire,* pp.27-32 and Appendix Two for Transcriptions.
[208] CUL, Dd.11.73, fols 67ᵛ-69ʳ.
[209] 12ᵗʰ February 1623, BL, MS Egerton 784, fol.39ʳ.
[210] Roger Lockyer, 'George Villiers, first duke of Buckingham', *ODNB*. Clare Egan writes that libel functions through 'humiliation' in '"Now Fearing Neither Friend Nor Foe, To The Worldes Viewe These Verses Goe': Mapping Libel Performance in Early-Modern Devon', *Medieval English Theatre*, 36 (2014), 70-103 (p.70).
[211] For a discussion of verse libel as ephemeral. See Fox, p.51.

survival for their friends' and families' continued enjoyment of them long after the printed or other scribal copies were lost, and the local oral culture had replaced them with newer alternatives.

In compiling verses within their manuscripts, then, these officeholders not only demonstrate their entwinement within the oral, manuscript, and printed forms of text about them, but also suggest an engagement with moral and political topics. The fact that these verses probably came from manuscript or oral culture indicates that verses were transferred amongst a community. The examples within manuscripts point to a wider provincial literary culture that would be lost if it were not for these records. Writing, here, not only becomes an important marker of office-holding status, but of these men's position within a social world where verses and songs were shared. Entries by Adam Winthrop into his diary in 1601 suggest how these kinds of verses might have been transferred, with his writing that 'the vth of June Mr Powle did showe me an infamous libel written in Ry[d]ing verses made' and later in the year writes that:

> the xxth day [of December] my brother Alibast[er] came to my house &
> toulde me yt hi made fayre inglishe verses in his sleepe w[hi]ch he
> enacted unto me & I lent him____XLs[212]

Here Winthrop experiences the transference of text both through manuscript copies and orally, with the verses Alibaster recites to him lost as soon as they are told. Winthrop's literary experience is bound up with a financial memorandum that he lends his brother forty shillings – the financial matter recorded in his account book with the associated event of hearing the verses.

Through the practice of writing, these officeholders place themselves within an intertextual, privileged world – their manuscripts sitting alongside

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[212] BL, Add MS 37419, fols 23ᵛ and 28ᵛ.

other books, papers, and printed materials that they own, borrow, and share. Often these manuscripts represent the materialising of oral culture that would be lost apart from these records. These manuscripts interacted with that culture precisely because it was the occupational context in which these officeholders lived, and a verbal world they were familiar with. Cultural, occupational, and moral lives were interrelated for these officeholders, finding an outlet in the repeated practice of writing, through which their reading material is digested, filed, and arranged for transmission.

4.9. Conclusion

This chapter set out to interpret the practices of writing in the individual household contexts of officeholders of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Focusing on multiple individuals has enabled the close analysis of the kinds of material and textual practices involved in the keeping of a paper book. By approaching a selection of manuscripts, it is clear that writing as an act and occupation is tied to officeholders' identities within their communities, where the recording of news, an understanding of historical events pertinent to their locale, and interest in governance would be essential to their performance of authority. Officeholders' paper books are an important expression of their authority and interests, and give an insight into their information gathering. Yonge's and Whiteway's diaries, for example, are the final step in a process of collecting and organising text.

In terms of space, this chapter has argued that officeholders would have sites within their houses marked for writing, and that these places would characterise the close attention needed to create accurate records, read, and

organise texts. I have imagined officeholders as being in studies and closets, surrounded by notes, files, books, and pamphlets: an environment that would facilitate their recordkeeping in commonplace books and diaries. A sense of writing environments was gained from Devon and Bristol inventories, which evince that wealthy men living in the Southwest of England created spaces in which to engage in writing. The act of writing, for these men, is spatially specific, and important to their identities as officeholders of high social status in their locales. Their habitual writing, in spaces created for this purpose, also entwined the manuscript-making practice with patriarchal urban authority, where men in positions of office, of minor gentry, or of middling status, might write as a means of expressing their identities as powerful, literate, patriarchs and appropriate moral exemplars. Writing is also habitual for them, in the sense that there is a clear pattern of collecting, copying, and organising information over time, and they write to share information with their peers. This is exemplified in Whiteway's brother's annotating of his chronology after his death, followed by Denis Bond's use of the form to create his continuing chronicle. As such, future work in this area could develop our understanding of the meanings of public and private for these writers, with Whiteway's 'priuate' chronology clearly being utilised by others in his community.

In choosing to make a manuscript, these officeholders give a significant insight into the importance of literacy to their lives and daily practices, both as an indication of their social status and education, and as a means through which they can craft a version of their lives. Officeholders' writings were entwined with other 'doings' in their houses, something that Thomas Davis' ink-making and

beer-brewing revealed, becoming part of a set of activities carried out during the day.

Overall, this chapter has considered the textual/material practices of officeholders working at a provincial level in early modern England. From this, it is clear that those of middling or lower gentry status need further attention, in order to give a wider impression of the way in which manuscript practices and text are transferred at this social level. The innovation and importance of writing amongst officeholders is significant to their home identities and the way in which they interact with the world, socially and materially. Occupationally, they are a distinct group, using texts on topics pertaining to governance as a means of mapping their identities in manuscript form. The way in which these manuscript identities are expressed also demonstrates the importance of scribal innovation, and individuality, in the sense that each scribe is rooted in a place, where their access to reading materials and their responses are informed by their social world. The Image Processing experiment within this chapter, where the writing quality emphasised legibility and speed, also fits within the household context in which officeholders write, where writing is habitually performed for recording important events, recipes, or experiences. Decorative, individualised touches in handwriting would not be as important to these officeholders, as perhaps they would be for clerks and arms-drawers whose identities would not always be clear from the content of the documents they craft.

The next chapter remains situated within domestic spaces, but moves up the social scale into the context of the elite household, and its literate servants. Due to the volume of evidence for the Cranfield household, who are the focus of the chapter, it is possible to gain a very intricate picture of the writing practices

and habits of servants, who demonstrate some very similar practices to the officeholders discussed in this chapter.

Literate Servants

5.1: Introduction

For my accompts, though they be not clarklike: yet I conceaue them so plain and distinct, as I hope they shall giue yor l[ordshi]p satisfaction.[1]

In a letter to Lionel Cranfield, sent from Milcote house in Warwickshire, Thomas Catchmay apologises for his accounts, calling them 'not clarklike'. 'Clerk-like' is a term that means, in the positive sense, to do a task in a scholarly or experienced manner, or, in the negative sense, to be too elaborate or cunning.[2] Here, Thomas Catchmay draws a distinction between his own presentation and the accounts produced by professional clerks, suggesting that his own are not as aesthetically pleasing in their appearance, but 'plain' and 'distinct', and should not be subject to the negative meanings associated with the term. Accurate account keeping was an essential part of a steward's role, and their ability to complete this task to their employer's satisfaction was tied to their reputation as a servant.[3] Honesty and clarity were also important aspects of financial accounting in this period, and were enacted through 'conformity to […] existing patterns and expectations', with a consistent form of neat columns and accurate sums followed throughout. Organised accounts, as Adam Smyth has observed, were a 'moral act'

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[1] Thomas Catchmay to Lionel Cranfield, KHLC, U269/1 E111. Letter dated 10th August 1626.

[2] 'Clerk-like' (adj. and adv.), 1a and b, *OED.*

[3] Felicity Maxwell describes a servant's central duty as 'to please'. This is a useful way to think of literate servant's document-making and the care spent on ensuring clarity and accuracy. 'Household Words: Textualising Social Relations in the Correspondence of Bess of Hardwick's Servants, c. 1550-1590' (Glasgow, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, 2014), p. 104.

and a manner of 'projecting' a person's truthfulness to an audience of readers.[4]

This was especially pertinent in elite household contexts, where literate servants –

like Catchmay – made accounts for their employer, displaying their worth and,

simultaneously, an ordered picture of the estate's finances.

For Catchmay, writing was an important part of his job as one of

Cranfield's estate stewards, and the vital role writing played in the running of the

elite estate is the focus of this chapter. The source base for this study is the

archive for Lionel Cranfield, First Earl of Middlesex, and this study explores his

literate servants' work. Servants – such as stewards, bailiffs, secretaries, and

clerks – generated a large proportion of documents within estate archives, but

their textual practices have rarely received close attention.[5] Furthermore, much of

the scholarship that explores the scribal work of servants has focused on the role

of the secretary as a scribe within an elite household, and as a keeper of political

and estate secrets.[6] This chapter aims to place the range of literate servants within

an elite household in conversation with one another, to explore how structures of

servants and administrative processes function in this context. As Catherine Bates

argues, in post-Reformation England there was a 'newly educated professional

and secular class' for whom writing was an important skill for the demonstration

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[4] Smyth, *Autobiography,* pp.66 and 69.

[5] Exceptions include: Daniel Starza Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers: Patronage and Manuscript Circulation in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), Maxwell, 'Household Words'; Catherine Bates, 'Literature and the Court', in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature,* ed. by David Lowenstein and Janel Mueller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp.343-373; Paul E. Hammer, 'The Uses of Scholarship: The Secretariat of Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, 1585-1601', *English Historical Review,* 430 (Feb, 1994), 26-52; Paul E. Hammer, 'The Earl of Essex, Faulke Greville, and the Employment of Scholars', *Studies in Philology,* 91.2 (Spring, 1994), 167-180; Alan Smith, 'The Secretariats of the Cecils, Circa 1580-1612', *English Historical Review,* 83.328 (1968), 481-504; Goldberg, *Writing Matter*; Julie Crawford, 'Women's Secretaries', in *Queer Renaissance Historiography: Backward Gaze,* ed. by Vin Nardizzi, Stephen Guy-Bray, and Will Stockton (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), pp.111-134; Daybell, *Material Letter*; Wiggins, *Bess of Hardwick*; and Stewart, 'Closet'.

[6] Hammer, p.26; Crawford; Stewart, 'Closet'.

of their 'intelligence, learning and intellectual clout'.[7] Outside of the corporation, the guild, the government, and the Church, the home was one of the sites where administrative structures developed.

This study focuses closely on the archive pertaining to the estates of Lionel Cranfield and, as such, it cannot be seen as representative of every elite household. However, comparisons are drawn between individuals working within other houses where necessary, to explore how far textual practices are shared across estates.[8] The estate papers for the Cranfield Family (1575-1645) are held at Kent History and Library Centre as part of the Sackville Collection.[9] The documents survive in the collection, because Cranfield's daughter (from his second marriage to Anne Brett), Frances, married Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset, in 1637 and the couple produced Cranfield's only male grandchild.[10] These documents were then kept at Knole House until the mid-twentieth century.[11]

Work on this archive has focused on Lionel Cranfield biographically and politically, and on the architecture of his properties.[12] Some of the Cranfield papers are also published in mid-twentieth-century calendars up to 1612, though this chapter principally centres on papers produced between 1618 and 1645, when

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[7] Bates, pp.345-346.

[8] In particular I draw comparisons with the steward of Thomas Temple at Burton Dasset, Henry Rose, the tutor to the Pagets, Careys and Berkeleys, Henry Stanford, and with Alison Wiggins' work in *Bess*.

[9] KHLC, falling under classmarks U269, and U269/1.

[10] Rebecca Roberts, '"Two Meane Fellows Grand Projectors"': the Self-Projection of Sir Arthur Ingram and Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, 1600-1645, with Particular Reference to their Houses', (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Teeside University, 2012), p. 78.

[11] There are other archives that hold some of the estate's documents: Lambeth Palace Library, The National Archives, The Huntington Library and Gloucestershire Records Office are referenced in this chapter.

[12] Roberts, Menna Prestwich, *Cranfield: Politics and Profits Under the Early Stuarts, The Career of Lionel Cranfield Earl of Middlesex* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966); R.H. Tawney, *Business and Politics Under James 1: Lionel Cranfield as Merchant and Minister* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958).

Cranfield employs a large number of literate servants.[13] This chapter builds upon, and is enabled by, this work, as the lives of literate servants are entwined with Lionel Cranfield's biography. As a result, it is essential to briefly outline Cranfield's life and some of the properties in his large estate, in order to place his literate servants within a social and spatial context.

Lionel Cranfield was not born into a noble family and did not inherit the title of Earl. Rather, Cranfield was born into a London mercantile context, becoming a freeman of the mercers' company in 1597. He then went on to enter the Middle Temple in 1618, at the age of 43, in preparation for his entry into high politics. His experience of these two strands of education enabled him to become a successful merchant, and an officeholder. After the death of his first wife, Cranfield married Anne Brett, cousin to the Duke of Buckingham in 1620, and this coincided with Cranfield's gaining of the offices: Master of the Wardrobe (1618-21), Master of the Court of Wards (1619-24), and Lord Treasurer (1621-1624), whilst also becoming a Privy Councillor (1620-25).[14] At this time, Cranfield also gained titles and became Earl of Middlesex in 1622. By then, he was a very rich man with a yearly income estimated at £28,000, and with his accumulated estates, a fortune of £102,400.[15] In 1624, however, Cranfield fell from office, after being accused of corruption, and was fined £20,000.[16]After this, although he was still a rich man, he did not manage to gain high office again.[17]

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[13] *Calendar of the Manuscripts of Major-General Lord Sackville K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., preserved at Knole, Sevenoaks, Kent. Volume 1: Cranfield Papers 1551-1612*, ed. by A.P Newton, HMC 80, (London: HMSO, 1940); and *Calendar of the Manuscripts of The Right Honourable Lord Sackville of Knowle, Sevenoaks, Kent, Volume II: Letters Relating to Lionel Cranfield's Business Overseas, 1597-1612,* ed. by F. J. Fisher, HMC 80 (London: HMSO, 1966).
[14] Michael Braddick, 'Lionel Cranfield, First Earl of Middlesex', *ODNB*.
[15] Roberts, p.27.
[16] Braddick.
[17] Roberts, p.23.

Although Cranfield owned many estates during his lifetime, he usually kept a main residence in London and a home in the provinces, as was common for wealthy gentry families.[18] As a result, pairs of houses emerge over Cranfield's life. His first London home, after his marriage to Elizabeth Sheppard, was at Wood Street and he gained a provincial country estate, Pishiobury, in Hertfordshire, in 1611. Cranfield's second London property was also his most beloved and magnificent estate, Chelsea House, where he lived between 1621 and 1630. He then bought Copt Hall in Essex in 1623, a large country estate that was beautiful but not profitable. However, after his impeachment, Cranfield had to sell Chelsea House to fund his fall in 1630, gaining a smaller London property at St. Bartholomew's that he used as his principal London residence for the rest of his life.[19] By the 1630s, Cranfield was also struggling to justify the expense of Copt Hall, and moved his principal provincial dwelling to Milcote in 1636.[20] These pairs of properties are the focus of the chapter, though servants at other estates are occasionally explored, particularly at his property and deer park at Forthampton, Gloucestershire.[21]

The administrative operation for these estates was large and complex, with income generated through rent and agriculture, both of which needed managing. For Cranfield, who was not born into this responsibility and with no experience in witnessing large-scale estate management, servants and a strong paper trail would have been essential to help him build a fortune, and to provide records for his newly gentrified family. Daniel Woolf has identified a general move towards the

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[18] See, for example, Thomas Puckering in *The Household Account Book of Sir Thomas Puckering of Warwick 1620: Living in London and the Midlands,* ed. by Catherine Richardson and Mark Merry (Bristol: The Dugdale Society, 2012).

[19] Roberts, pp.23, 29, 97.

[20] Prestwich, p.517.

[21] Other estates owned by Cranfield include: Seizencote in Gloucestershire, Wiston in Sussex, and land at Barn Elms, Ebury, Luddington, Drayton and Dowel, and Rushford. See Roberts, p.17, and Prestwich, pp.400-411.

collecting of muniments and familial records in the seventeenth century, where lineage would be an important 'primary basis for an entitlement to privilege and deference'.[22] For Cranfield, his newly gained status would mean he had to build this record in order to provide evidence for his family's social position. Eric Ketelaar has spoken of this kind of familial recordkeeping as the 'cultural patrimony' of the archive. Cultural patrimony, where records are stored in an institutional or familial setting, is used to protect the interests of an administrative body or family.[23] The Cranfield archive, as it has been preserved, is a representation of life events, which the Cranfields, and subsequent inheritors, want remembered.

Literate servants' experiences of these spaces, and their textual identities, become part of the organised, hierarchical framework of the estate, where documents are kept due to their legal, financial, or political importance to the Cranfield family. However, although literate servants work within this framework, it is important to recognise them as creators of this family's records. Servants are important document-makers, employed for their ability to communicate using appropriate forms and language. In this sense, literate servants had agency in their skill at negotiating the social and material world of the elite household.

On the other hand, literate servants did not always have power over the kinds of documents preserved within the archive. Endorsements and notes on loose papers are often in Cranfield's hand, and this implies he had executive

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[22] Woolf, p.133.
[23] Eric Ketelar, 'Muniments and Monuments: the Dawn of Archives as Cultural Patrimony', *Archive Science*, 7 (2007), 343-357 (pp.344, 346 and 349).

power over the documents that survive.[24] Equally, the triangular structures of administration within elite households (discussed in the next section) mean that documents are passed through ever more senior hands before they are stored. Therefore, documents produced by senior administrators like the steward, bailiff, tutor, and clerk of the kitchen, survive in large numbers due to their position high up this chain.

There are plenty of mentions within surviving documents of manuscripts and papers that are not extant and also evidence of alteration, and this indicates that there is discretion applied in document-filing practices. For example, John Langley, tutor to Cranfield's sons and bailiff at Milcote from 1634-1645, mentions a memoranda book he keeps about the running of Milcote in a letter to Cranfield. This book is not extant and is only mentioned once where Langley writes: 'there are many particulars in my Booke for Milcoat to be made knowne'.[25] The personal pronoun 'my' suggests that this is Langley's personal book to be used for reference and his ownership probably contributes to the fact that it does not survive, because it was not made for the purpose of central administration. An example of a servant's document being altered comes in a letter from Thomas Catchmay to Cranfield, undated, but probably written around the time of his death in January 1627. It has been physically doctored, with the bottom part torn away (Figure 5.1).[26]

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[24] This is particularly true of certain financial documents, and correspondence. See: KHLC, U269/1 E127; E128; E111; E125; E1-E18; AP 65-76.
[25] KHLC, U269/1 E128. Letter dated 2nd May 1629.
[26] KHLC, U269/1 E111. Undated letter.
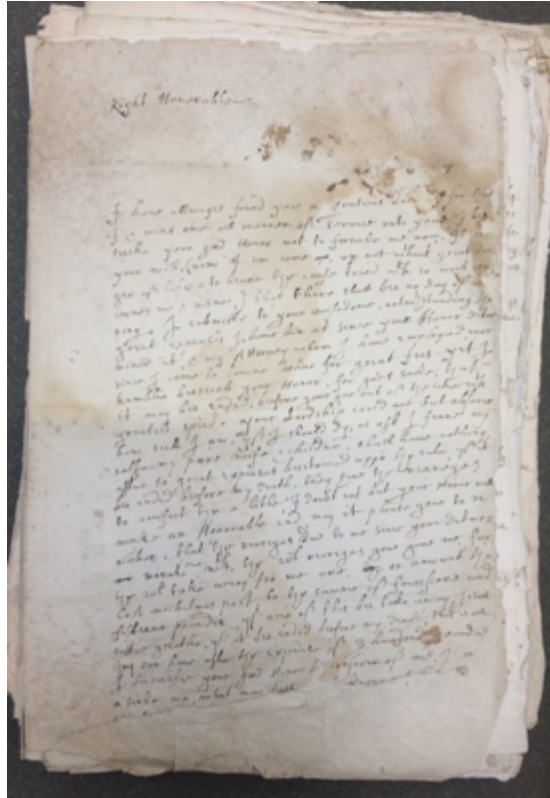
Figure 5.1. KHLC, U269/1 E111 (Undated).

This letter is difficult to read because of its emotional force with Catchmay, who at this point is very ill, pleading with Cranfield to settle his expenses before his death. If Cranfield tore away part of the letter, it suggests his own emotional reaction to its content and indicates that this moment is not something he wishes to be remembered for. The examples of Langley's book and Catchmay's letter, then, hint at the large number of documents that could have been produced by literate servants but do not survive. As such, literate servants need to be considered as victims of, as well as participators in, the administrative structures of household recordkeeping.

In order to explore the textual practices and experiences of literate servants working for Lionel Cranfield, who are often termed 'administrators' due to their carrying out of the duties of their assigned office for their employer, this chapter

explores three aspects of their lives: space, materiality, and relationships.[27] The aim of this chapter is to explore the participation of literate servants in the creation of a family archive and their interaction with this textual/material culture.

5.2: The Household Structure and Servants

The hierarchical structure of the elite household has been extensively explored. A well-ordered household, where each member fulfils their expected role, has been understood as significant to productivity and thus to pleasing God.[28] The hierarchy of servants was triangular in its structure, with the Lord or Lady at the top and gradually increasing numbers of servants at each level.[29] Other institutions in society, like the government and the Church, replicated this structure. Lena Orlin argues that the structure's recurring nature created 'an inclusive system of obligation' where all were ultimately accountable to God.[30] It is clear that Cranfield worked hard to order his servants and set up lines of accountability. Cranfield's concern over his household order is expressed in copies of ordinances.[31] These ordinances evidence the organisation of Cranfield's servants and their responsibilities. The document production of literate servants can be understood as being embedded within this household structure.

Cranfield had an ordinance made for the servants of Chelsea House, his London residence, in 1621, and this ordinance coincides with his promotion to

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[27] 'Administrator', (n.) 4, *OED.*
[28] Roberts, p.346, and Lena Cowen Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp.86-98.
[29] See Catherine Bates, who talks of this hierarchy in a courtly context, and how positions as administrators and tutors would be 'sought-after', due to the manner in which writing could open up promotion opportunities. Bates, p.346.
[30] Orlin, *Private*, p.98.
[31] HL, HM 66348, KHLC, U269/1 F11, AP76, AP46, and U269/E200; LPL MS 1228, and MS 3361.

'Earl of Middlesex', in 1622.[32] Ordinances were made for elite households, as Felicity Heal observes, to 'combine order with magnificence, to limit and control waste, and to secure good discipline'.[33]For Cranfield, the 'magnificence' of his ordinance is expressed in its material form: a large folio book made with very fine Italian paper, and professionally presented. The contents of this ordinance demonstrate Cranfield's concern with his servants' behaviour and it establishes a means of clarifying their roles.

Morgan Coleman, the man charged with making the ordinance, held a position within the King's household until 1619, which made him a qualified candidate to apply his knowledge to Cranfield's staff.[34] Coleman claims that he has written the ordinance for the 'better ordering and direction of the house', and this implies that it is an intervention to quell bad behaviour. The ordinance is finished with a warning that where these rules 'have been established, but neglected, scorned and rejected […] notorious sinne hath abounded [and] Gods most holy name is blasphemed'.[35] If servants do not conduct their required role, then the household falls to practising sin and works against God. A document, in Thomas Catchmay's hand (written during his time as receiver at Chelsea House), suggests that the servants' behaviour in the early 1620s was not ideal. Catchmay lists aspects 'to be reformed' including: 'eating in offices & receaueing no strangers', 'laundry maides diet to be certainly proportioned' and 'the strangers ordinary frequenting the halle tables'.[36] These ordinances seem to have been made in response to a lack of structure and responsibility amongst servants at Chelsea House.

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[32] LPL, MS 3361.
[33] Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p.27.
[34] Roberts, p.346.
[35] LPL, MS 3361, fols 3^r and 46^r.
[36] KHLC, U269/1 AP/76. Roberts, p.346.

Other similar ordinances are extant for this period, one held by the Huntington Library, and another short, unbound version at Kent History and Library Centre.[37] All detail the duties and standards to which servants should adhere. The Lambeth Palace and Huntington Library manuscripts contain orders for servants that include: attending prayer; proper clothing; and no blasphemy, quarrelling, gambling, or sexual immorality.[38] These manuscripts then contain a section of 'Orders General', which details the duties of each servant and where they fall in the household hierarchy. They also remind servants that their role is to follow orders given by Cranfield in the first instance, or his steward, and to conduct the 'requisite duties' of their offices. In doing these duties well, 'God may euer be glorified'.[39] Cranfield's servants, then, were part of a clear household structure, where, in their fulfilment of their required office, they would benefit the running of the estate, please Lionel and Anne Cranfield, and thus perform their duty to God.

The ordering of servants' behaviour, and a clear sense of their duty to the running of the house, would be essential to the management of a large number of staff. Although the average size for an elite household in the early sixteenth century 'was around 150 persons', by the early seventeenth century this number had reduced substantially.[40] Check rolls reveal that Cranfield kept a varied number of servants throughout his life. At his career peak in 1621-1622 he had 70 servants at his home at Chelsea House, spending £299 13s and 4d in 1621, and £286 in 1622 on wages, and this cost remained similar until the end of the 1620s,

[37] HL, HM/66348/L9/G2; and KHLC, U269/1 F11.
[38] R.C. Richardson, *Household Servants in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), p.151.
[39] LPL, MS 3361, fol.11ʳ.
[40] Heal, p.47.

with some decline after his 1624 impeachment.[41] This expenditure is in line with some of the largest households of the period.[42] A 1636 list made by Cranfield after the loss of Chelsea House for St Bartholomew's London, during the time that Milcote House was his main residence, noted only 33 servants, more than half the number at Chelsea in 1621.[43] However, due to the increased number of expensive servants for his children, and the need for a solicitor to help with his legal cases, Cranfield's expenditure was still £260.[44] Another list for Milcote House in 1639 listed 46 servants, which was still large in comparison with numbers in other Warwickshire houses.[45] The only one of Cranfield's houses that showed a dramatic change in servant numbers over his life was Copt Hall. A 1626 list mentioned 50, a 1641 list 28, and a 1645 list 22.[46]

Of those literate servants at Chelsea House in 1621, there were ten service roles with duties involving the making of documents. Due to multiple servants sometimes performing the same role, and the exclusion of secretaries from the ordinance, the actual number of literate servants was 20.[47] At the top of the chain was the steward, Richard Isaac. Isaac is described in the ordinance as having: 'full powre and absolutt authoritie to manage, governe and directe all of my seruants […] as if it were done by myself [Cranfield]'.[48] His document-producing responsibilities involved: making check rolls of servants, creating inventories, and

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[41] LPL, MS 3361, and Roberts, p.345. Cranfield's steward's account for 1623 and 1624 at Chelsea House includes two check rolls: one for five months ending the 24th March 1623, which shows expenditure of £86 and 5s for these months on servants' wages (excluding the steward, and chaplains) and a second roll for one quarter of 1624 that lists even less staff, reflecting Cranfield's decline from favour and 1624 impeachment and its impact on his household. KHLC, U269/1 AP58.
[42] Robert Cecil at Hatfield House had eighty servants. Roberts, p.345.
[43] KHLC, U269/1 AP76.
[44] Tutors, a governess, and servants for each of the children. U269/1 AP76.
[45] Sir Thomas Puckering records twenty-five in 1620. Merry and Richardson, p.54.
[46] KHLC, U269/E228/3 (1626 and 1645); U269/1 E360 (1641).
[47] LPL, MS 3361.
[48] LPL, MS 3361, fol.7r.

keeping accounts.[49] The steward, then, was given responsibility for administration within the house. So important was this role that some other families did not employ them, and wished to take their own responsibility for stewarding.[50]

The hierarchical structures of servants are replicated within documents, with papers sometimes funnelled through multiple hands and storage spaces before reaching the eyes of Lord and Lady Cranfield. As such, the archive mimics the household structure, with extant documents passed up the chain and then stored for future reference and use. In order to place this structure within a spatial context, the next section explores evidence for administrative and document storage spaces upon Cranfield's estates.

5.3. Administrative Spaces and Servants

> None of ye seruants shall haue ordinarie access into ye offices but must, when they come for any thinge, call at ye barr and name for whom it is; and what is convenient shall honorablie and speedelie bee deliuered forth thee doore neuer to be opened but when special occasion of seruice or honor requires it.[51]

Morgan Coleman's ordinances for Chelsea House include an instruction that servants should not have free access to the house's offices. 'Office' is used to denote a space for 'non-manual work' or work that is 'clerical or administrative'.[52] In practice, most servants did not have access to these spaces and this would protect documents from prying eyes or theft. The entrances to

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[49] LPL, MS 3361, fols 8[r] and 9[r]. These duties are similar in other ordinances: KHLC, U269/1 F11.

[50] For example, Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths have found that the Lestranges of Norfolk preferred not to employ a steward. *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth Century Household* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 27, 31 and 32. Other servants charged with record keeping in the 1621 ordinance include the Gentlemen Ushers, the Gentleman of the Horse, Yeoman of the Horse, Yeoman of the Wardrobe, Yeoman Usher of the Chamber, Clerk of the Kitchen, Yeoman of the Pantry, Yeoman of the Ewry, Yeoman of the Buttery, secretaries and bailiffs. The Kent History and Library Centre List also mentions the responsibilities of the chaplain, even ahead of those of the steward, who is also to 'instruct the youth' and lead prayer. KHLC, U269/1 F11, fol.1[r].

[51] LPL, MS 3361, fol.11[r].

[52] 'Office' (n), 6a and 7a, *OED*.

these spaces within the house were marked by a physical barrier – a bar to call at – but also by a door that was 'neuer to be opened', unless for exceptional occasions, to servants. This marked threshold prevented the free-flow of movement through the house. Felicity Heal argues that the early modern noble household was organised to 'express those hierarchical values that are so prominent in the ordinances'. To do this, the space would be arranged to hold 'a number of visible barriers restricting movement between one area of the establishment and another'. The clearest barriers would be between the hall and the service area behind the screen at the lower end, and between the gatehouse and the courtyard. However, numerous other areas of restricted access were created through the use of locks and the organisation of space in a hierarchical manner, with the lord's side of the house and the service side at opposite ends of the building.[53]

This kind of organisation can be seen in the ordinances and in other evidence for servants' use of space. Although Coleman writes of no servants having access to the offices, the check rolls for 1621 and 1622 suggest otherwise. Both check rolls mention 16 servants who were 'allowed in the house', which suggests they were permitted into the Lord's side and 'to offices'. These servants included the steward, secretaries, chaplains, gentleman ushers, and the clerk of the kitchen.[54] Accounts, inventories, and correspondence elucidate how servants in Cranfield's houses used these spaces.

In the early 1620s, bills and receipts for work done on Chelsea House reveal the implementation of a system of locks. Blacksmith, John Wilson, billed Cranfield for the making of seven keys, a spring lock for one of the chambers, and

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[53] Heal, pp.29 and 30.
[54] LPL, MS 3361, fol.44[r].

the altering of 18 plate locks.[55] Furthermore, Richard Isaac's steward's accounts reveal 'a locke for a counting howse dore', implying a room fit for the keeping of financial business, one of Isaac's duties.[56] The counting house was situated at the 'new house', which denoted either the newly renovated rear of the house, or one of two lodges.[57] Isaac's accounts suggest there were two keys for this lock, meaning that two people controlled access to this space.[58] Appropriate key-holders would be Cranfield, his wife, steward Richard Isaac, or receiver Thomas Catchmay, due to their duties towards the administration of the house and management of other servants. Being a key-holder for an administrative space within a household was a position of great responsibility, because the holder had access to the family's financial, legal, and genealogical records. Indeed, inventories for Chelsea House across the 1620s frequently leave out administrative spaces, either because their contents are not valuable, or because they are locked. The counting house is not mentioned in any household inventories.[59] Likewise, although closets and studies are listed, it seems that not all are accessible to the steward making the inventories with 'My Lordes Closett' listed with a blank space alongside it where the goods should be (Figure 5.2).[60]
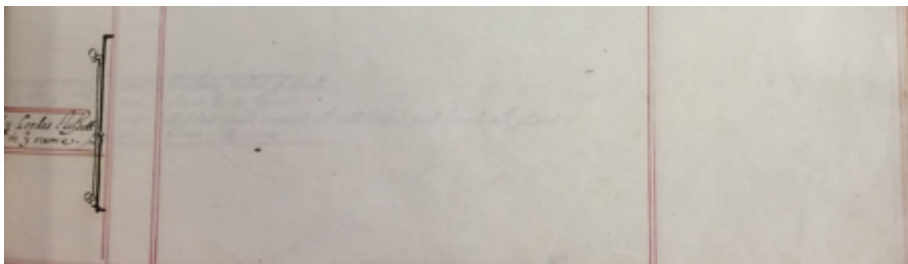
Figure 5.2. LPL, MS 3361, fol.53ʳ.

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[55] KHLC, U269/1 AP45. John Willson's bill, 7th June 1622.
[56] KHLC, U269/1 AP45. Richard Isaac's accounts for a smith's work at Chelsea House. See 'Counting-House' (n.), *OED*.
[57] Roberts, p.159-160.
[58] 'For takeinge of a plate locke of youre counteinge howse dore at the hould [old] howse and tourneinge of the slive [cut] of hite and makeinge of ii newe keayes and setting of hite one at the newe house', KHLC, U269/1 AP45. 'Slive' n. (obsolete), *OED*.
[59] LPL, MS 3361, fols 51ʳ-67ʳ, U269/1 E16, U269 E198/2.
[60] LPL, MS 3361, fol.53ʳ.

Parallels, in terms of servants' access to administrative spaces, can be drawn between Chelsea House and other elite estates of the period. This is evident in correspondence from Sir Thomas Temple to his steward Henry Rose at Burton Dassett, Warwickshire, in 1634.[61] In one letter, Temple provides instructions to Rose to negotiate two studies and locate documents:

That in my lower study at Dassett I take it yow may find in my wood booke there within the parchment of the couer thereof find out ^I saye^ the store of my fish pooles, which to me at Stow heare I would haue brought hither only what hath been left in my 2 pooles at Tingewicke.

Out of said lower studdy I would haue yow take out one of the upper drawers concerning a beast to stock of lamport land in coun Buck: & out of the upper studdy (whereof I had neede send the key by my wife) to take out the conny notes from Sir Richard of Lamport lands, which I thinck yow may find in the boxes of Buckinghamshire land.[62]

Varying levels of privacy operate within Thomas Temple's two studies: the lower study is open to servants and the upper is controlled by Temple, who possesses the key. The lesser security put on the lower study might well be because it contains documents pertaining to Burton Dassett, like the 'wood book' compiled by the estate bailiff.[63] The upper study seems to contain documents about other estates, so would not necessarily need to be in constant use by servants employed at Burton Dassett. In an inventory taken by Henry Rose, and in the hand of the Dassett clerk William Hart (1629), only the lower study is mentioned, again suggesting their exclusion from the upper study.[64] This system of inclusion and exclusion to administrative rooms within elite houses was also apparent in Bess of Harwick's New Hall, where her son's bedchamber and study adjoined and

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[61] For a comprehensive study of the Temple family see: Rosemary O'Day, *An Elite Family in Early Modern England: The Temples of Stowe and Burton Dassett, 1570-1656* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2018).

[62] HL, STT 2314. Thomas Temple to Henry Rose, 10th March 1634. This extract is discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

[63] HL, STTF Financial Box 19, Item 25, and STT Accounts Box 17, Item 42.

[64] HL, STT CL&I Box 1, Inventory of goods and household stuff, February 1629, fol.2r.

protected the muniment room, which was an inner chamber.[65] Likewise, Bess used her own bedchamber for business matters, a room Alison Wiggins argues: 'did involve certain levels of privileged access' and could be 'flexible' and 'adaptable'.[66] As such, although administrative spaces might have been frequently inaccessible to servants, it is important to recognise that spatial boundaries could be flexible, with access granted to servants in proportion to their responsibilities.

Although Bess of Hardwick chose to have a muniment room installed at New Hardwick Hall, there is no evidence for such rooms at any of Cranfield's houses.[67] However, there are multiple studies and closets in which documents were kept. This is perhaps due to Cranfield's newly gentrified status, which meant the records his servants created were of relevance during his lifetime and did not include a large ancestral build-up of papers. The storage of papers in studies and closets is evinced by inventories that give evidence for document storage furniture. For example, the receiver at Chelsea House, Thomas Catchmay, has a table, two stools, and 'sondry chestes of my lordes' in his chamber; chests that may have been used for the storage of documents. Richard Isaac, steward, had a chamber with an adjoining study complete with three stools and an iron chest, and the clerk of the kitchen also had his own closet.[68] This suggests a complex organisation of administrative spaces at Chelsea House, which involved multiple rooms where individuals performed their recordkeeping duties.

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[65] *An Early Muniment Register from Hardwick Hall,* ed. by Philip Riden, (Derbyshire: Derbyshire Record Society, 2014), p.7.
[66] Wiggins, p.93.
[67] Riden, p.8. They could have existed, but not be listed in any records for the properties.
[68] LPL, MS 3361, fols 57ʳ and 58ʳ.

Importantly, most closet spaces in Cranfield's inventories have the furnishings to accommodate multiple people.[69] As a space, the closet has gained attention as a place in which a person might be allowed limited company and where they might store valuables and records.[70] Alan Stewart has argued that closet spaces are 'secret' and 'non-public', where a householder and secretary might conduct business. He suggests that the secretary becomes associated with the 'contents of the closet' that remain intact after their death as a 'textual legacy'.[71] However, when looking at the wider context of literate servants, Stewart's definition of this space is hard to apply to Cranfield's houses, where there are multiple servants all working to produce documents pertinent to the running of the estate. Although the proportions of a closet might only allow for a few people to be present at a time, its contents in Cranfield's houses would not likely pertain to a single secretary, rather, they would hold a variety of documents.

Perhaps, Lena Orlin's definition of the closet as a place where goods could be kept safely is more applicable in practice.[72] In this sense, closets could work to produce multiple levels of privacy within an elite household. For example, in a 1625 inventory for Chelsea House captured by Thomas Catchmay, Lady Cranfield's closet is listed as adjoining another room with facilities for writing and storing documents. Here, there is a sense that she might have closed the door to write and to pray, or that she may have opened up the door to the adjoining

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[69] Bess of Hardwick's bedchamber and its interconnecting rooms also enabled this kind of flexible social space. Wiggins, p.90.

[70] Orlin, *Locating*, pp.301 and 304; and Stewart, pp.76-100. For a study centered on women see, Crawford, 'Women's Secretaries', pp.111-135.

[71] Stewart, 'Closet', pp. 83 and 94.

[72] 'Closets were less about keeping people preclusively *out* than about keeping goods safely in'. Orlin, *Locating*, p.304.

room if she wished to work with others.[73] As such, furnishings in administrative rooms are essential evidence for how residents used space.

5.4. Furnishings and Servants' Spatial Practices

The management of documents within rooms reinforces the hierarchical structure within the elite household, with those rooms associated with literate servants and writing activities marked by the presence of storage furniture. Cranfield's first country property in Hertfordshire, Pishiobury, is one of the earliest sites where there is evidence for document storage.[74] In 1619, Cranfield has work done on some of the studies and closets at Pishiobury. Robert Matthew made wainscot boxes for Lord and Lady Cranfield's studies, and this was recorded in his bill.[75] These boxes were built for the dividing up of documents into a storage system to enable their easy location, something that was common by the late sixteenth century, as explored in Chapter Four.[76] Cranfield's investment in dividing furniture continues into his later properties, evinced by inventories.[77]

A parallel can be drawn between the kinds of furniture used in Cranfield's houses for document storage and writing, and those used in other properties. The extract from Thomas Temple's letter about his two studies at Burton Dassett can be compared with an inventory for the house. The inventory lists limited furnishings within the lower study: 'a dubble table, a rich saddle w[i]th a frame

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[73]KHLC, U269/1 E16, fols 12ʳ and 13ᵛ.
[74] Roberts, pp.107 and 150. Sir Edward Greville took up residence here in 1625 when Cranfield favoured Copt Hall. Cranfield acquired the property in 1611.
[75] KHLC, U269/1 AP 26.
[76] Hamling and Richardson, p.154.
[77] See in particular, KHLC, U269/1 E16, U269 E277; and LPL, MS 3361.

that it stands on: six little shelues and another little dubble shelf'.[78] Although

some furnishings may have been omitted, it seems that in 1629 the key storage

devices in the lower study were shelves. The 1634 letter suggests the upper study

used drawers for document organisation with Rose instructed to 'look in one of

the upper drawers'.[79] Furniture historian Peter Thornton suggests that, during the

seventeenth century, there was a move away from chests as the principal place of

storing books and documents. Instead houses used shelves to show off decorative

bindings and drawers to organise loose papers.[80] Although this did not necessarily

mean chests were eradicated as storage devices – Cranfield's servants regularly

used them to transport documents – it does indicate a greater diversity of

devices.[81] Earlier storage systems, such as those used by Bess of Hardwick's

household in the late sixteenth century, relied on trunks, coffers, and boxes, with a

muniment room lined with numbered and divided drawers being constructed from

1595 onwards.[82] These examples suggest a clear shift towards organised systems

of storage for papers within households.

In contrast to Bess of Hardwick, Cranfield, due to the manner in which he

frequently moves his principal residences, has multiple small-scale hubs for

writing and document storage. Contrasts in the scale of recordkeeping rooms have

to be considered when looking at the distribution of documents.[83] For Cranfield,

the majority of documents to be kept for future reference have been generated

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[78] HL, STT CL&I Box 1, fol.2^r.

[79] HL, STT 2314. Thomas Temple to Henry Rose, 10th March 1634.

[80] Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France and Holland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), p.306.

[81] See, for example, Milcote accounts for 1634, which show a clerk, Bellemy, being sent to St. Bartholomew's from Milcote with 'a chest of writing'. KHLC, U269 A418/9, fol.41^r.

[82] Wiggins, pp.94 and 97; Riden, p.7.

[83] Bess of Hardwick's New Hall demonstrates a highly organised and large-scale system of recordkeeping due to the scale of the muniments to be stored.

within his lifetime and are kept in spaces where writing also takes place, like closets and studies.

One of Cranfield's closets at St. Bartholomew's has an extant and detailed 1636 inventory.[84] This closet was a hub for storing documents from many properties.[85] As an inventory, the list captures the closet at a particular moment as a record of documents not of furnishings, and it does not reflect the space's development over time.[86] Nonetheless, it is an essential document for exploring storage practices. Importantly, it is a list that is not in Cranfield's hand, but in the hand of one of his stewards. It was likely drawn-up to inform Cranfield, and perhaps administrators at his other estates, which documents were kept there. Due to the nature of the hand – which is professional and clerkly – it is difficult to attribute the inventory to a specific servant, however, many of the features are akin to the hand of William Hill, Cranfield's steward at Forthampton, Gloucestershire, who often goes on business to London. Hill simultaneously acts as town clerk of Tewkesbury and makes many different kinds of documents for Cranfield, which are occasionally engrossed by Hill's son.[87]

The closet's location in a chamber ('within the chamber over the buttery') is consistent with the most common spaces in which these rooms were situated.[88] This room-within-a-room location meant that documents were hidden from guests, and – by being kept in a room separated from thoroughfares within the house – papers gained protection from environmental hazards like rats and

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[84] KHLC, U269/1 E11. St. Bartholomew's was Cranfield's main residence in London from 1631-1645. Roberts, p.173.
[85] KHLC, U269/1 E11.
[86] For a good discussion of the problems with inventories, which is also applicable in the case of this list, see Orlin, 'Fictions', pp.51-85.
[87] See U269/1 E127, letter dated 11th September 1627, for an example.
[88] KHLC, U269/1 E11, fol.1r. Orlin, p.307.

damp.[89] There might also have been a lock preventing free access to increase document safety.[90] Through managing the spaces in which documents were kept, limited numbers of servants had access to administrative rooms.

With stewards often left responsible for the running of a household in the absence of the householder, and especially if that householder managed multiple estates, it is not implausible to imagine literate servants managing administrative rooms like the closet.[91] At the time the closet list for St. Bartholomew's was constructed, Cranfield was spending much of his time at Milcote in Warwickshire.[92] As a result, the managing of this closet fell to higher-ranking servants. An example of servants managing document storage spaces can be read in a letter to Cranfield by John Langley, his bailiff and sons' tutor, at Milcote in Warwickshire. Langley writes that:

> Four particular writings were appointed to be sent up [to London]. The discharge of the statute of 12000£ the Patent & notes bound up thereto; La Exeters Accompts & Compt hall windows. This last cannot by any search of mine though diligence haue therein bin used, possibly be lighted upon. The other are in a Bagg sealed, and a Parchment petition of the Busines of Stretford as I conceaue that hath suffered the ratts. I found it on the ground with some other parchments rent in like manner but not so much and now put by me on the table, whither I obserue they come not.

Here Langley displays knowledge of the forms in which documents appear, and the damage that might occur to them if they are incorrectly stored. The fact Langley cannot find certain documents, reveals how they might be mislaid between estates, with administrative tasks shared between servants at different locations.[93] Langley also gives a sense of the furnishings and storage devices used

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[89] For dangers to archives see, Popper, 'From Abbey to Archive', 249-266.
[90] Catherine Richardson and Tara Hamling give the example of John Hayne buying locks for his study and his wife's closet, p.143. See previous chapter section for evidence of this at Chelsea House.
[91] See LPL, 3361, or the steward being placed in highest authority when Cranfield is absent.
[92] See Prestwich, p.230.
[93] KHLC, U269/1 E128. Letter dated January 15th 1637.

at Copt Hall, with the documents contained in a sealed bag or on the table being safe from damage by rats. This bag is indicative of the importance of storage devices for document protection.

The marks carried by documents, like the creases and filing holes discussed in Chapter Three, can give an impression of a servant's use of storage spaces and their furnishings. These marks are evidence of the 'interconnected "doings"' between materials and people that Reckwitz describes as generating space. A document's materiality is modified when in contact with household servants and the family.[94] The issue with all documents is the same as that encountered in the list of papers in Cranfield's closet, we meet them at a certain moment in time and have to look for clues as to their past movements. In the building of an archive, there are so many materially anchored practices – folding, moving between temporary and permanent storage, editing, adding labels, or fitting to furniture – all of which involve the patterns of similar practices by multiple administrators.

Extant examples of these kinds of storage furnishings can nuance details given in written documents about storage spaces. For example, many of Cranfield's closets contain cupboards and Copt Hall, Cranfield's preferred country property, had a closet with a trunk containing '5 drawers', a chest of drawers, and three trunks.[95] These cupboards, and the trunk with drawers, might be similar in purpose to an extant example of an early-seventeenth-century filing cabinet made in the Netherlands (Figure 5.3).[96]

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[94] Reckwitz, p.248.
[95] KHLC, U269 E228/3, fol.8ᵛ.
[96] <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search/objects?q=Archiefkast%20van%20de%20Staten%20Ge neraal&p=1&ps=12&st=Objects&ii=6#/BK-16464,6 > [accessed 29ᵗʰ April 2018].

Figure 5.3. Archiefkast van de Staten Generaal, 1600-1699, North-Netherlands (The Hague), Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, BK-16464.

Although this example is from a state administration context, it is an example of the kind of dividing furniture used for storing documents. Cupboards enclosing boxes were common in the early seventeenth century, with Victor Chinnery describing them as 'a standing cupboard fitted with a pair of doors concealing a bank of drawers'.[97] These drawers divided documents for ease of location and had the potential to create a multi-layered security system. The Dutch cupboard of drawers in Figure 5.3 has locks on the outside and on one of the inner compartments, meaning that the spaces of highest security might be behind three barriers: a study or closet drawer, a cupboard, then a compartment. This materially produces the sense that administrative documents worked on varying levels of privacy, from those accessible to all members of a household, to those that were only available to key-holders.

Administrators organised household papers into dividing furniture. Boxes, drawers, chests, and shelves became associated with their contents. Thomas Temple instructs Henry Rose to 'take out' drawers in the upper study. 'Taking

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[97] Victor Chinnery, *"Names for Things": A Description of Household Stuff, Furniture and Interiors 1500-1700*, ed. by Jan Chinnery (Weatherby: Oblong, 2016), p.98.

out' implies that the drawers were not static, but were designed for removing, and carrying, with the document.[98] This material association between storage device and document pervades in the closet list for St. Bartholomew's. There are 102 documents detailed on the list, and 65 of these 102 are defined by their material qualities (Table 5.1). [99]

23 of the manuscripts listed are accounts and 18 of them are 'books' of accounts.[100] These were bound volumes, which were likely to have been kept on shelves, in book presses, or in chests. [101] Extant examples show that tacket-bindings were common for household accounts, and these may have been stored flat to prevent their bindings from expanding.[102] Cranfield and some of his servants may have spent time in the closet compiling accounts, and this space would have been a secure place to store financial information.[103] Other than accounts, the only other items described as 'books' are: a bundle of books about the Vicars of Stratford, and a manuscript 'touching the precedence of knights before aldermen'.[104] These are not books directly concerned with Cranfield's estates or business, but provide him with information about topics that he would need to show understanding of with regards to hierarchies of Church and State. Largely, however, within this space, books that pertain to the administration of Cranfield's estate are stored, not books for leisure reading. In describing most of the accounts as 'books', this form becomes associated with the financial manuscripts kept within Cranfield's closet space.

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[98] HL, STT 2314. Thomas Temple to Henry Rose, 10th March 1634.
[99] KHLC, U269/1 E11.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Chinnery, pp.58 and 79.
[102] Lucy Gwynn, 'The Architecture of the English Domestic Library 1600-1700', *Library and Information History*, 26.1 (2010), 56-69 (p.61).
[103] Another closet at Pishiobury, Hertfordshire, also holds gold weights for this purpose. KHLC, U269/E277, fol.2r.
[104] KHLC, U269/1 E11.

Leisure and devotional books were kept elsewhere in Cranfield's houses, with the St. Bartholomew's closet employed specifically to house administrative papers. Expense, elaborately bound, and leisure books were present in various rooms. Cranfield's first wife kept 13 books at Wood Street in her chamber, and Copt Hall held a number of printed books including a Great Bible and prayer books stored in the chapel.[105] The Great Bible at Copt Hall is described in a receipt after its purchase. It is a folio volume on:

> Italian royall pap[er] double ruld with vermillion every chapter ruled in like manner sowed every sheet with silke double headband of gould and silke bound in turkey leather and small toales, strunge with…ribon and depe gold fringe: filleted within the cover and marble paper pasted theron and a case___VL£[106]

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[105] Wood street, see KHLC, U269/1 T48. Copt Hall see, U269 E228/3; Chelsea House LPL MS 3361 and KHLC U269/1 E16. Inventory of books at Copt Hall see: U269/1 E198/2.
[106] KHLC, U269/1 A460.

Table 5.1. Table showing document types in the St. Batholomew's closet Inventory and the manner in which they are kept.

Doc Type	Bag	Box	Shirt Sleeve	Bundle	Silk String	Book	Manuscript	Paper	Parchment	Rolls	Not Given	Total
Accounts	1		1	1		18					2	23
Acknowledgement											2	2
Acquittance				1					1		2	4
Assignments											4	4
Bills	1			1							2	4
Bond											2	2
Commissions											1	1
Confirmation											1	1
Counterpart											3	3
Deeds											2	2
Estreats										1		1
Evidences		1		1	1							3
Grant				1								1
History				1		3	1	1				6
Indenture				4							2	6
Inquisition											2	2
Instruction								1			3	4
Inventory								1				1
Lease											2	2
Letter(s)				3							1	4
Licence	1											1
Memorandum		1										1
Miscellaneous						3						3
Notes	1	1		4							4	10
papers				2								2
Perpetuities						1						1
Proceedings				3							1	4
Receipts				1							1	2
Warrant				1					1			2
Total	**4**	**3**	**1**	**24**	**1**	**25**	**1**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**37**	**102**

This £60 Bible was clearly used as an expression of Cranfield's socio-economic status. It was printed upon luxury Italian paper, which came in very large, white sheets.[107] The use of vermillion for ruling, although the most commonly used colour in book production after black, would still have been rare enough to be striking, as would the use of gold headbands on each sheet, gold fringe, and use of marbled paper as the pastedown. The embellishment of this book would perform the material magnificence of Cranfield to guests and his household within the chapel.[108] Within Cranfield's book collection, then, there seems to be a clear distinction between those intended for display, which might hold economic value, and those holding importance as administrative documents that are intended for a closet or study.

Other than bindings, the most common storage receptacles for papers within Cranfield's St. Bartholomew's closet are bags and boxes. Before 1700, boxes were small, designed to be placed upon another surface, and came with a lid. They often contained documents and often held other valuables too.[109] In Cranfield's closet, large groups of documents were kept in boxes:

> A bigg black boxe wherein are note bookes of Lord Greville in one of w[hi]ch marked [star shape drawing] thus there is a memorand[um] that the vicar of Weston is to have but 3£ p[er]annum for all tythes dewe at Melcott and Weston.

> The [hole in document] greate black boxes of evidences concerning Melcote, Goldcote Seizencote Weston Welford and Stratford upon Avon &c[110]

These entries pertain to Cranfield's Warwickshire properties, Milcote, Weston, Welford, and Goldicote and one of his Gloucestershire estates, Seizencote. All

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[107] See Mark Bland, *Guide*, p.43.
[108] Roberts, p.97.
[109] Chinnery, p.60. He gives the example of a 1661 chest in a private collection engraved with "Rafe Fisher his Bockes".
[110] KHLC, U269/1, E11, fol.1ᵛ.

items stored within these boxes, then, contain information about a small geographical area. Here a material association is made between the aesthetic appearance of the storage receptacle and what it contains. For example, the star shaped mark on one of the boxes helps distinguish it from the others and associate it with the vicar of Weston. A parallel can be drawn here with Bess of Hardwick's system of boxes for filing, which Alison Wiggins has found were decorated in materially distinctive ways.[111] Materially distinctive containers would have helped those unfamiliar with the space locate items, and indicate that elite households were building a large paper trail that demanded complex storage systems.

The boxes described on the inventory are also defined by their colour 'black'. This suggests that they were leather bound and perhaps labelled too.

**Figure 5.4: Deed Box, 1577-1600, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust. STRST: SBT 1996-33/4.
<http://collections.shakespeare.org.uk/search/museum/strst-sbt-1996-334-deed-box>**

A box of a similar style to those listed can be seen in Figure 5.4. This example is labelled 'Acquittances for the Subsidy' and is lined with printed pages.[112] These sorts of black boxes were convenient for storing estate documents, because they

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[111] One in green velvet, some gilded, one black velvet, and one with a yellow cloth cover. Wiggins, p.97.
[112] 'From George Best, *A True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie, for the Finding of a Passage to Cathaya*, (1578), and Thomas Bentley', *The Monument of Matrones*(1582). <http://collections.shakespeare.org.uk/search/museum/strst-sbt-1996-334-deed-box>.

were light and so easily transportable. Leather or light wooden boxes would have been easier to attach labels to or write upon as a memorandum of their contents. William Hill did not concern himself with detailed descriptions of every document and their contents in the inventory. He presented only an overview, perhaps using the labels upon the boxes he encountered, or endorsements on papers to make his list.

Other than being light, these leather-covered boxes would also have been weather-proof, making them useful for document-protection and transportation. There are examples within Cranfield's accounts of boxes being sent between properties. Thomas Catchmay, for example, sent a 'box of writeings' to Cranfield from Milcote in 1625 and paid a trunkmaker for 'great boxes to put in writings' in 1622.[113] Elizabeth Leedham-Green has observed that there is a clear difference between boxes intended for transportation, and those used for long-term storage, with storage boxes appearing more decorative.[114] Boxes could also have been made to fit around documents, with a box in Cranfield's Pishiobury closet holding letters patent described as 'long', suggesting that it was designed to hold them flat.[115] Consequently, document storage devices could be utilitarian or beautiful depending on their intended use. In practice, it seems that the St. Bartholomew's closet held utilitarian boxes alongside more decorated storage devices.

Bags were another significant storage receptacle in the closet and, again, were a means through which the utilitarian and decorative appeared together. The three bags mentioned are: a 'clokebagg', a 'black buckram bag', and a 'canvas'

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[113] KHLC, U269/1 E111. Letter dated 30th August 1625, and U269/1 AP43, fol.12r.
[114] Elizabeth Leedham-Green, 'Seventeenth-Century Cambridge Pyxides,' *For the Love of Binding: Studies in Bookbinding History,* ed. by David Pearson (London: British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2000), pp.197-207 (pp.205 and 198).
[115] KHLC, U269 E77.

bag.[116] These three kinds of bags were aesthetically different, again creating an association between the filing receptacle and its content. Buckram bags were made of 'fine linen or cotton', which could be strengthened using gum. Buckram bags were often associated in the seventeenth-century with bags carried by lawyers; though this bag held the accounts of 'Mr Richard Isaac', steward at Chelsea House in the early 1620s.[117] The second kind of bag, the 'canvas' bag, would have been far coarser than the Buckram one and made of hemp or flax.[118] Canvas bags were commonly used for paper storage due to their durability, and were seen hung up in the image of Breughel's 'The Village Lawyer' in Chapter Three (Figure 3.1).[119] The canvas bag in the closet was clearly large, being called 'great', and contained 'divers notes and artificers bills touching the accounte of the wardrobe'.[120] Cranfield was Master of the Wardrobe from 1618 until his impeachment in 1624, and these documents' presence and importance within his closet pertain to an investigation into his accounts that resulted in a fine of £12,000, just a year before this closet list was compiled.[121] As such, the manner in which Cranfield and his servants kept documents pertaining to his time as Master of the Wardrobe indicates that he feared future investigation, and that he may have needed to use these documents for his defence.

The final bag described is a cloak-bag. Cloak-bags were designed to carry cloaks or clothing.[122] They were also characterised by their very large size, with

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[116] KHLC, U269/1 E11, fol.1[r].
[117] Buckram, (n), 1, 2, and 3, *OED*. KHLC, U269/1 E11, fol.1[r].
[118] 'Canvas', (n) 1, *OED*.
[119] For an actual example of a canvas bag see NA, E179/299/9, pictured in Wolfe and Stallybrass, p.197.
[120] KHLC, U269/1, E11, fol.1[v].
[121] Roberts, p.27.
[122] 'Cloakbag,', (n) 1, *OED*.

the voluminous Falstaff's gut compared to one in Henry IV Part One.[123] Cloak-bags carrying clothing could also have been highly decorated. John Stow, in his *Chronicles*, describes Cardinal Wolsley carrying one made of scarlet and embroidered with gold.[124] It is difficult, however, to know whether a cloak-bag designed for clothing and one intended for documents differed. There is a suggestion in the Milcote accounts that cloak-bags could be bought for the purpose of carrying documents. John Fitzherbert, the steward, records not only the purchase of a cloak-bag alongside paper, but also a payment for cloth to make money bags to line it, perhaps suggesting that it is being adapted and reinforced to hold papers.[125] It is not the only example of a clothing item used in document storage within this closet either, with 'an olde shirt sleeve' containing some documents about Sir Edward Greville's estate.[126] It is unclear why a shirtsleeve was detached or if it were done with paper storage in mind, though it could have been perceived as the appropriate size for wrapping documents.[127] The use of a cloak-bag alongside two other materially distinctive bags and a shirtsleeve, suggests there was an effort within Cranfield's St. Bartholomew's closet to distinguish between storage receptacles to help locate items. Servants constructed an organised working environment within the closet through the use of distinctive storage receptacles.

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[123] Thank you to Dr. Hester Lees-Jefferies for this information. For the Falstaff comparison see: 'a tun of a man is thy companion […] a cloak-bag of guts'. William Shakespeare, '1 Henry IV', in *The Norton Shakespeare: Based on the Oxford Edition,* ed. by Stephen Greenblatt et al., (London and New York: Norton, 1997), 2.5.408-412, p.1219.

[124] John Stow, *The Chronicles of England* (London: Thomas Marsh, 1580).

[125] KHLC, U269 A418/9, fol.27^r.

[126] KHLC, U269/1 E11, fol.1^v.

[127] There is also plenty of evidence of letters being concealed in clothing, so there is an association between paper and textiles that is perhaps complicated, and needs further exploration. Daybell, *Material,* p.170.

Other identifying textile features were also placed upon documents, like: 'a bundle with yellow silke string of business con[cer]ning Melcott'.[128] This is the only bundle within the closet that is described as having yellow silk string attached, making this a material identifier for documents pertaining to Milcote. Those navigating the closet space to locate documents would be able to do so purely from knowing to look for the yellow silk string. Silk was 'the most valuable of all the raw material imports throughout the middle and late seventeenth century', making the expensive and decorative thread about the Milcote documents an expression of their importance. [129] When used in correspondence, Heather Wolfe has described the use of silk floss or string as a 'meaningful custom', where the material's colour and use is significant. [130] Yellow-gold was the most popular colour of silk string deployed in letter writing after pink, and perhaps gestured to the actual value of the metal gold.[131] Yellow string could have signified the property's value. Furthermore, it might have been repurposed from correspondence.[132] Alison Wiggins points out that in the sorting and filing of letters, such coloured string might act as a means of classifying 'particular species of letters' as a 'useful entry point', where meaning could be generated through coloured ties.[133] There is a clear parallel to be drawn here between the kinds of textile carriers and tags used to classify letters, and those

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[128] KHLC, U269/1 E11, fol.1ᵛ.

[129] Linda Levy Peck, 'Creating a Silk Industry in Seventeenth-Century England', *Shakespeare Studies,* 28 (2000), 225-229 (p.226).

[130] Heather Wolfe, '"Neatly Sealed, with Silk, and Spanish Wax or Otherwise": the Practice of Letter-Locking with Silk Floss in Early Modern England', in *In Prayse of Writing: Early Modern Manuscript Studies,* ed. by S.P Cerasano and Steven W. May (London: The British Library, 2012), pp.169-190 (p.169).

[131] Ibid., p.177.

[132] In fact, some surviving letters in the Cranfield archive are folded using an accordion fold and silk string ties, some of which are yellow, and so it is possible that valuable string like this might be reused on other documents. Letters from the Lady Coventry: U269/1 CP30, and letters from the Countess of Richmond: U269/1 E46. An accordion fold is a fold that 'resemble[s] the bellows of an accordion', *DoLL.*

[133] Wiggins, p.193.

used for the filing of familial archives more generally. Bags, strings and boxes act as identifiers and mark loose papers.

In drawing these examples of storage devices together, it is clear that estate administrators, in their use of document-storage spaces, held responsibility toward document storage for future use. The systems used were hierarchical, with some items prioritised over others for storage, like legal and financial documents. Many personal documents from Cranfield and his immediate family survive in correspondence and notes, but very little personal information about his administrators. This hierarchy also pervades the surviving documents' materiality – all carry their own evidence of filing, folding and transference between people.

5.5. Between Hands: Household Hierarchies and Filing

Loose papers were often stored in bundles within the St. Bartholomew's closet. The Lydd clerks also used this technique as a means of placing papers into organised piles.[134] There is, then, continuity between the folding methods used in a corporation setting and those employed by the elite household, suggesting a shared material culture of loose paper storage through bundling. Due to this method being similar across clerks and literate servants, the manner of folding is not explored again here and can be read about in detail in Chapter Three. However, the organisation of the contents of bundles is important to describe, in order to understand the logic of the closet and relationships between servants.

Documents are often organised in piles relating to a person, for example: 'The bundles of letters and papers concerning the business between the 2 earles of

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[134] Wolfe and Stallybrass, pp.192-196.

Midd[lesex] and Mulgrave and the Lord Sheffield and S[i]r Arther Ingram'.

Bundles are also often organised by property, for example: 'a bundle of evidences and papers touching Pishiobury'.[135] As such, bundles tend to be organised by topic, and this is something that printed manuals advised.[136] This way of organising papers by topic, gives an indication as to how the closet space would be negotiated. Rather than placing items in chronological order or by order of production, in putting loose papers in bundles by topic, they are put in relation to one another, and so into a particular context that pertains to a place, person, or business matter. Unlike the documents in the record office today, which are organised by document type ('financial', 'legal', 'correspondence', 'family', 'estates'), these bundles do not distinguish between types of items so distinctly. Rather, they place 'papers' and 'letters' pertaining to the Earls of Middlesex, Mulgrave, Lord Sheffield, and Arthur Ingram together, or 'evidences' relating to a property that could be formed of a range of antiquarian and legal documents together. Therefore, these bundles show that the boundaries between categories of items in Cranfield's closet were permeable. It also suggests how items like loose papers of verse, copies of warrants, or acquaintances contained in the centrefolds of letters come to survive, as part of a bundle of papers that, at the time they were stored, fitted together.[137]

Loose papers contained in bundles also carry marks that suggest the manner in which they were created and stored. Through endorsements and annotations on loose papers, there is a sense of information being processed on its journey from writing to storage. These marks also show how administrative

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[135] KHLC, U269/1 E11, fol.1ᵛ.
[136] Daybell, *Material*, p.219.
[137] Loose papers of verse: KHLC, U269/1 F36. Centre-fold items can be found in many of the letters: KHLC, U269/1 E127; U269/1 E128; U269/1 E111; U269/1 E125.

systems tie into the hierarchical structures of service within the elite household, in the way items are passed up through the hands of multiple literate servants.

One of the main places where this practice of annotation and endorsement by multiple literate servants is seen is in financial documents. In the early 1620s, when Cranfield had renovation work completed on Chelsea House, he received a great number of bills for work.[138] The processing of these bills can be seen through their annotation, and the material signs they carry. If the document is for the provisioning of the household, it is in the hand of Richard Griffith, the clerk of the kitchen. If a bill is for work done by artisans like carpenters and bricklayers, then the main body is often in the hand of a clerk or that of the steward, Richard Isaac, and is signed by the workman with their name, initials, or mark.[139] The paper used in these bills tends to correspond to stocks present in the early 1620s household, demonstrating that resources for writing within the house are being used for everyday administration.[140] Once information about the transaction is present on the receipt, the steward, Richard Isaac, writes a note detailing the payment of money to the relevant party and the date upon which this took place. Isaac then adds an endorsement on the back to make the bill or receipt easily identifiable in storage. Consequently, these papers can be passed between multiple hands before being stored.

An example of this can be seen in Figure 5.5, which shows a bill for Francis Kippings who carries building materials to another property from Chelsea including sand, stones, and gravel. Kippings writes this bill, with his signature on the back matching handwriting in the main body. On the bill-side, Richard Isaac

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[138] KHLC U269/1 AP45.

[139] A suitable candidate could be Mr Kettlewell, a secretary who lived at Chelsea House at this time, so a man easily called upon to act as scribe.

[140] The use of the 'Flag' watermark described later in the chapter and used very commonly within early 1620s documents is also used in bills. See Figure 5.10.

annotates, in different ink, a declaration for Kippings to sign about receiving the money. However, he makes a mistake, stating the giving of 'thirteen shillings and six pence'. This annotation is then crossed out, and repeated on the verso with 'twelve shillings and six pence' the stated amount. The paper is then signed by Kippings in agreement that he has received the money.[141] After being paid, this bill would then be transferred into Richard Isaac's steward's accounts for Chelsea House and presented to Cranfield. These accounts later appear in a buckram bag in the St. Bartholomew's closet, the final link in the chain of information within the administrative structures of the household.[142] There is a sense of order and organisation placed upon this process where paper is passed through different hands. Upon these bills, a social interaction is recorded though the varied handwriting that appears upon the paper. Administrative processes, in this sense, are intimately linked with notions of moral order. If information, processes, and accounts are kept in an organised fashion, then each servant in the chain is fulfilling their office correctly, and building a well-ordered institution that reflects well upon the householder.

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[141] KHLC, U269/1 AP45. Dated 2nd March 1622.
[142] KHLC, U269/1 E11.
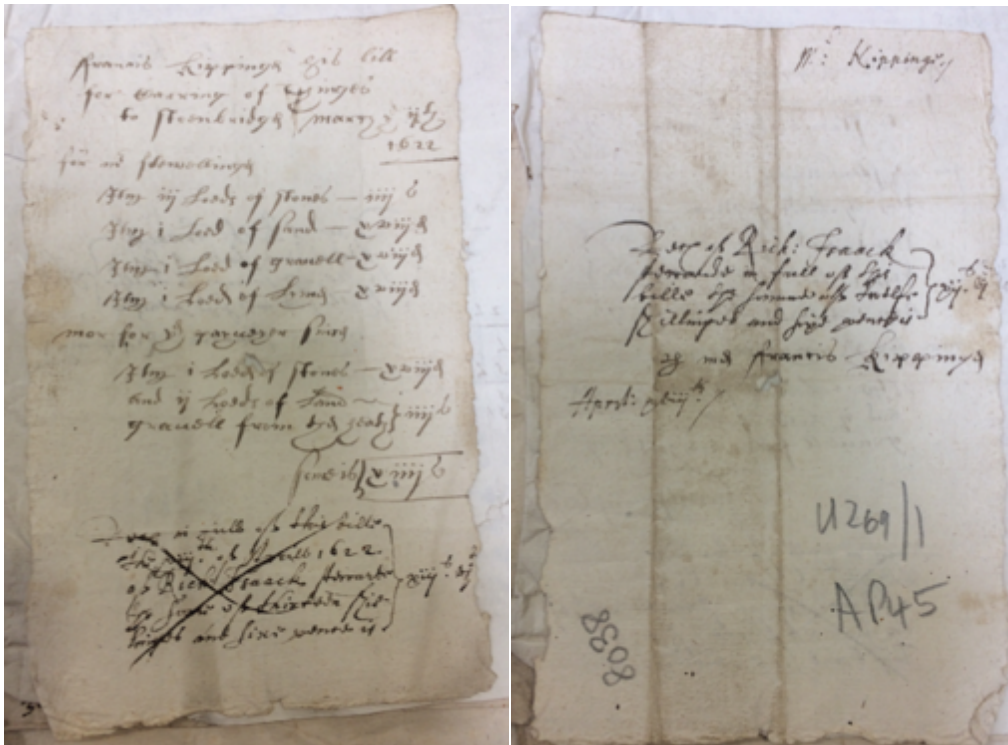
Figure 5.5. KHLC, U269/1 AP45.

Methods of organisation can also be seen materially on the paper, with filing holes and fold lines demonstrating a process of temporary-to-permanent filing. As discussed in Chapter Three, filing documents on a wire, point, or string, would keep loose papers from going awry, and make them easily referred to. This would be a useful temporary filing method when making the steward's accounts, for example, where Richard Isaac might keep the papers filed each week, copying them into a book to show Cranfield on a Thursday evening, the day the accounts would be due at Chelsea House.[143] This next step is clear in Figure 5.5, where creases in the paper and the darker strip upon the back evince the bill's folding into a strip to be bundled away for storage. Temporary filing methods for these bills are also clearly in use for the making of certain accounts at this time. Thomas Catchmay, in his volume of accounts for 1622, shows the use of files (papers

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[143] LPL, MS 3361, fol.8ʳ.

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strung up on wires or string) in the making of his volume.[144] Almost every entry reads 'as appears by his receipt remaining on the file' or 'by his note on the file' or 'remembered on the file'.[145] Here the paper, as it is filed, is personified as 'remembering'. This personification demonstrates the mnemonic significance of keeping paper strung up on wires, important for compiling accounts.

The document creation and storage process can be contextualised further through comparison with Thomas Temple's description of filing in his correspondence with Henry Rose about his garden at Burton Dassett. Heather Wolfe and Peter Stallybrass mention three instances where Thomas Temple writes that his steward, Henry Rose, must file on a point in order to keep letters for Thomas Temple, and there is a further example within the correspondence (all are transcribed in Appendix Three).[146] At the time of writing, Thomas Temple is an elderly man and refers to his difficulties in remembering what he has already instructed in correspondence. When he says that 'I should otherwise wright againe to my trowble & yours to wright unto yow, to doe that, which alredy I haue done', he refers to his own difficulty with remembering the instructions he has sent for renovating the garden.[147] As such, Temple used Rose's filed letters as a means to remember, the primary purpose for which records were made.

Henry Rose's filing upon a point all letters pertaining to the garden is no different from Richard Isaac's or Thomas Catchmay's filing of bills on a similar point or string.[148] The literate servant in this case, Rose, and, in Cranfield's case,

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[144] KHLC, U269/1 AP 43. Stallybrass and Wolfe, 'Material Culture', p.180.
[145] Ibid., eg. fols 3ʳ and 6ʳ, but throughout. Many other houses developed systems for managing these loose papers, with Alice Lestrange using pins to attach notes to each receipt, labelling how they were received and written into her account books. Whittle and Griffiths, p.30.
[146] Wolfe and Stallybrass, p.190.
[147] For the garden, see Jill Francis, ' "My Little Gardine at Dassett Paled": Sir Thomas Temple and his Garden at Burton Dassett in Warwickshire, C.1630', *Garden History*, 41.1 (2013), 21-30.
[148] Wolfe and Stallybrass, p.190-191. 'Filed' on a point has two meanings here: one on a spike, and the other on a fastened string.

Catchmay, takes on the responsibility for creating files as mnemonic aids. 'Forget not' is a refrain in Temple's letters to Henry Rose, and implicit within this phrase is the consequence of forgetting: an unsatisfactory garden. 'Forget not', as a repeating phrase and anaphor, evokes the importance of respecting structures of authority between Rose and Temple. In not taking notice of Temple's 'forget not', Rose would not only be defying his master, but God.[149] This is also behind Catchmay's use of 'remembered' in his accounts for Cranfield. The need to make sure accounts are accurate is essential to Catchmay's duties and inaccuracy is an offence that could lead to losing office.[150]

Filing and storing documents within the elite household involved literate servants at multiple levels: from the initial making of a record, to its processing, and then its storing. The filing of documents, and the process through which information is filtered up the household hierarchy, mimics the social order. Document organisation is intimately connected with the importance placed on a well-ordered household – part of the physical manifestation of order. This involves the intersection of temporary and permanent filing methods, and the use of storage furniture to protect documents. Order is also manifested through the use of locks and keys to restrict access to spaces, and in the giving of authority to certain administrators, such as the steward, to order documents. These servants clearly understood the importance of their responsibility in recordkeeping for the family: filing, making, and organising documents in order to create a material memory of transactions. The generating of an archive in this sense is not only textual, but also material, resting on the interaction of household employees with

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[149] Household structures see section 5.2.

[150] The bailiff at Milcote when Catchmay is steward, is often criticized for not providing accurate accounts on time: U269/1 E111, letter dated 15th March 1626. Here Catchmay criticizes Chaundler the bailiff's unreliable accounting saying 'the longer your l[ordshi]p uses him, the more ye will lose by him'.

documents. This material concern is now addressed with regards to paper use within Cranfield's household. Documents by servants are compared to see what kinds of paper stocks are being used at different estates across time, and to assess whether there is an awareness of paper qualities.

5.6. Paper Use

Paper types, ordinary and fine, cohabit within the Cranfield archive. Literate servants drew on a wide range of paper stocks in their document production, from pot paper, to stocks bearing watermarks depicting the Arms of Burgundy, and to those depicting flags. Both qualitative and quantitative analysis of paper use for literate servants working across the estates can aid our understanding of the distribution of paper across people, places, and time. Principally, evidence is drawn from sheets of paper and the watermarks they carry. However, textual evidence from financial accounts is also employed in order to make sense of purchasing patterns and consumption. Account evidence for the estates is not continuous but piecemeal, with two volumes existing for Cranfield's first London house at Wood Street, a volume of Thomas Catchmay's accounts for Chelsea House in 1622 as receiver, and multiple volumes of John Fitzherbert's accounts for Milcote, Welford Mill, and Seizencote in the early 1630s.[151]

This analysis approaches watermarks to consider how an elite household might have viewed different types of paper. Previous studies have largely used watermarks to date documents, detect forgeries, to understand paper provenance

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[151] KHLC, U269/1 AP43, U269/1 AB 2 and 4, U269 A418/5-9.

or watermark types, and to understand the use of paper in stationers' workshops and print runs.[152] Although, as in these studies, I use watermarks as one of my primary means of analysing paper use, I am concerned with how watermarks can be employed for classifying different types of paper and the uses it is put to in Cranfield's household. This chapter applies the same method to quantify paper stocks as section 1.3.i (Chapter One), exploring watermark types to examine the consumption of paper over time.

The majority of entries for paper in the estate accounts are not descriptive, other than that they frequently mention quantity. The most common amount of paper listed is a 'quire', or 24 sheets.[153] Paper purchases as they appear in the surviving household accounts, however, are not representative of the sheer quantity of paper being used to produce documents across the estates. With many literate servants using paper as part of their working lives, and with Cranfield amassing a large amount of writing and correspondence, it is clear that paper is an integral estate resource; essential to a well-organised administrative system. As such, evidence from household accounts is problematic due to the lack of writing resources recorded. For example, John Fitzherbert's account for Milcote and Goldicot for 1630 lists only three quires; 1631, six quires; 1632, nine quires; 1633, eight quires; and in 1634, seven quires.[154] The only ink purchases that appear in Fitzherbert's accounts occur in November 1632, where ink is bought for three pence, and another purchase at the same price in a 'botell' in October

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[152] See the introduction to this thesis for detailed discussion. W.W.Greg uses watermarks to date the Pavier quartos of Shakespeare, 'On Certain False Dates in Shakespeare Quartos', *The Library*, 2.9 (1901), 113-131; Tanselle; Stevenson, 'Paper as Bibliographical Evidence'; Stevenson, 'Watermarks are Twins'; Heawood, 'Paper Used'; Heawood, 'Further Notes'; Edward Heawood, 'The Position on the Sheet of Early Watermarks', *The Library*, 4.9 (Sept, 1947), 38-47; Edward Heawood, 'Sources of Early English Paper Supply', *The Library*, 4:10 (1929/30), 282-307; Bidwell, 'French Paper'; Briquet, *Les Filligranes*.
[153] Daybell, *Material*, p.34.
[154] KHLC, U269 A418/8; A418/5; A418/6; A418/7; A418/9.

1634.[155] From these entries, it is difficult to get a sense of the consumption of paper, and indeed ink, at Milcote during the time these accounts were compiled, with entries being sparse and not following a particular pattern.

One of the reasons writing resources were not mentioned as frequently as they were consumed in household accounts, stems from the manner in which these accounts were compiled. As explored in the last section of this chapter, the accounts were the result of a paper chain, made up of numerous receipts and bills that were passed through multiple administrators. Consequently, ordinary purchases of paper, ink, and sealing wax might not have appeared because the servant in charge of their provision might have grouped these items with other household necessities, giving a total charge for all articles together. Thomas Catchmay wrote, in his accounts for Chelsea House, entries that suggest Richard Isaac was given a sum of money for unspecified household provisions.[156] A comparison can be drawn here with the modern office worker's use of paper, which anthropologist Andrea Pellegram observes is a resource that is 'simply there for them'.[157] Pellegram goes on to argue that paper is 'an essential component of work processes […]. It is the medium by which they [office workers] create their own history and forms part of their strategies to protect themselves against unforeseen contingencies.'[158] The importance of paper in a modern office has historical resonance, with the resource holding a similar meaning for the elite household, which is concerned with creating records for its cultural/historical patrimony.[159] However, due to its essentially abundant nature

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[155] KHLC, U269 A418/8, fol.25ʳ; and A418/9, fol.42ᵛ.
[156] KHLC, U269/1 AP 43.
[157] Andrea Pellegram, 'A Message in Paper,' in *Material Cultures: why some things matter*, ed. by Daniel Miller (London: UCL Press, 1998), p.105.
[158] Pellegram, p.105.
[159] Keetelaar, 'Muniments and Monuments', p.344.

within an administrative context, it does, for the most part, fade into the background of the written record, apart from when specific purchases are recorded.

John Fitzherbert's accounts are the only volumes that mention routes through which paper comes into Milcote in the early 1630s. There were four principal sources of paper 1630-1634: the carrier of Stratford, Robert Balamay; James Bikerstaf, estate shepherd; Thomas Cleaton, perhaps a clerk or Clerk of the Kitchen at Milcote due to his scribal work for Cranfield and purchasing of a mixture of provisions in addition to paper and ink; and Ann Trimnell, who was paid for buying a variety of goods.[160] Robert Balamay, carrier of Stratford, took chests and letters between Milcote and St. Bartholomew's in London. These chests contained diverse goods, which included cheese, letters, and money.[161] Balamay created an artery between St. Bartholomew's and Milcote, and enabled the sharing of goods between Cranfield's principal properties. He also facilitated the sense of material continuity in the records, through his distribution of paper between properties. James Bikerstaf, shepherd at Milcote, provided a similar service to the Stratford carrier, taking letters and, on one occasion a coffer, to London, and bringing paper to Milcote.[162] It is unclear from the accounts whether Bikerstaf actually conveyed these items to London and back, or whether he was connected to the Stratford carrier and responsible for passing on and taking goods from him. Bikerstaf, on one occasion, was paid one shilling for 'two quiers of

[160] Suggestion of Cleaton's letterwriting KHLC, U269 A418/8, fol.27[r]. For Bickerstaf, Balamy and Cleaton see KHLC, U269 A418/8, fols 25[r], 25[v], 27[r], 28[v], 29[r], 30[r], 33[r], A418/5, fol. 29[r], A418/6, fol. 38[r], A418/9, fols 27[r], 27[v], 32[r], 41[v], 42[v].
[161] KHLC, U269 A418/8, fol.25[r]. Carriers would take a variety of 'goods, packages and letters' from London and the provinces during this period, Daybell, 'Material', p.129.
[162] KHLC, U269 A418/8, fol.33[r], for the coffer see, fol.32[r], for sending a letter 25[v].

paper & parchment to make kiuers [covers] for bookes'.[163] This suggests he was sent to get paper and parchment for a specific purpose outside of the stock kept at Milcote. In this case, to make a book with a parchment cover, which was a material frequently used for binding financial accounts at Milcote.[164]

Thomas Cleaton and Ann Trimnell operated on a local scale. Cleaton often purchased paper alongside other items, which included: powder and shot, moneybags, cloth, a cloak-bag, and an almanac.[165] He often went to market, not only to sell produce from the Milcote estate, but also to purchase provisions including ink and paper.[166] Ann Trimnell delivered paper with other articles, including an earthen pan, and pepper for a sick animal. She did not receive a wage, and this indicates that she may have been an itinerant trader, or that she was informally employed to provide goods to the estate.[167] Balamay, Bikerstaf, Cleaton, and Trimnell, then, enabled the residents at Milcote house access to a local and metropolitan trade in writing materials. These trades were different in character to one another. Balamay's and Bikerstaf's transportation of paper to Milcote from London evinced a desire to bring writing materials from the metropolis into the provinces, perhaps because the paper was of different quality from what was available locally.

It is clear from other documents in the archive that Cranfield and his servants made distinctions between luxury and ordinary paper, and that rarer and finer stocks were sourced in London. As evinced by the luxuriously bound great Bible in 'Italian paper', discussed earlier in the chapter, there was an interest in

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[163] Ibid., fol.33ʳ
[164] See KHLC, U269 A418/4-6 and 8-9, U269 A410/2.
[165] KHLC, U269 A418/8, fol.41ʳ; U269 A418/9, fol.27ʳ
[166] KHLC, U269 A418/7, fol.30ʳ.
[167] KHLC, U269 A418/9, fol.42ᵛ.

acquiring luxury paper for writing across Cranfield's estates. For example, a bill

addressed to Cranfield on 23rd November 1625 lists four distinct paper types:

> Pd for 10 quier of venyse paper 00 06 06
> Pd for a reame of wrightinge pap[er] 00 05 00
> Pd for a reame of other pap[er] 00 03 00
> Pd for 6 quier of large pap[er] 00 02 00[168]

The most expensive, Venice paper, was rare during the early seventeenth century,

with only up to 2% of paper imported from Italy.[169] A mere ten quires, or 240

sheets, were bought of this luxury stock, in comparison to an entire ream of

'writing paper' (450-500 sheets).[170] Venice paper usually carried a 'flag'

watermark, the only prevalent Italian watermark extant within the papers, and so

the 'Venice paper' listed was likely to be of this type.[171] Presumably, 'writing

paper' meant paper prepared with size to carry ink for handwriting. Aside from

this, it is difficult to know the other qualities this paper held. This 'writing paper',

however, probably carried either a pot or a grape watermark due to the prevalence

within the archive of these stocks of paper. 241 documents produced for the

administration of the estate are on pot paper (39% of the sample), and 210

documents are on paper carrying a grapes and pillars watermark (35% of the

sample). Writing paper was also more expensive than printing paper – sometimes

twice as much – due to the manner in which it was prepared to create a smooth

writing surface, and to the preference for whiter coloured writing paper.[172] The

'other paper' might have referred to lower quality, brown or unprepared paper for

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[168] KHLC, U269/A395.
[169] Bland, 'Italian Paper' p.244.
[170] Daybell, *Material*, p.34.
[171] Heawood, 'Paper Used in England 1', p.274.
[172] Bidwell, p.586.

medicinal and wrapping uses. The 'large' paper would probably have borne the Arms of Burgandy watermark, a crown-size paper for which 77 examples have been recorded (12% of the total).

Watermark Type	Number	Percentage
Pot	241	39
Grapes/ Grapes and Pillars	210	35
Arms/Heraldry	77	12
Flag	49	8
Crown	8	1.3
Unicorn	6	0.9
Circle(s)	5	0.8
Anchor	3	0.4
Sword	2	0.3
Fleur de Lis	2	0.3
Dragon	1	0.1
Foolscap	5	0.8
Pillars	1	0.1
Total	610	100

Table 5.2. Table of Paper Types in the Cranfield Archive (of the 610 documents sampled)

The 1618 accounts for Wood Street demonstrate that the categorisation of paper was practiced even in Cranfield's early properties. Cranfield recorded having 'my quier of white x rate paper to be sent to pyshewburey [Pishiobury]'.[173] Although it is unclear exactly what is meant by 'x rate' – perhaps to do with quality or price – it is deemed important to be sent to the provincial property to be available to Cranfield when needed.

Cranfield and his servants were not alone in distinguishing between paper types in records. Helen Smith has found that port books describe 'printing paper', 'writing paper', 'cap paper', 'small paper', 'coarse paper', and 'brown paper', and Alison Wiggins has noted an increased awareness of paper quality in Bess of

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[173] U269/1 AB4, fol.7^r.

Hardwick's 1591 accounts in comparison with earlier periods.[174] Certain paper types were chosen for both practical reasons (suitability for writing or wrapping, for example) and for their value as a luxury material (particularly for Italian and Spanish paper). Although not every single sheet of paper was analysed for watermarks, either because a document only used a small amount of a sheet or because it was too damaged, the distribution of 610 watermarks have been studied for the Cranfield archive. Cranfield's administrators consumed a large amount of luxury paper, particularly paper with a flag watermark (49 examples, see Table 5.2), and the Arms of Burgundy (occasionally of Amsterdam) watermark (77 examples, see Table 5.3). A clear difference can be seen in the variety of paper types used across Cranfield's estates in comparison with the clerks of Lydd, where pot paper was used as standard.

Literate servants across Cranfield's estates also consumed paper in different ways. Figures 5.6 and 5.7 demonstrate the kind of watermarks found in the paper used by a select number of servants, and Table 5.3 quantifies paper-use. Administrators writing in the early 1620s employed a large variety of luxury paper. Thomas Catchmay wrote on paper bearing flag, crown, and arms watermarks. John Fitzherbert, steward at Milcote from 1628, used different kinds of luxury paper to Catchmay, including sheets bearing arms and, very occasionally, a fleur-de-lis, crown, or sword.

However, the majority of documents produced for administrative purposes by servants are on paper bearing pot or grapes watermarks. This is also apparent in documents made by Thomas Temple's steward Henry Rose at Burton Dassett,

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[174] Helen Smith, 'A Unique Instance of Art': The Proliferating Surfaces of Early Modern Paper', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance,* 8 (2017), paragraph 14, <http://www.northernrenaissance.org/a-unique-instance-of-art-the-proliferating-surfaces-of-early-modern-paper/#n1> [accessed, 15th August 2018]; Wiggins, p.98.

who only uses luxury paper twice, with the majority of documents on paper bearing a grapes mark.[175] The most provincial servant – William Hill, steward at Forthampton – consumes different types of paper to the other servants. Hill uses smaller sheets with a unicorn watermark more than anyone else. This is perhaps due to his other role as Town Clerk of Tewkesbury, which might mean he is particularly attuned to types of paper. The town clerks of Lydd use paper bearing a unicorn watermark too, so if this is common to other corporations, Hill's use of it could be a material expression of his role in both worlds.
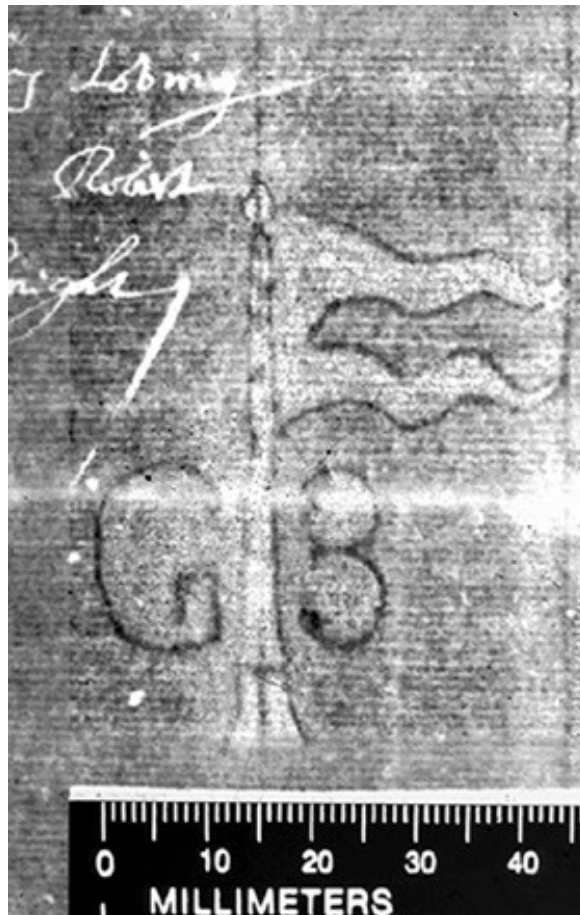
Figure 5.6: 'Flag' watermark with 'G 3' inscription. Venice paper, commonly used in the Cranfield Archive.[176]

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[175] Henry Rose paper types: Arms (2), Crown (1), Grapes (16), Pot (20).
[176] <http://www.gravell.org/record.php?&action=GET&RECID=77> [accessed, 29/8/2018. This example is from the Gravell Database (001.1), FSL, X.d.134, 1623/4. The letter is actually authored by Cranfield, and uses the same type of this paper that reoccurs throughout the archive.
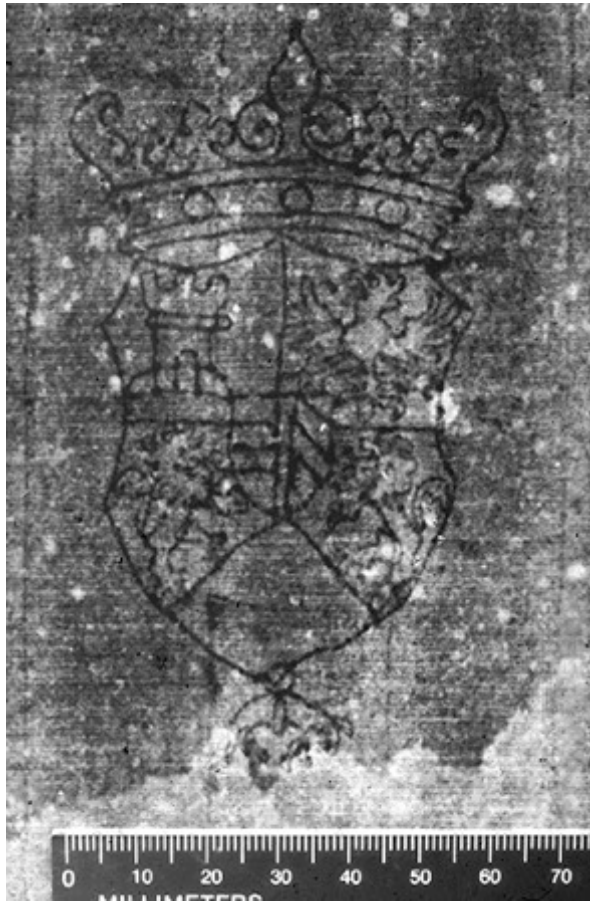
Figure 5.7: Arms of Burgundy Watermark. Variations of this are used within the Cranfield Archive. Gravell database (Arms.086.1), from V.b.324, Folger Shakespeare Library.[177]

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[177] <http://www.gravell.org/record.php?&action=GET&RECID=1007 > [accessed 29/8/2018].

Name	Role	Watermark	In Number of Documents
Thomas Catchmay	Steward/ Receiver	Pot	19
		Grapes	31
		Flag	11
		Crown	1
		Arms	4
		Circle	1
		Pillar	1
Morgan Coleman	Retired	Flag	2
William Doo	Bailiff	Pot	5
		Grapes	2
		Arms	1
		Flag	1
Robert Fawden	Yeoman of Horse/ Steward	Arms	2
		Pot	7
John Fitzherbert	Steward	Arms	13
		Crown	1
		Fleur de Lis	2
		Grapes	84
		Pot	79
		Sword	1
Richard Griffith	Clerk of the Kitchen	Arms	1
		Flag	2
		Grapes	1
		Pot	2
William Hill	Steward	Anchor	1
		Arms`	15
		Sword	1
		Crown	1
		Grapes	39
		Circle	1
		Pot	31
		Unicorn	5
John Langley	Tutor/ Bailiff	Arms	9
		Flag	2
		Foolscap	5
		Grapes	14
		Pot	19
		Sword	3
William Underhill	Solicitor	Arms	5
		Circle	1
		Grapes	13
		Pot	13

Table 5.3: Servants and Paper Types.

Looking across the 1620s and 1630s, there is a clear change in the manner in which paper is used over time (see Chart 5.1). Paper with a flag watermark from Italy, for example, appears most commonly before 1626, occurring only a few times in 1630s documents. This paper type is replaced by paper bearing the Arms of Burgundy mark, which begins to emerge in documents in 1626. This demonstrates a shift in the luxury paper coming into the household, and is in line with Cranfield's impeachment of 1624 and subsequent fine. This change in luxury paper used is very important, when the origins and status of paper bearing a flag watermark are considered. Mark Bland has found that 'a small and clearly definable social group' used this kind of paper with a flag and the initials 'G 3' (Figure 5.6).[178] This kind of paper was associated with 'government officials', and Bland also found it in State Papers of royalty and families with court connections.[179] Although Bland does not list Cranfield's household as a place where this paper was consumed, and so perhaps he overly limits its use, at the time it comes into the archive, Cranfield is Lord Treasurer, and so exactly the kind of government man who might have had access to such luxury paper. Post impeachment, then, his expulsion from the highest echelons of these circles is perhaps signified through the dropping of this paper's frequent use across his estates.

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[178] Bland, 'Italian', pp.244-245.
[179] Ibid., pp.245-246.
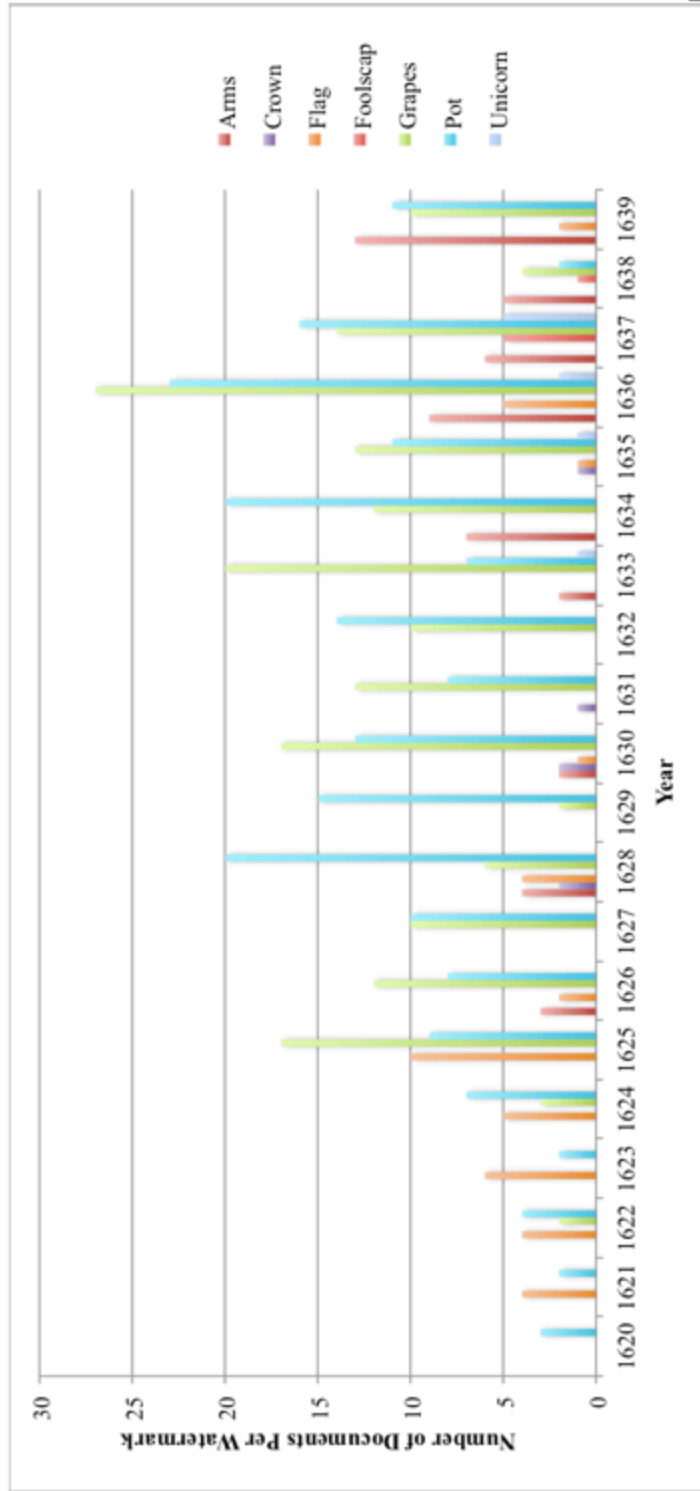
Chart 5.1: Chart showing number of documents bearing the most common types of watermark in the 1620s and 30s.

Mark Bland also guesses the origins of this paper stock for purchase, arguing that:

As paper was not subject to sumptuary legislation [its use by this social group] is significant because we might otherwise expect that commercial availability would lead to less homogeneity than appears to be the case. For this reason it is possible that the paper was supplied through the Royal Printing House of John Bill and Robert Barker, who also supplied stationery to parliament.[180]

If true, this is of particular importance to the use of paper by literate servants within Cranfield's household. It would mean that it is Cranfield who is bringing this paper into Chelsea House in the early 1620s from the printing house for the Houses of Parliament, to be used in his servants' administrative tasks. This connects the household to other institutions and suggests a shared material culture of writing.

Paper-use also indicates how structures of authority were materialised using manuscript materials. A particular example of this materialised authority comes in the two manuscripts made by Morgan Coleman and held at Lambeth Palace Library.[181] By putting an Ordinance for Cranfield's new Chelsea House residence on flag watermarked paper, Coleman creates a line between Cranfield's government position, his household, and the responsibility he has over both. The manuscript's materiality is a metonym for its contents, which lay out good household order. Through paper then, Morgan Coleman, as an administrator employed to create this manuscript, honoured Cranfield's new position as treasurer with this luxury object, whilst reminding him of how his work in government was entwined with the governance of his household.

Servants' subsequent use of this paper does not show a particular trend towards certain kinds of documents, suggesting it became part of the paper stock

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[180] Ibid., p.248.
[181] LPL, MS 1228 and MS 3361.

at Chelsea House. However, the few occurrences of this paper in the Cranfield archive after 1628 are significant because they hold the 1620s 'flying flag' style watermark used in Coleman's manuscripts.[182] This watermark evinces that paper may have been stockpiled across Cranfield's estates, with the stock reappearing in documents in 1635 and 1636 in particular, at the time when Cranfield moves his principal provincial residence to Milcote, perhaps uncovering some of this paper at the same time. Although it is difficult to understand to exactly what extent paper was being stockpiled with any precision, it is enough for his literate servants to make at least 15 documents using the leftover stock. Many of these are short documents made of one or two sheets. As such, the stockpiled paper bearing the flag watermark characteristic of the early 1620s would not have been enough to make a large volume of accounts, for example, and so sheets leftover from the making of early 1620s volumes would have been kept as part of a loose store of paper for administrators to use in their work.

The paper within Cranfield's household is made up of luxury and ordinary stocks. The way luxury paper is used over time was in conversation with the changing fortunes of Lionel Cranfield. Administrators' use of paper was therefore inextricable from the trajectory of their employer. The transference of paper from London to provincial properties is also an important finding, as it suggests a distinction between the paper stocks available in the metropolis in comparison with the provinces.

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[182] Bland, *A Guide*, p.44.

5.7. Handwriting

This chapter now addresses the importance of handwriting, particularly for senior administrators working across Cranfield's estates. Handwriting was an important marker of individual servants' identities, particularly for those, like stewards, who had distinctive handwriting. The employment of a secretary or clerk was common within elite households.[183] The professional hands used by these secretaries were, however, very different in character from those employed by stewards and bailiffs who also made a large number of documents.[184]

An example of a distinction made between a clerk's trained hand, and a steward's handwriting, comes in Thomas Temple's correspondence with Henry Rose at Burton Dassett. Temple writes:

I would not haue yow trouble W[illia]m Hart or any other to wright yo[u]r reckoninge […] I hold it as ill, as if one scholar made others exercise. Yo[u]r wrighting is inferior to others & yet it is better than many of my […] servants hands yet I know w[i]th exercise & a little instruction yo[ur] hand will serve my contentment.[185]

William Hart was a clerk employed at Burton Dassett and he wrote extant inventories and accounts.[186] Thomas Temple makes a direct comparison between the writing ability of this clerk, and that of his steward,

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[183] For good studies on the use of scribes see: Graham Williams, "Yr Scribe can Proove no Nessecarye Consiquence for You'?: The Social and Linguistic Implications of Joan Thynne's Using a Scribe in Letters to her Son, 1607-11', in *Women and Writing, C.1340-1650: The Domestication of Print Culture* (York: York Medieval Press, 2010), pp.131-146; Daybell, *Material*; Wiggins, *Bess*, particularly 2.3.

[184] See curial prose and letters studies for clerks' training in a specific writing style: Wiggins, pp.54-59.

[185] HL, STT 2288, fol.1ᵛ.

[186] HL, STT 2293, STT 2314 where Hart is instructed to make and engross documents. For his hand see: HL, STTF Box 17, 1630-31, and STT CL&I Box 1.

[IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 5.8. HL, STT 1743, 23rd of October 1631.

Henry Rose, who, he believed, needed some writing practise to reach his satisfaction. Furthermore, he suggests with the phrase 'I would not haue yow trouble…' that Rose has been too reliant on the hands of others, comparing Rose's reliance on a clerk to 'one scholar [who] made others exercise'. Henry Rose's own letters are very brief, use a strong Warwickshire dialect in spelling, and are in an uneven secretary hand (see Figure 5.8 for an example).[187]

Cranfield's stewards also show a concern with handwriting, but comments about their hands are self-reflective, signifying writing's importance to their construction of a scribal identity. In one of his letters to Cranfield, dated 20th June 1637, John Langley, tutor to Cranfield's sons and bailiff at Milcote, complains of illness and its impact on his writing, speaking of 'an aking head trembling hand and feverous body'. Although this 'trembling hand' does not have a noticeable influence on his writing, he expresses worry about its impact on his work, speaking of gaining the assistance of another servant to help with the organisation of the Great Hall renovation at Milcote.[188] Langley's mention of his 'trembling hand' is a significant indication that the quality of his hand within correspondence is important to his sense of self-presentation, with writing being essential to his roles as tutor and bailiff.

Another moment where script is a concern for one of Cranfield's employees is in correspondence from Thomas Catchmay, when Catchmay is on his deathbed. His writing is noticeably clumsy in his final letter to Cranfield, where he says: 'I humbly praie yo[u]r ho: to pardon any scribling, for neither my eyes, nor hands can doe their office'.[189] Here Catchmay connects his ability to

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[187] HL, HM 46478; HM 46479; HM 46480; STT 1742; STT 1743; STT 2281; STT 1738; STT 1739; STT 1741; STTF Accounts Box 11, Box 14, Box 15, Box 16, Box 18.
[188] KHLC, U269/1 E128, 20th June 1637.
[189] KHLC, U269/1 E111. Letter dated 21st January 1627.

write to his capability to perform his office as steward of Milcote, in a similar way to his statement about his not 'clarklike' but 'plain' accounts at the beginning of this chapter. Here, then, the use of his own hand makes documents clearly attributable to him.

Within the context of an elite household, having a distinctive hand could act as a stamp of identity and familiarity, and as an indication that a piece of correspondence or a financial account could be trusted. This notion of script being connected to a person within an elite household context is explored in literary work of the period. An example appears in *Twelfth Night*, where the steward Malvolio, upon picking up a letter forged to look like his mistress' hand by her own servant, Maria, says: 'By my life, this is my lady's hand […] It is, in contempt of question, her hand'.[190] The confusion here rests on Malvolio's misplaced trust in the script, and Maria's imitation hand that she earlier mentions is so similar to her Lady's that 'on a forgotten matter we can hardly make distinction'.[191] Having a distinctive script, then, is important not only due to its practised and pleasing aesthetic qualities, but due to how it acts as a clear signifier of a person's identity, making documents attributable. Two similar hands, as we see in *Twelfth Night*, could lead to confusion. It could, then, be advantageous for senior administrators within a household to perform hands that are distinctive from one another, in order to create a clear means of attribution. As such, illness that affects handwriting would be significant enough to mention, if writing could act as a strong material marker of a servant's identity.

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[190] William Shakespeare, 'Twelfth Night' in *The Norton Shakespeare: Based on the Oxford Edition,* ed. by Stephen Greenblatt et al., (London and New York: Norton, 1997), 2.5.79-81, p.1816.
[191] Ibid., 2.3.141-143, p.1811.

What follows, then, is an exploration of the handwriting of Thomas Catchmay using Image Processing to assess the differences illness makes to his handwriting's qualities. Next, the handwriting of Thomas Catchmay, John Langley, and Henry Rose is compared, in order to explore how distinctive, or unique, the hands of senior administrators within elite households are.

5.7.i.*Handwriting and Illness*

Thomas Catchmay's handwriting in letters when he is close to death is visibly changed from examples of his hand when he is well. This experiment uses the Region Props on MatLab to measure a sample of Catchmay's letterforms to compare his handwriting in health and illness to approach the question: what aspects of Catchmay's handwriting are altered by illness and why might this be? This experiment is inspired by numerous studies in psychology that explore the impact of various illnesses, mental and physical, on handwriting. These studies clearly demonstrate the serious difficulties illness can bring to the physical act of writing.[192] Recently, Deborah Thorpe has collaborated with a psychologist in order to diagnose a medieval scribe with a probable essential tremor, using a mixture of handwriting analysis and practice-based research with a tremor sufferer.[193] Although Catchmay does not have an identifiable illness, or one that causes an obvious tremor, his writing is far less neat when ill and it deteriorates over the course of his final letter, implying that he is struggling to concentrate on

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[192] See for example, Nicci Grace, 'Do Handwriting Difficulties Correlate with Core Symptomology, Motor Proficiency and Attentional Behaviours?', *Journal of Autism & Developmental Disorders*, 47 (2017), 1006-1017; and E. Heremans, 'Handwriting Impairments in People with Parkinson's Disease and Freezing of Gait', *Neurorehabilitation and Neural Repair*, 30 (2016), 911-919.
[193] Thorpe and Alty, and Deborah Thorpe, ' "I haue Ben Crised and Besy": Illness and Resiliance in the Fifteenth-Century Stonor Letters', *The Mediaeval Journal*, 2 (2016), 85-108 (pp.107-108).

writing. There is also a suggestion in Catchmay's phrase 'neither my eyes, nor hands can doe their office', that Catchmay's illness is not only affecting his strength and movement, but also his sight – another contributing factor to poor handwriting.[194]

Letterforms	Well	Ill
A	5	5
H	5	1
L	5	2
M	4	3
a	2	2
h	5	2
l	5	3
m	5	3
p	5	3

Table 5.4: Table demonstrating number of samples from Thomas Catchmay's correspondence.

Table 5.4 shows the number of letterforms sampled. Any discrepancy between categories is due to there being less writing available for the time of Catchmay's illness and so, particularly for less frequent letters like capital 'H', the numbers needed to equal his sample for periods of health are not available.

Figures 5.9 and 5.10 are images comparing Catchmay's deathbed and usual handwriting. Visually, it is clear that, when he is ill, the pressure Catchmay applies to the quill is irregular, with the ink unevenly distributed across the page. Although he usually writes in an evenly spaced manner and with all his strokes flowing across the page, in Figure 5.9 it is clear that Catchmay is struggling to write in a straight line. The Image Processing results show, however, there are

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[194] KHLC, U269/1 E111, Letter dated 21st January 1627. Deborah Thorpe comments on another scribe's illness affecting his ability to hold a pen in a letter between Simon Stallworth and William Stoner in 1483, demonstrating that this could be a common issue: Thorpe, ' "I haue Ben Crised and Besy", pp.107-108.

certain features of Catchmay's handwriting that change a great deal when he is unwell. These results suggest the manner in which he is writing, and help specify some of his difficulties.
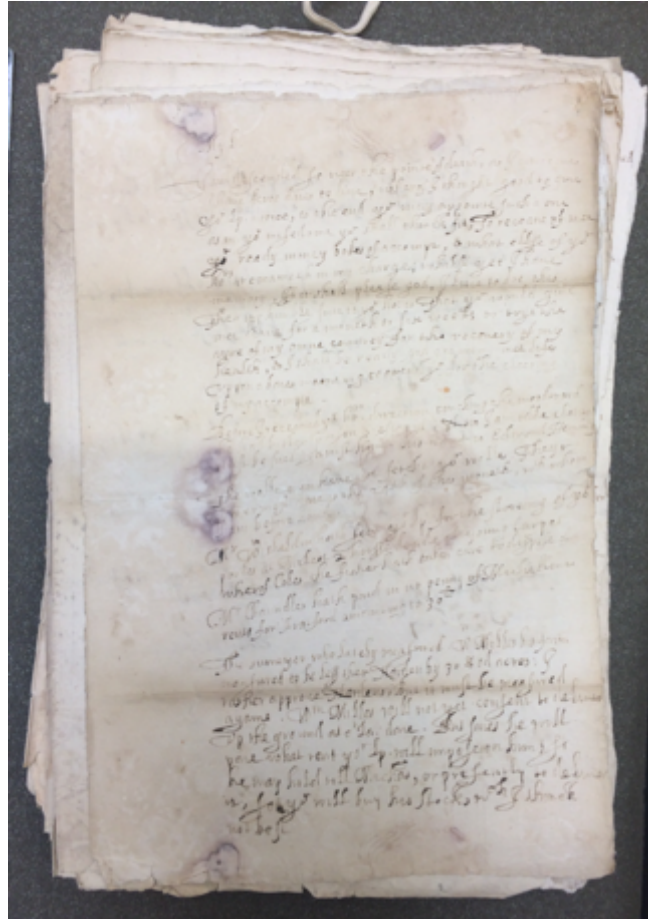
Figure 5.9: Catchmay's deathbed letter. KHLC, U269/1 E111, fol.1^{r}.

Figure 5.10: An example of Catchmay's usual handwriting. KHLC, U269/1 E111

From the results of the analysis, it is clear that the key difference between Catchmay's letterforms when he is ill, and his letterforms when he is well, is that his deathbed letterforms are much larger for the majority of letters.
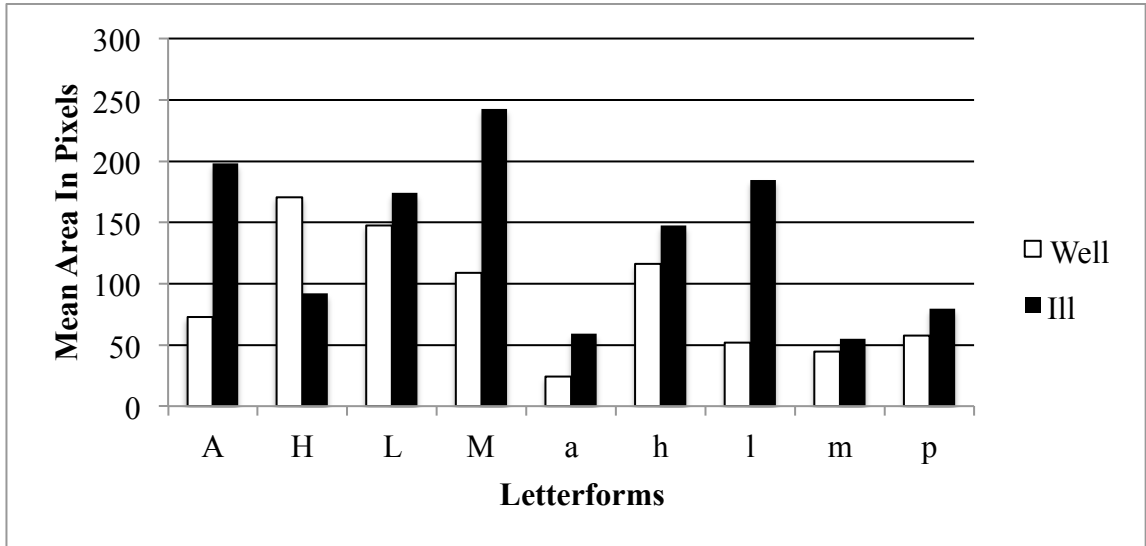
Chart 5.2: Mean Area in Pixels for Catchmay's letterforms when he is well and when he is ill.
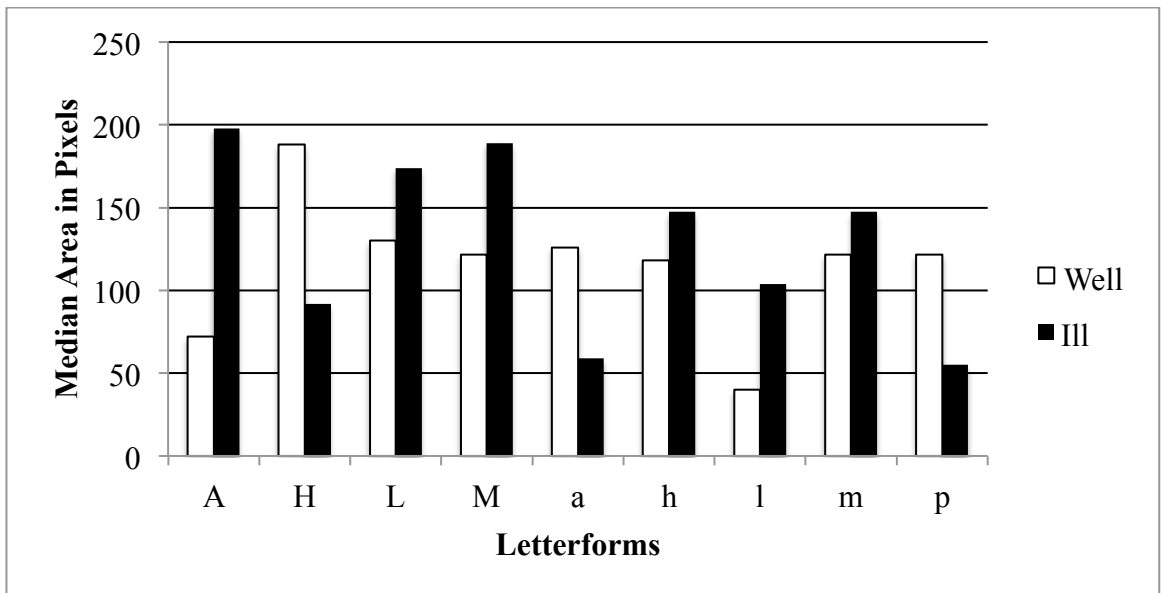
Chart 5.3: Median Area in Pixels for Catchmay's letterforms when he is well and when he is ill.

This size difference is most obviously captured in the area measurement. Both the median and mean show, across all letters apart from capital 'H' and lowercase 'p'

that, when he is unwell, Catchmay's letterforms are larger and take up more space on the page. The larger size of his deathbed letterforms could be read as a significant indication of sight-loss.[195] A 2015 study on the handwriting of teenagers with visual impairments found that they often had larger handwriting, struggled to write within lines, and sometimes created larger gaps between letters than sighted students.[196] It seems that Catchmay's handwriting at the point of his illness is larger, does not keep to a straight line, and he also leaves noticeably larger gaps between lines and words. All of these features together indicate that he suffered significant sight-loss, and that this had such an impact on his handwriting, that he struggled to write in the lead-up to his death.

The results for Major and Minor Axis Lengths can extend our understanding of how exactly Catchmay's writing becomes larger.
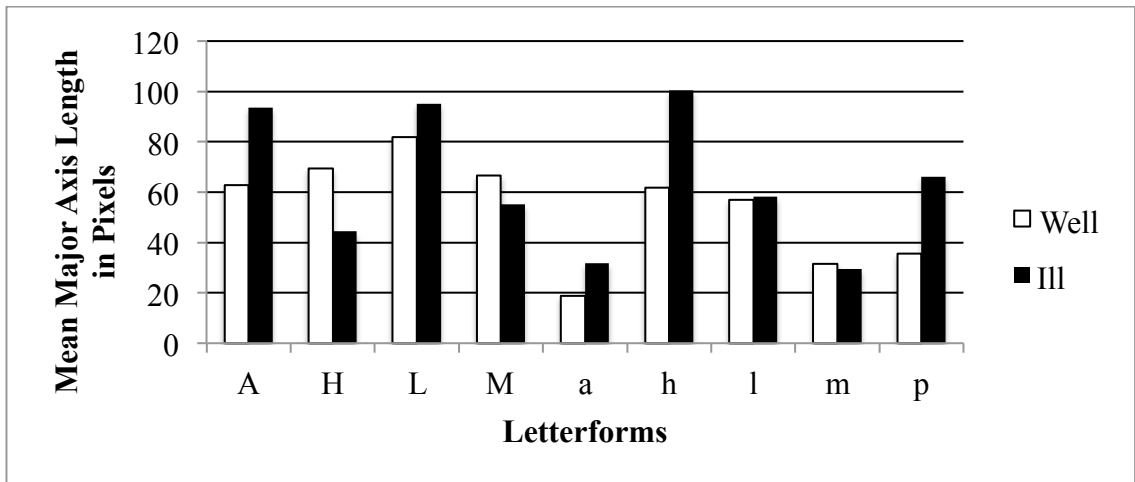
Chart 5.4: Mean Major Axis Length in pixels for Thomas Catchmay when he is well and when he is ill.

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[195] Thorpe and Alty, p.3124.
[196] Alinta Jaworski, 'A Comparison of the Handwriting Abilities of Secondary Students with Visual Impairments and Those of Sighted Students,' *Journal of Visual Impairment & Blindness*, 109:5 (Sept, 2015), 402-412 (p.407).
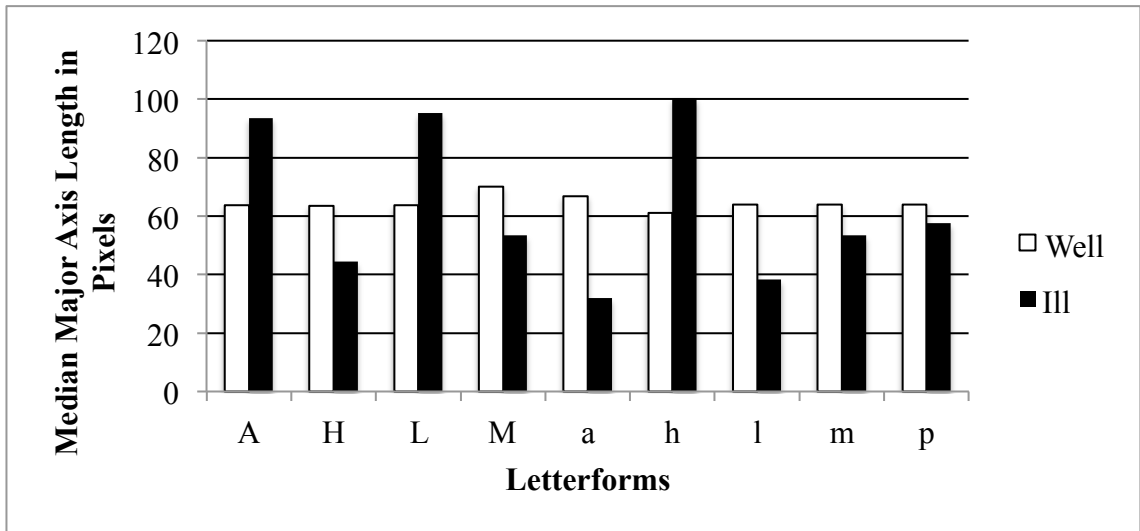
Chart 5.5: Median Major Axis Length in pixels for Thomas Catchmay when he is well and when he is ill.
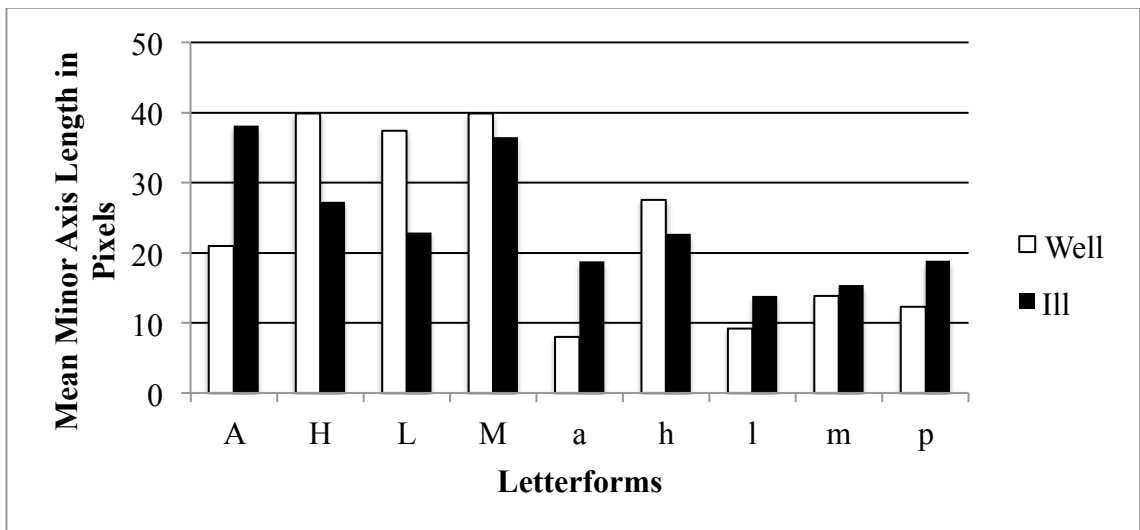
Chart 5.6: Mean Minor Axis Length in pixels for Thomas Catchmay when he is well and when he is ill.
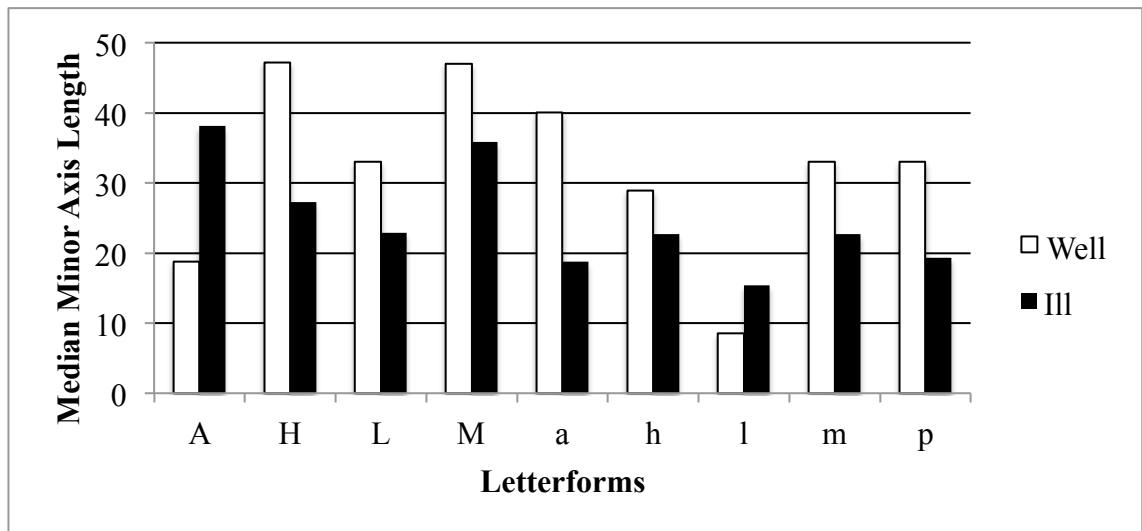
Chart 5.7: Median Minor Axis Length in pixels for Thomas Catchmay when he is well and when he is ill.

Although the measurement for Major Axis Length does not show very significant change across many of the letters when Catchmay is ill (Charts 5.5-5.7), the measurement is larger than when he is well. The Minor Axis Length values across the majority of letterforms tested are smaller when Catchmay is ill than when he is well. The major axis length for many of these letters, particularly 'H', 'L', and 'P' would be down the length of the letterform, representing a north to south movement, and the minor would likely represent horizontal or circular stroke. It seems that in illness Catchmay might find it easier to pull the quill down towards him, rather than completing movements that would force the pen away from his body. As such, the letters as they appear on the page do have the appearance of being elongated.

The loss of control over the pen can be seen in other features measured too. For example, in the orientation category (Charts 5.8 and 5.9), Catchmay's results are erratic when he is unwell.
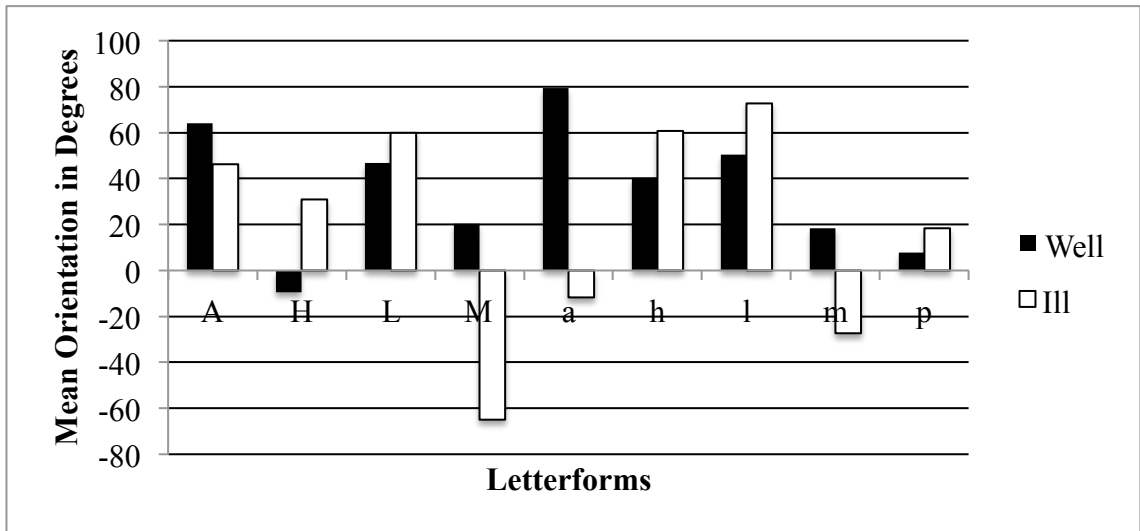
Chart 5.8: Mean Orientation in pixels for Thomas Catchmay when he is well and when he is ill.
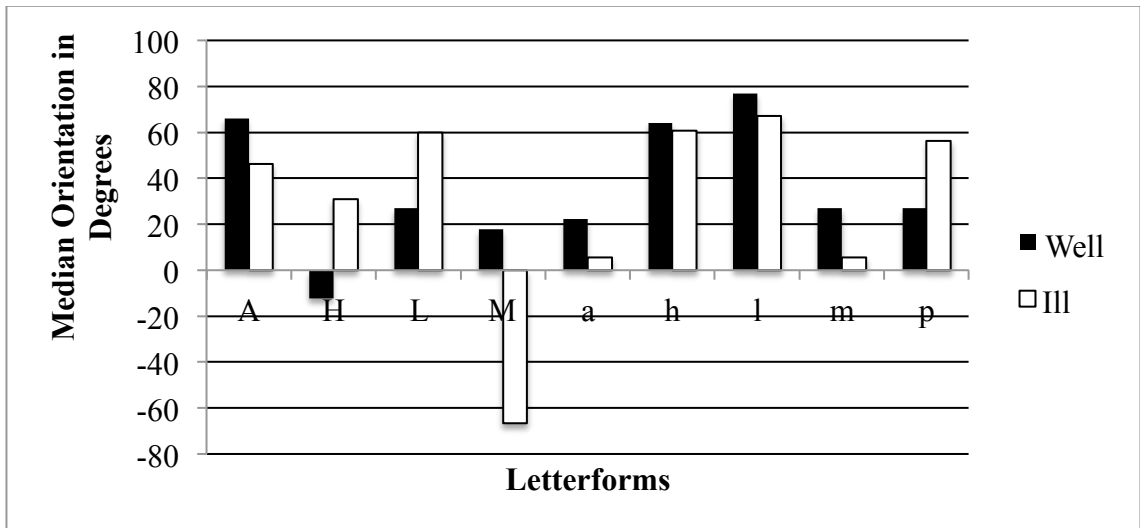
Chart 5.9: Median Orientation in pixels for Thomas Catchmay when he is well and when he is ill.

Catchmay's letter 'm', in particular, goes from being almost upright with a mean value of 20 degrees, to sloping very much to the left at -65 degrees. Many of his other letters also seem to move from an italicised angle to the right, common in right-handed scribes, to being more upright.[197] This could suggest that he is writing in a position that is unfamiliar too him, and causes him to angle his hand differently to the page than if he were at a sloping desk. As such, we might

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[197] For Right-Handed leaning letters see Thorpe and Alty, p.3125.

imagine that Catchmay is perhaps writing from his bed, or a more comfortable space than the formal set up of a desk and chair, as he fears he has 'fewe dayes to live'.[198] An unfamiliar environment, or awkward angle of the hand in relation to the paper, could then create the erraticism in his letterforms' orientation.

The Euler number is another feature measurement that shows a very significant difference between Catchmay's writing when he is well and when he is ill. The Euler number is a measure of the number of objects in an image minus the number of holes in the objects. A perfect letter 'a' would be comprised of one object, minus one hole, equating to a value of 0.
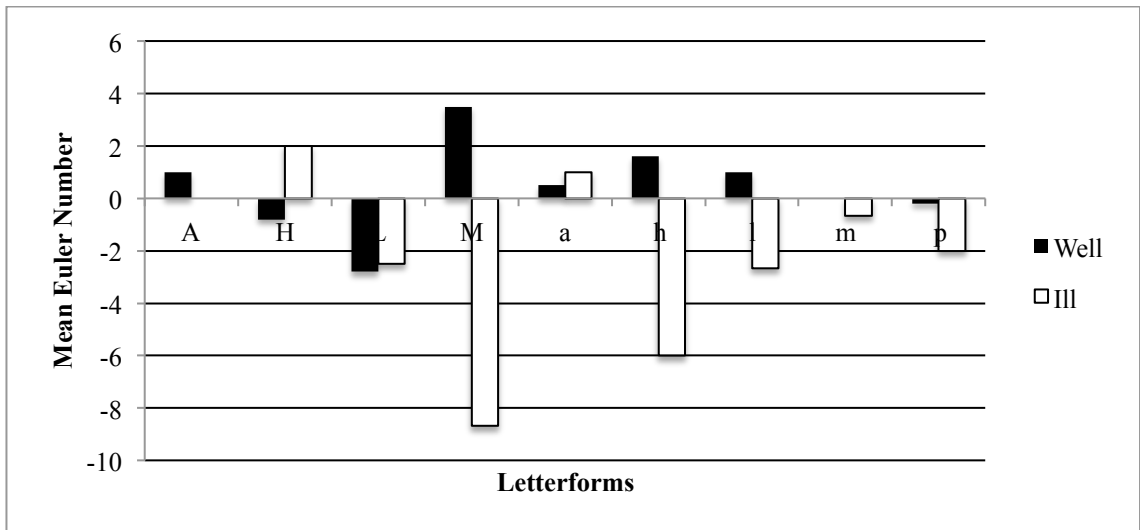
Chart 5.10: Mean Euler Number in pixels for Thomas Catchmay when he is well and when he is ill.

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[198] KHLC, U269/1 E111. Letter dated 21st January 1627.
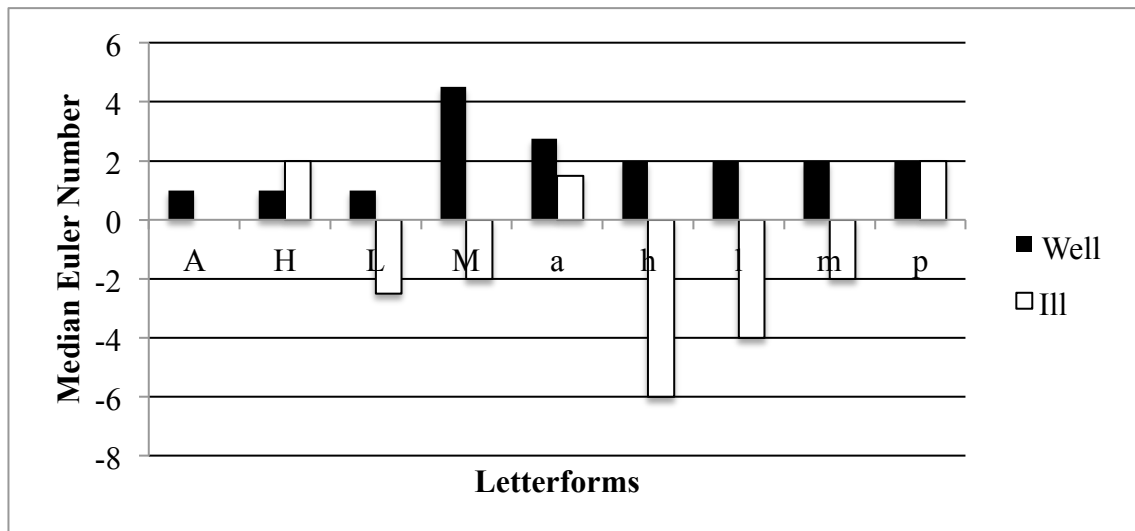
Chart 5.11: Median Euler Number in pixels for Thomas Catchmay when he is well and when he is ill.

For the mean and median values (Charts 5.10 and 5.11) when Catchmay is well, all of the letterforms sampled have more objects than there are holes, whereas, when he is ill, the reverse is principally true (apart from for the letter 'h'). As such, it seems, when ill, he is struggling with his writing flow and this is represented in his lifting of the pen multiple times when making a letterform, something that is not visible by eye, but exposed by the Euler Number measurement. It also suggests his ink distribution is more erratic, and this could again be due to his failing eyesight, which might make it difficult for him to accurately assess his ink distribution. It seems he might also be shaking, or suffering from severe muscle weakness, as this could also effect how many times he lifts his quill. This weakness is also visually signified by the disintegration of his hand as the letter goes on, signifying that fine motor skill becomes increasingly difficult, as he is fatigued with the exertion of writing.

Overall, this experiment has uncovered that illness has a very clear impact on some aspects of Catchmay's handwriting. Catchmay is struggling to form letterforms, lifting the pen multiple times and creating larger forms due to his failing eyesight. His unfamiliar writing posture is also suggested in the stark

difference in his letterform orientation. His own remarks about his handwriting, 'excus my scribling', suggest that writing is an essential part of his occupation and his identity. Furthermore he worries that his inability to write is an embarrassment, and is concerned about Lionel Cranfield's perception of his abilities as steward through his disintegrating hand.[199] His connection of his hands and eyes to his office, and his impaired ability to fulfil it, demonstrates exactly how damaging illness could be for an administrator working on an elite estate, where their livelihood could be jeopardized through the loss of the physical ability to fulfil an office to the satisfaction of their employer.

Catchmay's desire to finish the letter and complete other business is also tied to the culture of death in early modern England. He writes at the beginning of the letter that he thinks it 'good' to give Cranfield 'notice' that he is close to death so that he 'may appoint such a one as in [his] wisedome [he] shall thinck fit'.[200] Catchmay, here, demonstrates an understanding of the impact his death will have on the household community and the importance of his stewardship at Milcote that will need to be fulfilled by another. He writes that 'if it shall please god' he will live to be able to 'clear' his accounts 'uppon a daies warneing' and hopes that Cranfield will allow him leave to 'trye the ayre of my owne countrey' in a final attempt at recovery.[201] Catchmay's finalising of accounts, and other aspects of business, like the selling of wood and sheep, are part of his setting 'his worldly affairs in order', which Ralph Houlbrooke has observed was an essential part of the processes forming, what was perceived as, a 'good death'.[202] By informing

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[199] KHLC, U269/1 E111. Letter dated 21st January 1627. Spelling and grammar are not noticeably altered, suggesting he is still sound of mind.
[200] Ibid., fol.1r.
[201] Ibid., fol.1r. It is not clear where this is.
[202] Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England, 1480-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University press, 2000), p.184.

Cranfield of his need to be released from service to die and in completing all tasks pertaining to his office, Catchmay fulfils his earthly duty as a servant. He also takes the opportunity to say farewell to Cranfield and his family, calling himself their 'faithful seruant in life and death'.[203] This faithfulness, and dedication to his role as steward, is replicated in the extreme effort it takes for him to finish the letter. Despite his failing eyesight and, from the results for the Euler number, his weak hand, he still labours to tie up his accounts, suggesting the importance placed on fulfilling the duties of office until death. It is essential, then, to look at handwriting as an important expression of an administrator's identity, with the physical act being an indicator of their own capability to be responsible officeholders on an elite estate and indicative of their sense of duty to their employer.

5.7.ii. *Three Estate Administrators and their Handwriting*

This second experiment addresses the handwriting of three estate administrators. The first is Thomas Catchmay, whose hand appears in the previous experiment. The second is John Langley, tutor and bailiff at Milcote, 1636-1645.[204] Due to the manner in which he is often referred to as 'tutor' in documents in Cranfield's own hand and in lists of servants, and to there being plentiful evidence of his participation in making financial records at Milcote, it seems that Langley held a dual role as tutor to Cranfield's sons and bailiff.[205] The third hand used in this experiment is that of Henry Rose, Steward to Thomas Temple at Burton Dassett and, due to Rose's less able hand exemplified in

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[203] KHLC, U269/1 E111. Letter dated 21st January 1627, fol.1r.
[204] KHLC, U269 C251/3. Before this, Robert Fawden performs the role of 'Yeoman of the Horse' from around 1621.
[205] See KHLC, U269/1 AP76.

Temple's letter to him where he comments on his need to practise, he provides a useful comparative study between well-practised and trained hands and a less refined scribe.

The following is a list of samples taken for each hand. However, Henry Rose suffers in some categories, particularly for capital letters, because of the small extant sample of his handwriting in comparison with Langley and Catchmay.

Letterforms	Servants		
	Langley	Catchmay	Rose
A	5	7	2
H	5	6	0
L	5	7	0
M	13	7	0
P	7	2	0
a	6	4	5
h	7	7	5
k	8	8	0
m	8	8	5
p	4	8	5

Table 5.5: Table Representing the Number of Letterforms Sampled for John Langley, Thomas Catchmay and Henry Rose.

Visually, Thomas Catchmay's and John Langley's hands are very different, and this can be perceived by comparing Figures 5.10 and 5.11. Although both use flourishes on capital letters and write in mixed hands, Langley appears to use more feathering in his decoration.[206] Catchmay's hand appears less delicate than Langley's too, with very evenly applied ink and wider gaps between letters. In terms of the results for Catchmay and Langley for each of the features measured, however, they are very similar, with Henry Rose's hand yielding very different results from them both. As such, this experiment intersects with one of the central questions of this thesis: what is uniqueness in material practices? What does it

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[206] 'Feathering' is a kind of decoration involving 'fine wispy trailers and pen strokes'. Beal, *DMT*.

mean? In this case, there are different ways in which the three hands might be viewed as distinctive. First is the aesthetic, or the seemingly unique, appearance of John Langley and Thomas Catchmay's hands. However, although they look different, this uniqueness is not reflected in the data, rather, both Langley and Catchmay's results are similar, but very different from the results for Henry Rose. In this sense, looking at the details within letterforms and their formation using Image Processing is important to our understanding of uniqueness, and how far handwriting can be considered unique, amongst literate servants.
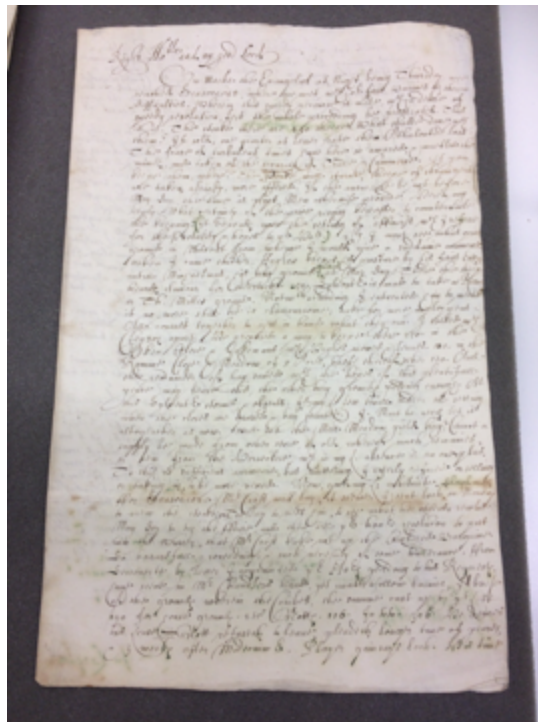
Figure 5.11: John Langley's Hand in a Letter to Cranfield, KHLC, U269/1 E128.

Perhaps the differences in many of the features measured between Langley and Catchmay's letterforms and Henry Rose's are as a result of their education, and the frequency of their writing. For example, Henry Rose's letterforms are far

larger in their form – up to six times larger for some letters, than those of John

Langley and Thomas Catchmay.
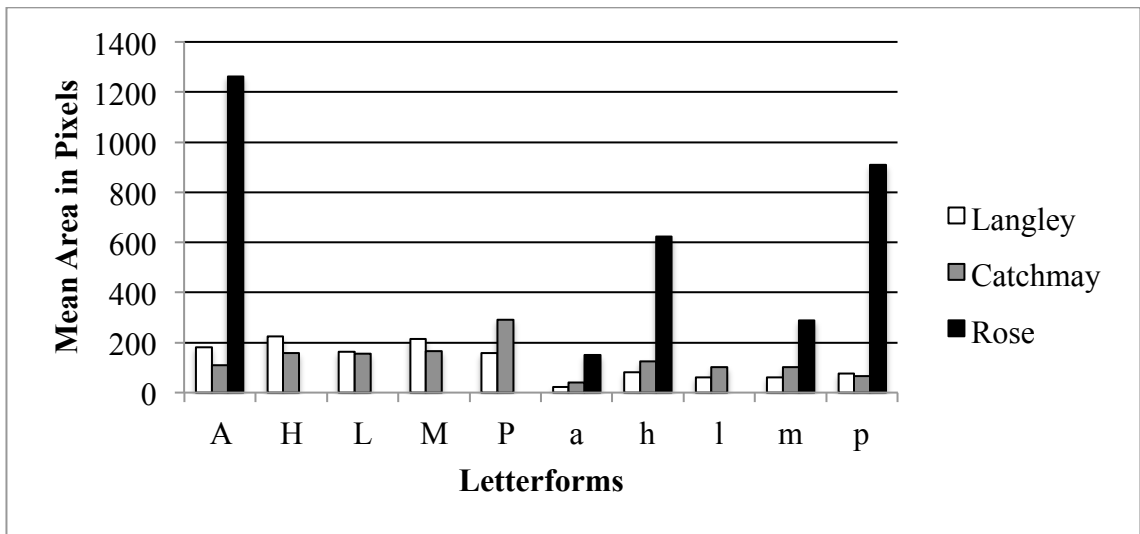
Chart 5.12: Mean Area in Pixels of the Letterforms Sampled for John Langley, Thomas Catchmay and Henry Rose.
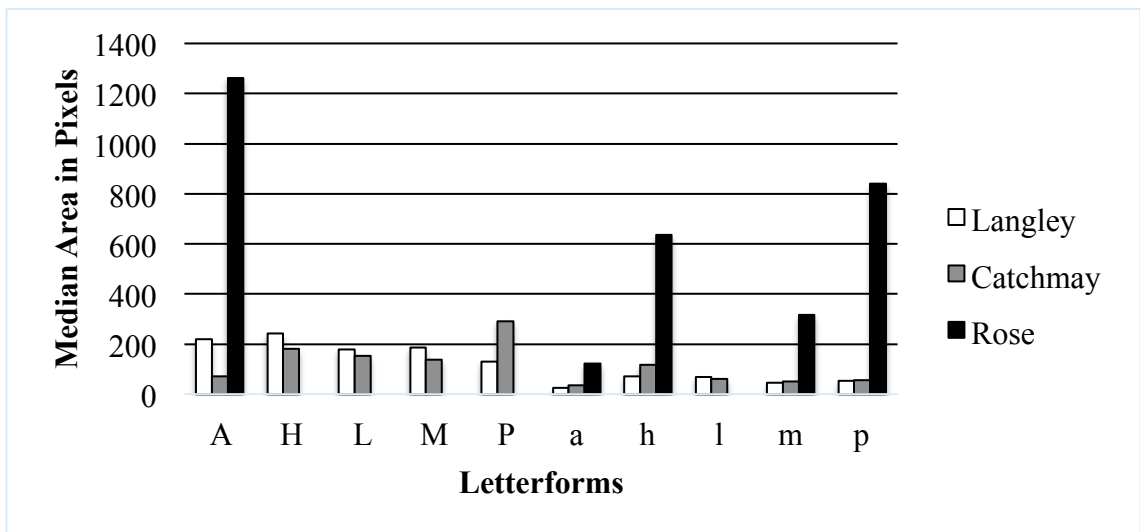
Chart 5.13: Median Area in Pixels of the Letterforms Sampled for John Langley, Thomas Catchmay and Henry Rose.
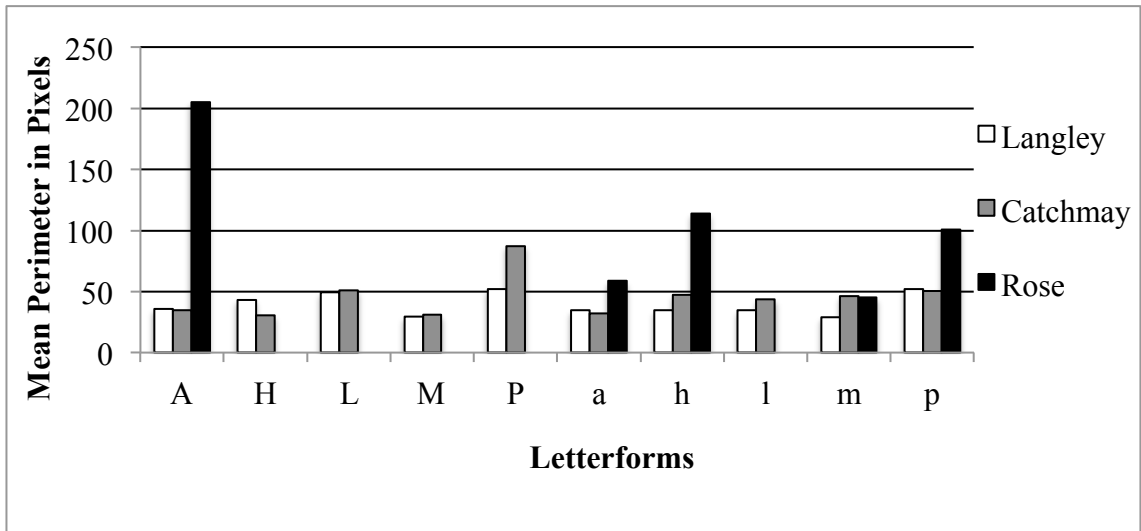
Chart 5.14: Mean Perimeter in Pixels of the Letterforms Sampled for John Langley, Thomas Catchmay and Henry Rose.
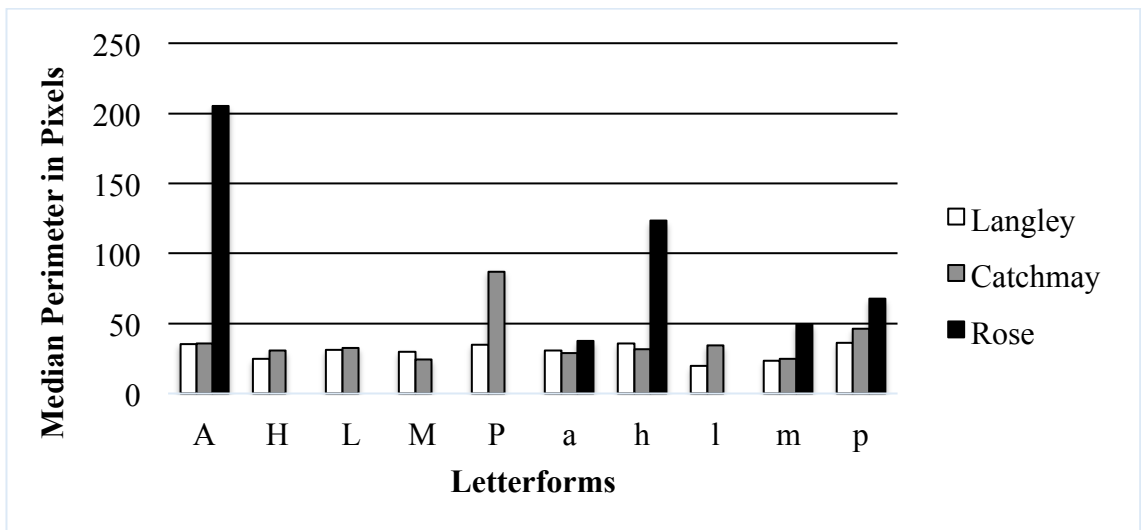
Chart 5.15: Median Perimeter in Pixels of the Letterforms Sampled for John Langley, Thomas Catchmay and Henry Rose.

The Area and Perimeter measurements (Charts 5.12-5.15) for the letterform samples, demonstrate that both the mean and the median values for Henry Rose's hand are higher. This suggests that, on the whole, his letterforms are larger than the other two servants. Importantly, Langley and Catchmay demonstrate letterforms of similar size to one another across their samples, and between their own letters suggesting a consistency and fluency in writing. Conversely, Henry

Rose demonstrates a varied size profile across letterforms. In recent studies on children and handwriting, two aspects of handwriting that develop over time are speed and fluency, with children needing to take time to create an unfamiliar form and develop the movements to execute it smoothly.[207] Henry Rose's inconsistency in size for his letterforms could indicate less familiarity with the tools of writing, and so less fluency between letters, creating varying forms.

Henry Rose's less fluent writing style is also indicated in the results for the Euler Number (Charts 5.16 and 5.17), which measures the number of holes in letterforms. Thomas Catchmay, when unwell, had a very low value for this number in his letterforms, due to the fact they had more holes in them, indicating that he often lifted his pen, and performed movements more tentatively than usual. Henry Rose's letterforms show a similar excess of holes.
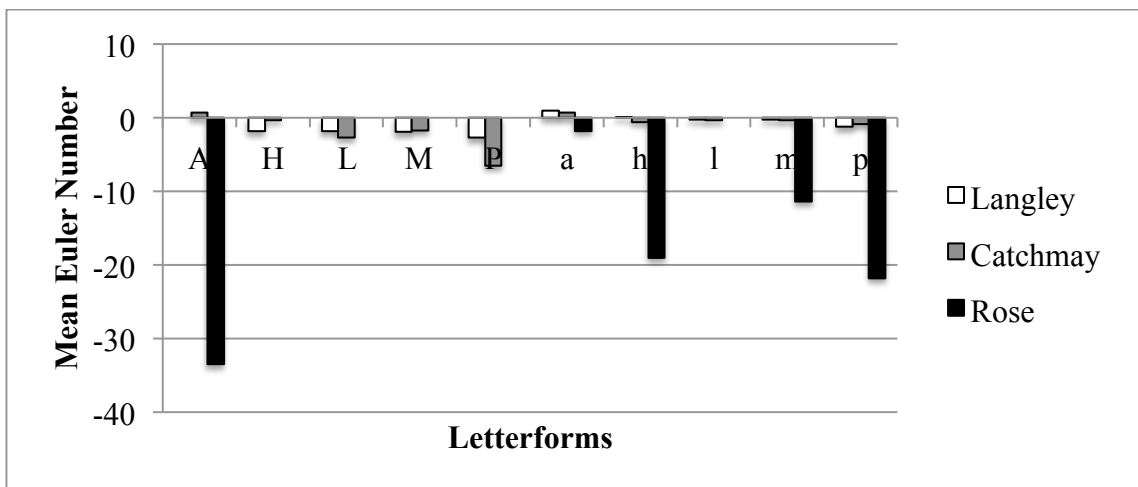
Chart 5.16: Mean Euler Number for the Letterforms Sampled for John Langley, Thomas Catchmay and Henry Rose.

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[207] Werner Wicki, 'Improvement of Handwriting Automacity Among Children Treated for Graphomotor Difficulties Over a Period of Six Months', *Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 11:2 (2018), 148-160 (p.149).
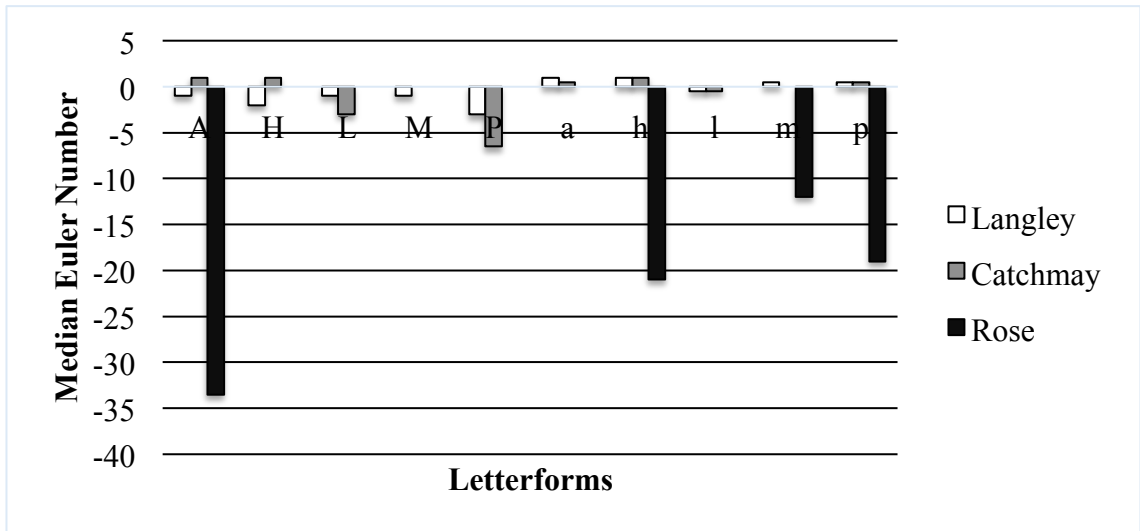
Chart 5.17: Median Euler Number for the Letterforms Samples for John Langley, Thomas Catchmay and Henry Rose.

The Euler Number measure could, then, be seen as a significant indication of a person's writing fluency. Slow, and laboured writing could result in a higher Euler Number measurement, due to the manner in which Henry Rose would be thinking more carefully about performing the right shapes of letters, and perhaps in the way he lifts the pen after many of his strokes.

Two categories that are similar across all three hands are the extent measurements and solidity measurements (Charts 5.18 -5.21).
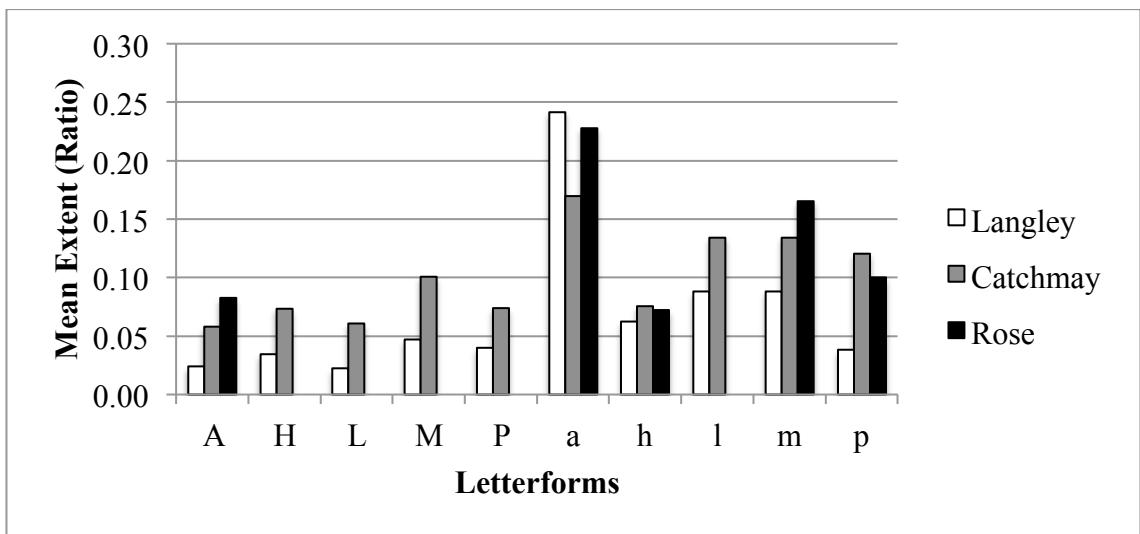
Chart 5.18: Mean Extent expressed as a Ratio between the Letterform and its Bounding Box for John Langley, Thomas Catchmay, and Henry Rose.
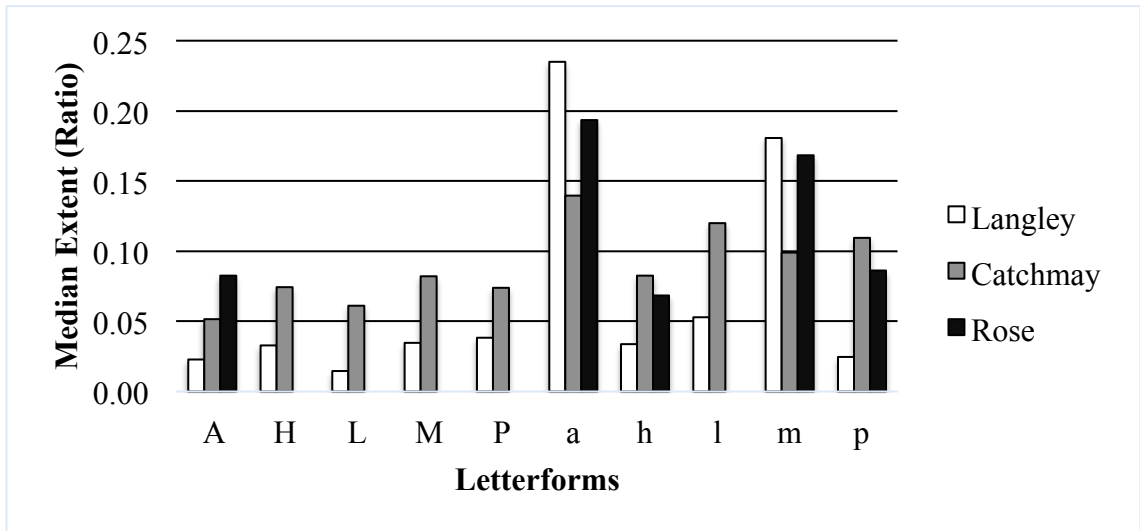
Chart 5.19: Median Extent for John Langley, Thomas Catchmay, and Henry Rose.
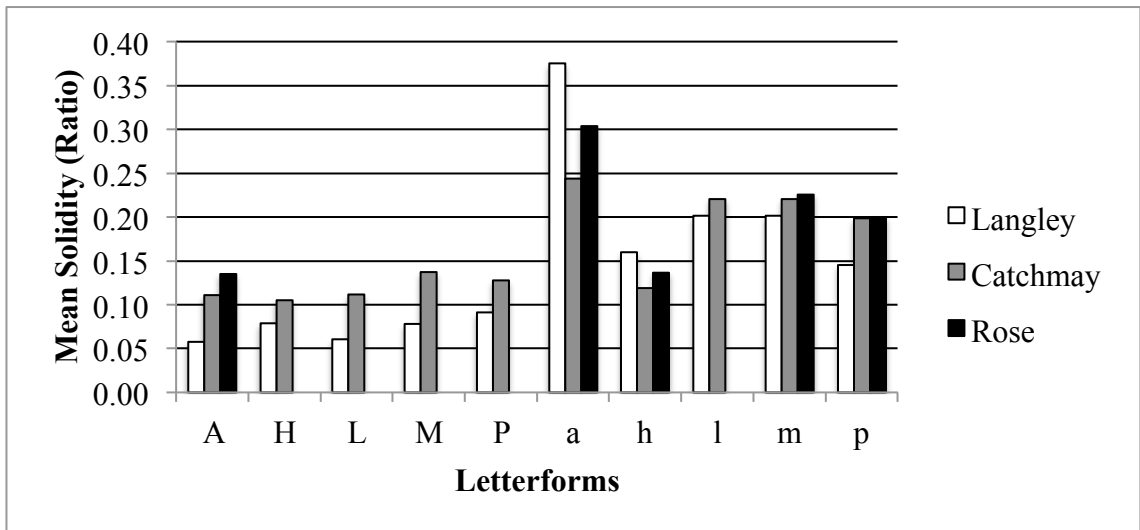
Chart 5.20: Mean Solidity for John Langley, Thomas Catchmay, and Henry Rose.
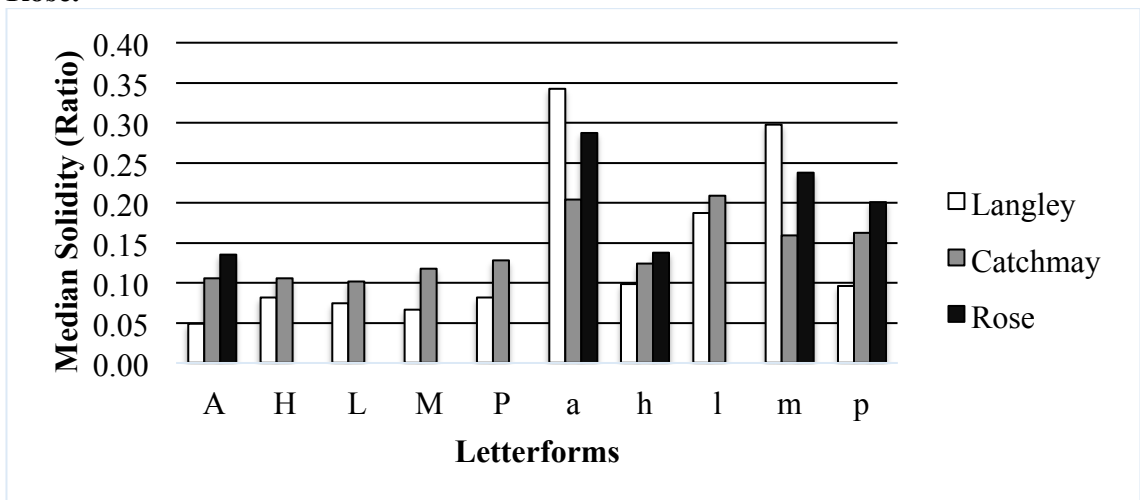
Chart 5.21: Median Solidity for John Langley, Thomas Catchmay, and Henry Rose.

The solidity values suggest the ink density is similar across letterforms, and that all three scribes are using ink that has a similar visual result. The extent values demonstrate that, on the whole, all three scribes are using a similar thickness of nib on their quill to write with. There is an indication in the data that John Langley does use a slightly thinner point, and this aligns chronologically in terms of writing practice developments in the early seventeenth century, where there is a move towards italic hand letterforms that demand a thinner nib to write with.[208] The way in which all of these scribes show largely similar extent and solidity values, perhaps points to a transmission of styles of pen within elite households. Both Henry Rose and the other two scribes are based in Warwickshire, the houses being 17 miles apart, and the closest town to both would have been Stratford-Upon-Avon. If both houses are buying quill feathers, or pre-cut quills from Stratford's market, then there is a possibility that even the tools used to write could have been from the same source.

In terms of the overall results gained from comparing these three scribes, it is clear that John Langley and Thomas Catchmay perform consistently sized letters, indicating fluidity in their writing that is not shared by Henry Rose. When looking at the spelling within their correspondence, Henry Rose uses a phonetic spelling, which is dialectical, suggesting that the roots of his education in writing are local to Warwickshire, and that he has not received extensive formal training. Although Rose is clearly valued by Thomas Temple, as a steward capable of managing his farming and husbandry at Burton Dassett, his writing skills are criticised as not being to his satisfaction, meaning that Rose's writing ability is not yet refined. Langley and Catchmay also have some responsibility in terms of

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[208] Gibson.

husbandry, but show more distance from the actual tasks involved, and more of an administrative understanding of profit and the organisation of other servants. Their language in letters shows no noticeable dialect and is very consistent, which is the result of repeated practise. This is probably why the two writers do not use scribes for their own correspondence and accounts, whereas Henry Rose often defaults to the clerk, William Hart, who has knowledge of legal forms in order to make administrative documents.[209]

Consequently, what this experiment has exposed is that, although skill at writing is desirable for stewards and bailiffs within elite estates, what Henry Rose's sample demonstrates is that it is not essential, with practical management skills and an understanding of efficient husbandry more important to the profit of the property. However, a good hand can lead to other opportunities involving writing and further responsibilities towards the rendering of documents, which both John Langley and Thomas Catchmay have, as evinced by other documents in their hands.[210] There are then two different kinds of distinctiveness at play here: a type that distinguishes the practised and proficient scribe from the less skilled hand, and a sort that is aesthetic, relying on flourishes and decoration. The results exposed by the Image Processing experiment reveal a distinction between the proficient scribes, Catchmay and Langley, and the less skilled hand, Rose. The results suggest that Catchmay's and Langley's hands are very similar, and this perhaps indicates their closeness in terms of the context in which they work, but also might evince something about their training as scribes. The results suggest that Catchmay and Langley learnt to write in a similar way and that their uniqueness, which can be visually perceived, has developed over their years of

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[209] See HL, CL&I Box 1.
[210] See for example, KHLC, U269/1 AP43 and U269 A443.

practice. The storage of the documents they produce also evinces Langley and Catchmay's spatial closeness, and how it is expressed in continuities between document organisation methods. Uniqueness in document storage is a manner of distinguishing between topics, and, in handwriting, differentiating between people. This experiment, then, demonstrates that although writing is considered an important part of a steward's role, it is not essential for them to perform as well as a clerk, rather, their responsibilities towards managing other servants, and aspects of the estate like husbandry and hospitality are equally important.

The next section of this chapter goes on to look in close detail at the writing practices of John Langley, tutor to Cranfield's sons and bailiff at Milcote. Here the relationship between handwriting and text is explored, and the connections between literary and administrative environments within an elite household is analysed.

5.8. The Literary Lives of Household Servants

John Langley is the focus of this section about the literary practices of servants and their role in the transmission of poetry. Already in this chapter some of John Langley's textual and administrative practices have been discussed, so this section aims to interrogate the boundaries between literature, administration, and service. Langley's hand appears in a variety of estate documents including correspondence, financial papers, and poetry. Often literary scholars have cited Langley as Cranfield's household steward and tutor after Michael Clayton's identification of his hand in copies of John Suckling's poetry, but it is actually John Fitzherbert who takes up the position of estate steward at Milcote from 1628

onwards.[211] Indeed, Menna Prestwich suggests that Langley is acting in the role of bailiff for the estate, collecting the rent and acting as a go-between for the tenants and Cranfield.[212] This correlates with Langley's second role as household tutor to Cranfield's sons from his second marriage – James, Lionel, and Edward – because bailiffs usually performed this role part-time and alongside other positions within or outside of a household.[213]

There is a degree of crossover between the steward's and the bailiff's duties on an estate and sometimes their roles are linguistically confused in documents.[214] Langley contributes to the financial accounts, and corresponds with Cranfield about household matters – tasks that Fitzherbert would have overseen.[215] An important distinction here between Fitzherbert and Langley is that there is a clear sense of hierarchy, with Langley referring to Fitzherbert in the present tense as 'steward', and signing his name on correspondence at the lowest point at the bottom right hand side of the paper as a sign of deference to Cranfield that is more exaggerated than for Fitzherbert.[216] Langley's role as tutor is also complicated by the fact that, within documents, he is referred to as 'chaplain'.[217] It was common in the early seventeenth century for household tutors to also be chaplains, due to the fact that they would have had the same kind of university

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[211] See his hand in the estate accounts, from 1628 onwards: KHLC, U269/A20/2. For citations from literary scholars see: Woudhuysen, p.84; 'U269/F6' *CELM*; Mary L. North, 'Household Scribes and the Production of Literary Manuscripts in Early Modern England', *Journal of Early Modern Studies*, 4 (2015), 133-157 (p. 137).

[212] See Prestwich, pp. 540 and 571.

[213] See D.R.Hainsworth, *Stewards, Lords and People: The Estate Steward and his World in Later Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.17.

[214] Hainsworth, p.17.

[215] William Hill writes to Cranfield on this occasion: 'I am hartelie glad that Mr Langley doth soe well supply the place of your chapleyne'. KHLC, U269/C/325. Letter dated 8th December 1636 from Tewksbury. See Langley's draft accounts, and notes: KHLC, U269/A443 and his correspondence to Cranfield in KHLC, U269/1/E128. For a general introduction to the duties of an estate steward see: Hainsworth, particularly chapters 2 and 3.

[216] See for example KHLC, U269/A443; and U269/A420/1 account books. See also correspondence U269/1 E128.

[217] KHLC, U269/C/325. Letter dated 8th December 1636 from Tewksbury. William Hill to Lionel Cranfield.

education. Taking up such a position would be a good way of enhancing a scholar's social status and preparing them for a career in the church.[218] This case study looks at Langley's household role as estate chaplain/tutor and bailiff from 1636, where his paper trail begins, up until 1643. In 1645, Langley arrived in the St. Paul's area of London, and Menna Prestwich suggests that he retired there.[219]

The evidence for John Langley's literary participation within Cranfield's household is a small pamphlet of verse, authored by John Suckling, which Langley copies. Michael Clayton was the first scholar to attribute the copying to John Langley and, since this attribution, Langley has been cited frequently as an example of a servant partaking in the literary culture of an elite household.[220] However, during my research into the Cranfield archive, I have come across other documents suggesting Langley's involvement in household literary culture, principally book lists that are in his hand.[221]

The difficulties in establishing the role of servants in the copying and production of verse have been well documented by literary scholars. These issues are expressed by Henry Woudhuysen who argues that 'the evidence for these practices is generally lacking and not always clear' and that, in the event that an attribution can be made, as in the case of Langley, 'it has to be decided whether he was working on his own or his employer's behalf'.[222] Daniel Starza Smith has

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[218] Sheila McIssac Cooper, 'Servants as Educators in Early Modern England', *Pedagogic Historica* 43:4 (August, 2007), 547-563 (p.560).
[219] Prestwich, p.571. See Langley's final letter from St. Paul's: KHLC, U269/C251/3.
[220] KHLC, U269/F36. Thomas Clayton, *The Works of John Suckling* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).
[221] KHLC, U269/A460; U269/1 E198/2, 'An exact Particular of the Bookes of the R.H the Earle of Middlesex left in Copthall May 1 1626'. However, the date of this list does not correlate with its contents, which are dated up to 1636, so I would give the actual date of this list as 1636. The list is also in Langley's hand, which would not be surprising, as we saw Langley on an errand to Copt Hall earlier in the chapter to fetch documents, and William Hill also asks Langley to go there to copy letters patent. U269/1 E220. As such it seems that numerous books and documents were left at Copt Hall even after Cranfield moved his main provincial residence in 1636.
[222] Woudhuysen, pp.83 and 84.

provided one of the most comprehensive studies of the scribal circulation of poetry into an elite household, with Sir Henry Goodere sending John Donne's work to Sir Edward Conway as part of a complex patronage relationship.[223] In gaining Conway's patronage, Goodere was able to secure his daughters' financial protection 'endorsed and procured by Lord Conway' for eight months after his death.[224] Starza Smith shows that service, which involved the circulation of poetry to a patron, either from the poet or scribally could, then, lead to social advantages. Using evidence for John Langley's literary work in comparison with Henry Stanford, tutor to William Paget, Robin Carey, and George Berkeley, about whom more biographical information is known, this section resituates John Langley's copies of poetry and book lists as part of his roles as tutor and bailiff to understand how his scribal service enabled the circulation of Suckling's poetry into the household.[225]

Both Henry Stanford and John Langley were employed for the primary purpose of educating the male children of their employers. Henry Stanford was certainly university educated and graduated from Trinity College, Oxford, in 1575.[226] Although it is difficult to ascertain whether Langley also received a university education, he is perhaps one of the many John Langleys who graduated

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[223] Starza Smith, *John Donne*.
[224] Ibid., p.279.
[225] For Research on Henry Stanford see: Steven May, *Henry Stanford's Anthology: An Edition of Cambridge University Library Manuscript Dd.5.75* (New York and London: Garland, 1988); Steven May, 'Henry Stanford's "God Knows What"', *English Manuscript Studies*, 16, (2011), 70-81; L.G. Black, 'Some Renaissance Children's Verse', *The Review of English Studies*, 93 (1973), 1-16; Katherine Duncan-Jones, '"They say made good end": Ben Jonson's Epitaph on Thomas Nashe', *The Ben Jonson Journal*, 3.1 (1996), 1-19; Katherine Duncan-Jones, 'Bess Carey's Petrarch: Newly Discovered Elizabethan Sonnets', *Review of English Studies*, 50.99 (1999), 304-319; David Wiles, 'A Poor Man's "What Shall I Do?" *Notes and Queries*, (1994), 452-455; Juliet Dusinberre, 'Pancakes and a date for as you Like it', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 54 (2003), 371-405.
[226] May, *Anthology*, p. ix.

from Oxford University in the early seventeenth century.[227] Both of these tutors took positions within families with rich cultural lives.

Henry Carey, whom Stanford worked for in the late sixteenth century, took patronage of the Lord Strange's Men, who later became the Chamberlain's Men, and the family extended patronage to numerous poets and musicians including Edmund Spenser, Thomas Churchyard, Thomas Nashe, William Warner, John Dowland, and Thomas Morley.[228] It is within this environment that Stanford gathered verses into a miscellany published in an edition by Steven May.[229]

Within Cranfield's household, although not as well connected to poets, John Langley would have encountered John Suckling, though not in the context of a patron-poet transaction. John Suckling the poet, was Cranfield's nephew. His father, also John, secured Cranfield's connection to court and facilitated his gaining of the receivership of Somerset and Dorset during his role as secretary to Thomas Sackville.[230] This favour set Cranfield on track to be granted a coat of arms, a knighthood, and the title of 'earl', making this relationship highly significant for its facilitation of Cranfield's rise in social status.[231] John Suckling (poet) often stayed with the family, and could have given poetry as gifts or circulated pieces amongst the household. Cranfield was also part of the 'mitre club' at the Mermaid Tavern, where he would have come into contact with the likes of John Donne, Inigo Jones, and Ben Jonson.[232] The poet John Taylor was

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[227] <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714/pp868-892> [accessed 22/8/2018].
[228] May, *Anthology,* pp.ix-x.
[229] See CUL, Dd. 5.75. May, *Anthology.*
[230] 'Lionel Cranfield, First Earl of Middlesex', *ODNB.*
[231] See *ODNB* and KHLC, U269/1 F2, for grant of arms by Segar.
[232] Roberts, p.101. See also I.A Shapiro, 'The "Mermaid Club"', *The Modern Language Review*, 45.1 (1950), 6-17. There is a surviving letter from John Donne's son, also John, suggesting correspondence with the family: KHLC, U269/C52/2.

also associated with the family, writing a poem about Copt Hall in 1639.[233] Langley would have had access to a vast array of printed books, from Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, to Thomas More's *Utopia*, and to Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*.[234] It seems that, over the course of his life, Cranfield saw the value of a humanist education, and also perceived it as entwined with his rising status. He entered the Middle Temple in 1618, 21 years after he gained freedom of the mercer's company.[235] Langley would come to play an important role in the cultural life of Cranfield's family, providing his sons with a status appropriate level of education, which would include teaching verse.[236]

Both Henry Stanford and John Langley used poetry for the education of students, and they made judgements about the poetry deemed appropriate for this purpose. For Henry Stanford, his literary influence continued throughout his students' lives, with his correspondence with Elizabeth Carey, Lady Berkeley, whom he tutored as a child, revealing his impact on her reading even as an adult. [237] John Langley's copying of some of John Suckling's poems was principally for Cranfield's sons' education. This is suggested by the ephemera his pamphlet is grouped with, which are made up of various other Suckling poems usually folded bifolium, or on single sheets. The other copies are in immature hands that imitate Langley's letterforms, and Peter Beal has suggested that these are the hands of the boys Langley tutors. This plausible attribution provides a link between Langley's occupation and his literary engagement.[238] Of course, this was probably not the whole purpose of Langley's copying – it's likely he also enjoyed

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[233] Roberts, p.98.
[234] KHLC, U269/1 E198/2, fols 1ʳ-2ᵛ.
[235] Prestwich, p.50.
[236] L.G. Black, p.13.
[237] BC, GL/5/129, GL/5/130, GL/5/176.
[238] See Peter Beal, 'John Suckling' on *CELM*.

the poetry and wished to preserve copies – but his practical use of it demonstrates a particular kind of occupational engagement.

The poems copied by Langley and by Cranfield's sons are not on luxury paper and are on two different stocks, with Langley compiling into a quarto booklet bearing a grapevine watermark and Cranfield's sons writing on bifolia showing a pot watermark. Neither Cranfield, nor anyone else in the early seventeenth-century household, endorses the poems and so it is perhaps an accident that these copies have survived. What is clear is that these poems were drawn originally from autograph copies by Suckling (not extant), evinced by the imitation signatures on the copies by Cranfield's sons.[239] From the previous section of this chapter, it is clear that Langley's hand is refined and well-practised. The imitation of Langley's handwriting would be an important pedagogical tool, and in line with the educational writing practices of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As Brinsley writes in *Ludus Literius*: 'to procure the most excellent copies from the beginning for our scholars, whatsoeuer they cost and to keep [students] constantly to them: they will soone be quite the cost to both Master and Scholar'. Although this is describing the kind of copying-to-learn practices that happen in a grammar school setting with copybooks, it is clear that, when the writing tutor is perceived to use an exemplary script, their hand can be used as the exemplar. The aim would be to get the student to produce handwriting that was similar to the scribe they copied from.[240]

In a household setting, the same practice would be used within a narrower group of teachers and learners, which, in this case, involved Langley as tutor and Cranfield's three sons as the students. In comparison, although we do not see

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[239] KHLC, U269/F36.
[240] Brinsley, pp.37 and 38.

Stanford's students imitating his hand in the same way as Langley's do, it is clear that Elizabeth Carey, Lady Berkeley, chooses to educate her own children – Theophilia and George (who also spends time under Stanford's tutelage) – in writing, and examples of their juvenile scripts demonstrate many of the features within their mother's italic hand.[241]

Langley's hand can be seen as exemplary, in the sense that it is suitable to be used in the education of children. The communication between Langley's hand and that of his student also copying Suckling's poetry can be seen in the decorative features; flourishes that are consistent across both hands. The student copying Suckling's poem 'A Dreame', complete with an imitation of Suckling's signature at the bottom, used many of the same features present in Langley's hand, but less securely.[242] For example, the 'I's and 'J's have long descenders, as do the 'A's, and loops on 'h's and 'd's slope in the same direction. However, this hand is inconsistent and varies in size, an indication of the concentration the student must keep in imitating a script with features that demand unfamiliar movements and pen use. This lack of familiarity in terms of movement, and the way in which the student's hand interacts with the quill, is seen in the hesitation demonstrated at the turn of strokes and the end of letters, where there is a darker, sometimes blotted patch of ink where the pen has stopped its easy flow of moment, showing where the student paused to think of where to turn.[243]

In terms of practising handwriting, this development of an imitative script, can be seen as a part of the formation of a practice-based community. This is because Langley, in leading through the material examples of his own script,

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[241]BC, GL/4/1/6, and GL/4/1/4.
[242] KHLC, U269/1 F36.
[243] This is particularly seen on letters 'P' and 'Y', but also on the letter 't' when it finishes a word and on some of the decorative loops.

encouraged his students to learn the same practices of movement to create similar results. Again, here, Mauss' 'Techniques of the Body' can be applied to this educational context in order to understand it as a practice community.[244] Langley's exemplary hand is the goal of his students, which, through practice and movement might be attained. This practice of imitation could also explain the similarities in the results of Langley's and Catchmay's handwriting, if they learnt to write through imitating similar models.[245] A comparison can be drawn between Langley and his students and the Donne poems found in the Conway papers that were written by Sir Henry Goodere and a scribe known as the 'para-Goodere hand'. Daniel Starza Smith suggests that Goodere commissions the scribe responsible for the para-Goodere material.[246] If so, similarities between hands within households could be used as a means if marking communities and power-relationships, with scribes, servants and children mimicking the hands of those servants and family members in senior positions.

Within this context, it is not only important to think about the actual handwriting and its material features, but how it was entwined with the content of the poetry used to teach writing. Although Michael Clanchy has argued that medieval scribes often performed script without being able to read, divorcing content from the act of writing, a reliance on this model in later learning to write practices is inappropriate.[247] Content was seen as being as important to learning to write as the act itself in this period, and indeed, knowing how to read was the first step in learning to write in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, with

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[244] Mauss, 'Techniques'.
[245] Image Processing was not used to compare Langley's hand with that of Cranfield's children, as it is visually clear that they mimic his hand.
[246] Starza Smith, pp.215-217.
[247]Michael Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), p.126.

reading taught a number of years before writing.[248] This was addressed in educational discourses of the period. Printed copybooks like *A Booke Containing Diverse Sorts of Hands* presented its scripts in the form of moralistic verses, and books like *Ludus Literius* warned against the use of scriveners for learning to write due to their focus on the aesthetic appearance of script over the content of the texts they taught with.[249] Many manuscript examples demonstrating the development of handwriting also included subject matters appropriate to a student's moral development, in line with their gender or status. For example, Ann Bowyer compiled verse on subjects such as thinking before speaking and warnings against making rash decisions.[250] Likewise a young child practising handwriting at the back of Nicholas Finkley's commonplace book also wrote a couplet of moralistic subject matter on Dives and Lazarus.[251] As such, it is appropriate to explore how Suckling's poetry might have been employed by Langley, and other poems used by Stanford, to tutor with this dual purpose of an educational message alongside script practice.

It seems that Henry Stanford clearly considered the merits of the materials he gave his students to read. This emerges in the poetry his students produced as New Years' gifts: poems, which were copied into Stanford's commonplace book.[252] These poems are full of classical images, suggesting the influence of humanism upon his students' education. Stanford also encouraged Elizabeth Carey in her translation of Petrarch, suggesting that a mixture of translation and

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[248] Spufford, 'First Steps', pp.410-412.
[249] De Beau-Chesne and Brinsley, p.38.
[250] 'Words ought to be well filed in the hart/ befor by the tonge the bee outered' and 'rashness brings sorrow', Bod. L., Ashmole MS 51, fols 2ᵛ and 3ʳ.
[251] BL, MS Sloane 1203, fol.96ᵛ.
[252] May, *Anthology*.

poetic composition was part of his educational style.[253] The writing of poetry by Stanford's students was used as a means of learning verse form, conventions of classical imagery, and humility. For example, William Paget wrote, at the end of a verse intended as a New Year's gift, that he intended to show the 'rare good gifts' of his mother, but in 'rude and ragged rime', inserting a humility clause into his work.[254] As L.G. Black has pointed out, these verses read as 'exercises in particular rhetorical techniques' and are imitations of 'contemporary models'.[255] Imitation, then, can extend into content as well as handwriting between tutors and their students of this period.

A similar practice of teaching handwriting entwined with moral and rhetorical values can be seen in John Suckling's poetry provided by Langley. Although the surviving booklet of poetry in Langley's hand is a compilation of love poetry, it does have a distinctly moralistic tone. For example, the first copied poem ends with the couplet: 'spare dyet is the cause loue lasts/ for surfets sooner kill than fasts'. So the danger of indulging in love at the expense of other tasks is compared with excessive consumption of food. This kind of conflation of indulging in love with the consumption of food and goods to excess pervades the pamphlet. Langley separates the last four lines of the third poem, *Against Fruition*, from the main body with a thick dividing line, situating the finale in a manner that suggests he might have perceived it as a useful commonplace:

> And leaues us roome to guesse: so here restraint
> Holds up delight, that with excesse would faint.
> They who know all the wealth they haue
> He's onely rich, that cannot count his store.

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[253] May, *Anthology*; Duncan-Jones, 'Bess Carey's Petrarch'.
[254] May, *Anthology*, p.6.
[255] L.G.Black, p.4.

Again, there is a distinctly moralistic tone to the verse, with an evocation to exercise restraint, and not focus too carefully on outward signs of wealth – 'count his store'. This tone carries into the poetry copied by Langley's students, with the two poems including an imitation of Suckling's signature at the bottom of each, both about privately repenting sins to God.[256] So although it would be reductive to say that the content in its entirety is moralistic, when read within an educational context, it is clear what kind of lesson the poem might have given Langley's students.[257] This purpose is materially implied by the physical separation of this section away from the rest of the poem.

Equally, Suckling's poems speak to the humanist education that Langley provided Cranfield's sons. One of the pieces, in a small italic hand that imitates some of Langley's forms, speaks to this context:

> Reuenge is sweete & reckned as cleare gaine
> Aboundance breedes contempt, in baser minds,
> Chance & wisdom, ne'r march in selfsame train
> Hope (to susteine it) somethinge euer finds.
> Enuie pines; at welfare of another
> Loue laboureth alwaies, to good his brother
> Fortitude defies, peeuishe fortunes frowne
> Anger deuesteth us, of al reason,
> Nobilitie from vertue, hath hir crowne,
> Esteeme of pietis growne out of season.[258]

One of the key values of humanism is the connection of nobility to virtue over, or in addition to, lineage. This poem fits within this context, with the line: 'nobilitie from vertue, hath hir crowne'.[259] Not only is this appropriate to the tenets of a

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[256] KHLC, U269/1 F36.

[257] The first texts set in the early modern grammar school would be those giving moral lessons, like school dialogues, the *Distichs of Cato* and Aesop's *Fables*. Peter Mack, 'Rhetorical Training in the Elizabethan Grammar School', *The Oxford Handbook of the Age of Shakespeare*, ed. by Malcolm Smuts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp.200-213, (p.201).

[258] KHLC, U269/F36. Published as John Suckling, 'Gnomics' in Thomas Clayton, *The Works of John Suckling* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p.95

[259] For a key study of this see David Rundle, 'Humanism before the Tudors: On Nobility and the Reception of the *Studia Humanitatis* in Fifteenth Century England', in *Reassessing Tudor*

humanist education, but also to the household context from which this poem emerged. If Suckling was writing this manuscript poetry with the intent of passing it onto Lionel Cranfield as a reader, he would have been well aware of Cranfield's recent elevation to the Earl of Middlesex, and so this linking of nobility to virtue over lineage would have been a compliment to the family too.[260] The poem also warns against anger to the point of losing 'reason'; another quality taught to boys receiving an education in this period, for their future would be in the making of decisions in line with responsible governance.[261] Langley used these poems to strategically build the social awareness of Cranfield's sons, as well as to provide an appropriate education to prepare them for future societal roles in governance.

Langley's role as chaplain, then, involved a great deal of skill at performing script and providing exemplars to his students, in addition to demonstrating discretion in the content of the poetry he provided for them. Equally, in being charged with the education of Cranfield's sons, Langley was in a trusted position within the household, preparing the boys for their future roles. Although Langley's correspondence with Cranfield cannot contextualise his cultural influence on Cranfield's family, the importance and influence of a good household tutor is clear from Henry Stanford's correspondence with Elizabeth Carey. Stanford frequently wrote to her about books, and used their shared reading experiences to generate meaning within his correspondence. 'My bookes left in your tronck I pray you send me by the carrier for since you are not settled but wander like the Isle Delos', for example, islands mentioned in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as floating, uses a simile drawn from a shared reading

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Humanism, ed. by Jonathan Woolfson (London and New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2002), pp.23 and 24.

[260] KHLC, U269/1 F2.

[261] Rundle, p.23-24.

experience.[262] This collective understanding of the floating islands shows the united cultural identity education can bring. These common cultural references also demonstrate the importance of education to accessing the dialogue of the court and government, something Lionel Cranfield might have come to understand in his desire to attend the Middle Temple in 1618.

The reading of Ovid is something Stanford also suggests to Elizabeth as appropriate for her daughter, Theophilia, to teach her feminine behaviour, because Ovid, in his third book of Metamorphosis, 'doth furnishe a complet lady w[i]th agreeing qualities to her sexe'.[263] This suggestion again entwines the reading of literature with education through example. Literary service is defined by Langley's and Stanford's expertise at reading, where they would take the time to choose extracts of text that could enhance their employer's education, and simultaneously reinforce their position as trusted, high-ranking servants with access to literature.[264] Both men had an influence on the cultural lives of the people they served through their mediation of the literature that came into the household. They also performed their service through reading and writing for their students and employers. With service being dependent 'on action and act', Langley's and Stanford's active, engaged reading practices can be perceived as tied to their employment.[265]

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[262] BC, GL/5/129. Ovid, *Metamorphosis,* trans. By David Raeburn, Book 6 (London: Penguin, 2004), p.226, line 334.
[263] BC GL/5/176.
[264] North, pp.143-144. She discusses Rawson's role in the Southwell-Sibthorpe miscellany saying that he might have sourced literature due to the favour he could earn, as well as due to this task being part of his service.
[265] Elizabeth Rivlin, 'Service and Servants in Early Modern English Culture to 1660', *Journal of Early Modern Studies*, 4 (2015), 17-41 (p.20). A similar relationship can be perceived between Sir Henry Goodere and John Donne who circulated poetry to Sir Edward Conway. In doing so, they had an influence on the cultural life of the household, and many of Goodere's copies of poetry survive within the Conway papers, demonstrating their significance as texts to the family. Starza Smith, *John Donne*.

Not only does Langley, in his choosing of appropriate poems for his students' education, demonstrate discretion in his poetic taste, he also does this by buying books, another similarity he has with Stanford. A book receipt signed by Langley shows his purchase of Erasmus' *Colloquia,* two English Catechisms, *Janua Linguarum* (the gate of languages), Godwin's *History of Henry VIII*, a *Dictionary of History and Geography*, and George Herbert's *Sacred Poem*s.[266] These books were primarily for an educational purpose, particularly the two copies of the catechisms, which would have allowed either two students, or Langley and a student to follow the text at the same time. Langley's choice of Erasmus, Herbert, Godwin's *History*, and *The Gate of Languages*, however, are more subjective, and serve an educational purpose devised from his own tastes. Henry Stanford also did this and offered robust opinions of certain authors, calling Luther 'worthy of immortalitie' but describing Erasmus' writing as 'harsh', and he sent Elizabeth a manuscript copy of poetry by a 'Mr Lawson' that he judged as 'worth the reading'.[267] Indeed, it seems that Stanford not only acted as tutor to Elizabeth, and subsequently her son, but he was a valued giver of literary advice. Stanford's taste was esteemed, and it seems he often read books even before they reached Elizabeth. A printed copy of *Diana of George of Montemayor* survives in Berkeley Castle muniments with Stanford's annotations for Elizabeth marking certain sections, a practice that he seems to do for her on other occasions, with Elizabeth complimenting Stanford on his notes which gave her 'great satisfaction' in her reading of another book.[268] This practice was common within elite

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[266] Desiderius Erasmus, *Epitome Colloquiorum Erasmi* (Cambridge: Excudebat Rogerus Daniel Academiae Typographus, 1634); William Bathe, *Lanua Linguarum* (London: In Officina R. Young, 1631); Francis Godwin, *Annales of England* (London: W. Stansby, 1630); and George Herbert, *The Temple* (Cambridge: T.Buck and R. Daniel, 1634).
[267] BC, GL/5/129; and GL/5/130.
[268] BC, GL 3/4/1; and 14.4b.

households, who sometimes employed a scholar as a 'facilitator' to help with 'easing the difficult negotiations between modern needs and ancient texts'.[269] In this sense, both Langley and Stanford conducted the kind of 'goal orientated' reading – reading to excerpt and interpret texts for their employer – outlined by Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton.[270] Stanford notably did this for his female employer, suggesting that this practice went beyond the nobleman and scholar relationship.

What these literary examples from John Langley and Henry Stanford demonstrate, then, is that literate and high-ranking servants could hold an important place in the cultural life of the household. Their education would put them in a place where they might bring books into the home, process literary materials either for the education of children, or to find suitable reading materials for their employers. As such, their literary lives are entwined with their occupations, and this is important in our consideration of their reading lives as they present them. This finding is in direct opposition to what Marcy North has called the 'ad hoc' scribal activities of servants in the making of literary manuscripts, or their participation merely being as 'hired scribes'.[271] Some literate servants like Langley and Stanford could be hired due to their cultural interests, in order to enhance the literary lives of their employers. Clearly, Stanford reads a great deal of material that he disregards, only encouraging the reading of the materials he sees as valuable for Elizabeth and her children. Likewise, he is also always in a position of service, reading for the good of the household. His service is also exemplified in the evidence for his other scribal activity; for example, a letter from a Richard Eades to Elizabeth Carey containing sonnets is in Stanford's

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[269] Jardine and Grafton, p.35.
[270] Ibid., p.30
[271] North, p.136.

hand, demonstrating that he may have conducted secretarial work. Langley was also in the same position. His work on financial matters as bailiff, for the upkeep of Milcote, and his running of errands between Cranfield's properties, evinced a life of influence in his educational capacity, but also of service. Perhaps, then, these men inhabited their respective houses like Mr Rhodes, Margaret Hoby's chaplain, who guided her in prayer and often read to her. He was a companion to Hoby, but simultaneously her servant.[272] Stanford and Langley inhabit similar duel positions of influence and service, represented in the entwining of their literary and administrative writing.

5.9. Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the material/textual practices of literate servants were varied, and ranged from the making and storing of records to the reading and sourcing of literature for use by their employer. Document production was an essential component in estate governance and organisation. The Cranfield papers acted as important legitimising records for the family, their property, and newly gained social status. Literate servants were essential generators of these records that formed the documentary evidence for the Cranfield family's status.

In the performance of skill at writing, literate servants would have made records to satisfy and please their employer, thus their document making was tied to the manner in which they were expected to perform their duties to the best of their ability. This was seen in Thomas Catchmay's continued completion of his duties up until the point of his death, with his disintegrating capacity to write not stopping him from finishing accounts and informing Cranfield of his illness. In

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[272] *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, ed. by Joanna Moody (Stroud: Sutton, 2001).

this sense, the ability to produce documents was an essential part of many servants' occupations within a household and the loss of this ability, for Catchmay, was a sign of his inability to fulfil his office. Henry Rose had a less sophisticated hand due to his lack of training, relying on a clerk to engross many of the documents he needed to make. On the other hand, John Langley was seen as having handwriting fit for Cranfield's sons to emulate. Therefore, the range of experiences and hands presented by literate servants shows how divergent abilities at writing could lead to differing service tasks.

Literate servants, particularly stewards, made such a vast number of documents, and their skill at rendering accounts and correspondence, and negotiating the hierarchies of servants, the family they worked for, and the spaces within the house they were based at, demands close attention. It is clear from the bills endorsed and annotated by Fitzherbert's hand, and those Catchmay wrote of being 'on file', that stewards organised, and had responsibility over, a large volume of loose paper that would have needed to be appropriately filed and arranged so that information could have been easily retrieved. Their role in this not only contributed to the kinds of information that reached Cranfield, but also to the information that survives today.

Servants' negotiation of administrative spaces within the household is also important to consider, because it is inseparable from the hierarchies built into houses. Servants were sometimes allowed their own study or closet, as the inventory for Chelsea House suggested, or they made use of communal administrative spaces like the St. Bartholomew's closet that stored a vast array of documents. Access to these rooms was established verbally through ordinances, or through locks. Within these spaces, documents rendered by literate servants

were kept filed and organised in various furnishings that materially distinguished one set of documents from another, and aided their location. The later parts of this chapter addressed servants' writing that was kept within these storage spaces, connecting servants' roles in textual production to the organisation and arrangement of the household, and it embeds their material practices within the spaces in which their writing is generated and stored. The traffic of paper onto Cranfield's various estates demonstrates a concern with the quality of materials used for recordkeeping, and suggests the connection between space, servants, and materials in the making of records, with different properties having different levels of access to fine paper.

Overall, literate servants working within Cranfield's estates were skilled document-makers, organisers of papers, and sourced manuscript materials appropriate for use within the house. Although they worked to make documents for the satisfaction of their employer, their skills at rendering documents were also essential to the successful running of the estate and maintenance of order. Regimented records suggested to visitors, family members, and servants that Cranfield's household was well managed, working within a recognisable structure, and displaying itself to be a moral and exemplary institution. This chapter has contributed an understanding of the labour of servants in the records of Lionel Cranfield's estates, the manner in which handwriting was tied to the occupational identity of senior servants, and the socially embedded nature of servants' writing within the household, signified by the coherence with which their work was stored. It has also contributed to our understanding of how servants were perceived as agents within the cultural life of the household, with their service-through-reading tied to their education.

Literate servants' occupational identities can be understood through their individual acts of document-making which adhered to structures of reporting within the household hierarchies. These individual acts were brought into dialogue with a range of other scribal work within the spaces of administration and document-storage across some of Cranfield's estates. Script often acted as a marker of a scribe's individual identity within a document. Consequently, literate servants can be understood as skilled document-makers, organisers, and keepers, with expertise in the forms and organisation of documents pertinent to the running of a household.

Conclusion

Interpreting Scribal Practice

The aim of this thesis has been to understand scribal occupational practices across four manuscript-making contexts. 'Occupation' was established in Chapter One, as a word holding multiple meanings. It could relate to the performance of a profession, or evoke time spent on an activity or skilled craft (in the early modern sense). These meanings have been shown to have implications for understanding the occupational manuscript making of scribes *in action*, or to interpret their scribal practices as they take place and are socially, spatially, and materially embedded. In taking scribes' occupations (in the sense of professions) as a starting point from which to explore their experiences, I have interpreted scribal techniques using material traces carried by manuscripts, and texts that discuss the tools and materials of writing. Individuals have been studied in relation to wider patterns of scribal practices that took place in context, in order to understand how specific scribes innovated within established forms and techniques.

Each chapter has explored various kinds of manuscript writing in order to study scribes' skill across genres and forms. The meanings generated by manuscript materials have been shown to be dependent on the circumstances of their consumption. In order to uncover these meanings as they were embedded in social, spatial, and material contexts, I established an interdisciplinary methodology through which to approach scribal practices. This method

combined the scrutiny of extant manuscripts, textual evidence, image processing, and quantitative assessment of material use to understand patterns of practice.[1] I have argued that scribes must be seen as rooted within the spaces in which they worked, alongside the materials they used and the people they worked with, and that this matrix facilitated and shaped their practices. Broader arguments about the interrelation and importance of writing to occupational and scribal identities, and also about the temporalities of documents, have emerged in addressing the contexts in which scribes worked.

In Chapter One, the making of meaning through manuscript materials was discussed as a dynamic process, created through the reciprocal relationships between materials and people. Andrew Camber's *Godly Reading*, in which he describes textual experiences as 'located', and Andreas Reckwitz's argument that space is made up of interactions between people and materials, which create 'evolving patterns of practices', prompted this view.[2] Methodologically, this thesis has established means of exploring scribal meaning-making as it is located in space. This has been achieved through the use of documentary evidence about space and the material marks carried by manuscripts. In discussions about scribes' deployment of paper, ink, fastenings, script, folds, parchment, sewing, writing, drawing, cutting, moulding, reading, and copying, the conversations between scribes, materials, spaces, and communities have been revealed to be essential to their practices.

Across all chapters, there has been a sense of manuscript-making taking place within spaces where multiple activities converse.[3] In particular, the sense

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[1] Patterns of practice have been explored as the repeated actions scribes completed in document production in their use of tools and materials.
[2] Cambers, p.3, and Reckwitz, p.248.
[3] 'Reckwitz, p.248.

of manuscript-making occurring in spaces of mixed activities has been gained in discussions of recordkeeping methods. For example, in Chapter Five closets across Cranfield's estates were seen to be both storage spaces for documents and places for writing, and in Chapter Three it was clear that Lydd clerks worked in a social world, where meetings and conversations about the town's business might have taken place within the spaces documents were made and stored. There are striking patterns of practices that can be seen in the preservation of documents in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for future use, and these methods have been shown to be present in extant manuscripts.

Chapters Two and Four displayed a kind of recordkeeping that took place in book form, where information from multiple sources was collected into manuscripts as a means of filing and processing information. The scribes addressed in these chapters were clearly working in spaces of interconnected activities, where a backdrop of books and notes ready for use were collected to facilitate writing. The resulting volumes were also important enough to preserve – with future generations inheriting, using, and protecting these books. For arms-drawers and officeholders, recordkeeping was connected to a culture of genealogy. Through keeping a record of the past in relation to the present, a scribe (or patron in the case of arms-drawers) and their social circle could gain a sense of rootedness in a place through the chronicling of important familial moments, texts, and financial, legal, and political information.[4] This thesis has advanced such work on recordkeeping by analysing the scribes that created these documents kept for future reference. Arms-drawers', clerks', officeholders', and servants' negotiations of recordkeeping spaces and participation in document-

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[4] Ketelaar, 'The Geneological Gaze', p.17. 'Family histories were important for transmitting values and family identity to descendants'.

storage has been neglected. This study has begun to explore ways in which their roles in document survival are present upon the manuscripts that survive. In situating the collection of information within space, this thesis makes an original contribution to studies of recordkeeping, where, manuscripts are animated when situated in spatial worlds that facilitate intertextual practices. Moreover, the impulse to collect and file away information was connected to a scribe's sense of the worth of writing, with the preservation of a document being a clear indication that they saw it as holding future use or value.

Chapters Three and Five presented a very different kind of recordkeeping as it was situated within space: recordkeeping that took place on a large scale, created, used, and maintained by multiple scribes. There are similarities between the storage methods employed by the Lydd Corporation clerks and Cranfield's servants, and this is clear from the material evidence: filing holes, fold lines, and endorsements. In Chapter Five, evidence for locks, the passing of documents between literate servants, dividing furniture, and the many locations for document storage, showed the administrative side of Cranfield's estates. Servants were revealed to be key participants in the creation and organisation of these records, and in the carrying of documents between properties. Within the storage devices servants used, there was a clear relationship between the pragmatic (for example, ways of keeping papers together through filing, or of protecting them in bags), to designed pieces or touches (like yellow silk string, or marked boxes). The relationship between the pragmatic and the decorative has been presented as significant to the negotiation of space, and the association of certain documents with particular storage devices. It was ornamental touches that allowed the easy

location of documents in spaces, like the St. Bartholomew's closet, where records were kept.

Chapter Three explored the archive of documents for the Lydd corporation, which was sustained and contributed to by its officeholders and clerks. In exploring the clerks' work, it is clear that they had expertise at mediating between documents, and knowledge of how past papers might be utilised in the present. The importance placed on recordkeeping by clerks was clear in their marking of their individual identities in documents as an indication of their skill and presence in writing. This thesis, then, has contributed to an understanding of Lydd clerks as being embedded within the culture of their corporation, eager to serve their jurats and locales using their expertise at writing, and also continuing corporation-specific practices over time in their repeated use of formats within documents, for example. The cultural patrimony of the legal, political, cultural, and financial processes of the Lydd Corporation and Cranfield family is the motivation for their document preservation.[5] For the newly gentrified Cranfield, the archiving of evidentiary records would be essential to the solidification of his family's newfound power. For the Lydd Corporation, these records enabled the creation of a sense of communal memory within the town, and formed a basis through which the town's geographical boundaries, customs, and history could be remembered and evidenced.

The findings in Chapters Three and Five impact upon our perception of scribes as interconnected with the social environments in which documents were made. Papers were passed between scribes, as evinced by the presence of multiple hands on documents, and the ways in which crossings out and edits

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[5] 'Cultural Patrimony' is the perceived value of an object or document that leads it to be conserved, and the way in which people over time have been motivated to keep or destroy archives or collections. Ketelar, 'Muniments and Monuments', p.244.

appear on draft items. The material culture of recordkeeping is essential, too, to how we understand the role of individual scribes in the filing of information, where some documents might be temporarily ordered before being absorbed into larger volumes of accounts (as seen in Chapters Three and Five). As Peter Stallybrass and Heather Wolfe have observed: 'loose papers were liable to become waste papers, intended to be recycled or discarded'.[6] Pockets of these papers that have been preserved are essential evidence for the storing process. Filed documents have a lifecycle, or intended temporality, which is either temporary or undefined, and the relationship between these two states is reflected in the kinds of methods used to contain and organise papers. This relationship with time is essential to the perception of documents as items to be filed or *ephemera*. There is a need for future research to address the temporalities of writing in order to nuance our understanding of the relationship between the temporary and permanent and the impulse to preserve certain information.

Another way in which occupational identities have been explored as they were situated within social, material, and spatial contexts, is through their materiality. Chapter One asked 'how do manuscript materials make meaning?' and used Pamela Smith's 'artisanal literacy' and Tim Ingold's 'personal knowledge' to explore how meaning-making can be non-verbal, created through the interaction of scribes and materials.[7] These phrases have been used time and again in this thesis to mark the value of scribal knowledge that is non-verbal and skill that is visible in the materials used in textual production. Throughout each chapter, it is clear that manuscript materials mattered to scribes. They thought

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[6] Stallybrass and Wolfe, 'Material Culture', p.207.
[7] Smith, *The Body,* p.8 and Ingold, *Making,* p.109.

about the affordances built into writing tools and surfaces, and utilised these qualities in their manuscript production.

Manuscript materials make a particular kind of meaning, which is spatially, socially, and occupationally specific when thought of as situated within the environments in which they were used. Examples of occupationally distinctive practices crop up in each chapter, evincing the central argument of this thesis, that patterns of practices are transmitted within making contexts. Instances of these patterns include (though are not limited to): differences in paper stocks between environments, with arms-drawers in particular showing a preference for fine paper; the desire expressed by certain officeholders to make their own tools and materials to use in writing, due to the need for them to contain certain qualities (like Edward Howes' making of a standish and Thomas Davis' ink-making); and consistencies between documents, for example the format of the Lydd chamberlains' accounts. These uses of equipment, materials, and forms, demonstrate how scribes articulate occupationally distinctive skills through practice. The quantification of the uses of the tools and materials of manuscript-making has also enhanced this sense of material practices being repeated in occupational settings (for example, in Cranfield's servants' use of paper), and has enabled the relative use of manuscript materials to be scrutinized. A scribe's use of colour, for example, seems striking when seen against a largely black and white textual world.

Methodologically, the interdisciplinary approach presented in this thesis, which combined archival research, close reading, and material analysis, has been furthered by a digital method, Image Processing. The use of this approach is one of the principal methodological contributions of this study. Image Processing has

been used in every chapter to identify writing practices, rather than specific hands, and this has enhanced the manner in which this thesis can draw conclusions about handwriting, as it is occupationally and individually distinctive. This method has been used for the first time on a sample of individual letterforms, and in applying different measurements, or Region Props, key differences and continuities in handwriting style and practice have been identified.

Across the majority of occupational contexts, capital letterforms have been revealed as key sites of innovation for scribes, with the greatest differences between measurements for individuals seen in this category. Striking differences have been found between occupational contexts, as well as between individuals, with regards to variations in ink density, width, and length of letterforms, and thickness of letter-strokes. For example, in Chapter Two Francis Thynne and William Burch had very similar results across all Region Props, particularly for lower case letters. This means that the categories of results where these two scribes differ, like their capital letterforms, show a striking sense of deliberate innovation. Lydd clerks also decorated their capital letterforms, using them as a means of expressing their presence within documents. The Lydd clerks also showed variations across time, suggesting a shift in expectations across the period in the appearance of their handwriting. Further, these experiments have also exposed striking similarities in features across scribes' handwriting, which demonstrate the impact of schooling on transmitting certain letter formation practices, like size of quill tip, for example. Many handwriting features across occupations and between individuals had similar results, and this demonstrates a level of continuity in expectations of script and aesthetic appearance across

occupations. In Chapter Five, the importance of handwriting to a scribe's occupational identity was explored in the comparison of Thomas Catchmay's handwriting when healthy, and when he was ill. The experiment revealed that illness that impacts motor control has a very clear influence on certain aspects of his handwriting, changing its fluency and size in particular. Catchmay worried about the resulting difficulties he suffered, with regards to fulfilling his administrative duties to Cranfield, in correspondence.

Further research in this area could result in an exploration of handwriting education across a broader range of scribes. It could also ask questions about surface texture, ink density, colour, and image copying, in order to quantify material differences in writing matter. Education in literacy, and how this continues into a scribe's adult life, seems to be essential to the transmission of techniques and expectations in handwriting, and the Image Processing experiments have revealed avenues for further research in this area, particularly with regards to schooling and the practicalities of learning to write. Schooling has already been seen as a significant contributor to handwriting practice in this thesis. For example, in Chapter Three, the post-1590 Lydd clerks demonstrate strikingly different results across letterform features measured. This shift suggests a change in the handwriting styles children were taught, and the influence of italic hand on scribal practice. Writing was a significant act for the Lydd corporation and the town, because it is through writing that important aspects of the corporation's work was remembered. Changes in handwriting style and education are tied to the significance of recordkeeping to the town. These transformations demonstrate an investment in schooling that would generate a

new cohort of clerks for the Corporation, who would be educated in appropriate and up-to-date handwriting styles.

Making visible the labour of scribes has been at the centre of this project. Scribes have, in the words of Arnold Hunt (in a discussion of secretaries) been seen as 'an instrument' in their 'master's hand'.[8] This thesis has shown that scribes think, are active participants in the production of text, and are not merely 'mechanical'.[9] It is clear that scribes crafted professional identities that impacted upon their manuscript production, that they had a deep understanding of their craft and areas for innovation, and that they used their skills in order to generate carefully formatted texts. This perspective on scribes as creators is a very different picture from writers as mechanical hands. Scribes were artisans, they had practice-based knowledge in addition to their ability to read and write, and their professional identities were clearly important to their sense of self, as Thomas Catchmay's dismay at losing his ability to write demonstrated. This dismay tells us that writing was tied to Thomas Catchmay's occupational identity, because it was through his document-making practices that his expertise at holding the position of steward, and properly fulfilling the role in Cranfield's service, was expressed.

Making scribal labour visible must also lead to some conclusions about scribes and anonymity. One of the issues with the lack of value placed on scribal labour is that scribes have so often been marked as 'anonymous', in cases where documents do not contain their names.[10] What this thesis has shown is that, with thorough research, scribes names can be found and that these names give a means through which other aspects of their lives can be discovered. Finding

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[8] Hunt, 'Early Modern Secretary', p.105.
[9] For thinking scribes see, Daniel Wakelin, *Scribal Correction.*
[10] 'Nameless […]; of unknown name'. 'Anonymous' (n), *OED.*

names and information also means that scribes can be situated within geographical areas and status groups, and many of the individuals in this thesis have been found to be literate men of middling status or from lower gentry families. Further research might in fact find that these professional, middling scribes dominated the textual landscape of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Equally, even where their names cannot be traced, it is clear that scribes' materially distinctive practices defy anonymity in their individual touches. In addition, in cases where a scribe's name cannot be found, or work confidently attributed to them, they would certainly not have been 'anonymous' to the communities they worked within. The majority of scribal work existing in archives takes place in social settings, like local governance or upon landed estates, and in these situations scribes did not work alone. Their work would have been used, and a community of people would have known them and recognised their practices. This thesis, then, has attempted to consider these scribes as active participants in the texts they made, and the communities that they lived and worked within.

Analysing the intrinsic and extrinsic qualities of manuscript materials has enabled connections to be made between textual objects and the contexts in which they were produced and consumed. Scribes used the intrinsic qualities of paper, for example, to create booklets, considered the consistency of ink and its fitness for their handwriting, and chose bindings that suited the storage situation of their manuscripts. They considered the extrinsic qualities ascribed to materials too – the quality and cost of paper, the use of ink ingredients, pigment colours, and textile types. These material details not only express a scribe's technical skill, but also, in beginning with a manuscript, how the experiences of scribes

and readers can be imagined through the marks of writing, editing, storing, and preserving. In some cases, these manuscripts become focal points for a community – for example, in the case of the ordinances made for Chelsea House, Whiteway's diary and commonplace book, or the chamberlains' accounts for Lydd. These manuscripts are texts that bound a community of readers together, and gave them a sense of shared culture. The documents held value for the community in which they were made, which increased over time. This worth is evinced in the way documents were reused and consulted for the generation of new text, like, for example, Denis Bond's continuation of Whiteway's chronology.

Scribes were integral generators of textual culture within communities. Their identities have been understood by placing them in relation to the manuscripts they created, and the practices they performed as part of their occupations. 'Occupational practice' in this sense holds the meaning of actions that belong to manuscript making. There are continuities in the occupational practices that scribes have been shown to perform throughout this thesis. Their identities are marked by the habitual practice of writing and its associated tasks of organisation and reading. A broader statement about the occupational identities of scribes can now be made. Scribes see their identities as interrelated with the spaces, materials, and social world that shapes them. Occupationally, their identities are related to their material practices: the way in which they use script, choose paper, make or buy ink, and cut a quill. Their occupational identities are also formed through the way in which they use established forms for writing, folding styles, and storage systems that establish their place within a community of scribes, and through the records they keep for the patrimonial

legacy of their employer(s). Colliding with the occupational aspect of scribes'
identities is the manner in which they also mark their individual presence within
documents using distinctive features, for example, within their handwriting.
Also, aspects of their individual lives that fall outside of the time they are
occupied by writing (like their families, other ways in which they earn money,
and household activities) also contribute to the sense that a scribe is more than a
mechanical hand. As such, this thesis has argued that scribes are anything but
one dimensional in their identities. They are not only using occupational
practices to mark their positions within a community of document-makers, but
they also use individual innovations that demonstrate their expertise, mark their
presence, and identify their craft to the community in which they work. Their
document-making practices contribute to an understanding of an early modern
conception of identity as it is related to a community of people, where shared
practices generate a sense of belonging within an occupational context.

Recent critical theory on identity has the tendency to oversimplify the
pre-modern by seeing identities as fixed or pejoratively spatially localised, and,
in contrast, talk of modern identities as 'liquid', always changing, and being
made of many pieces.[11] What scribes' practices show is that pre-modern
identities might not have been totally removed from the constantly mobile
identities of the modern age. Scribes reuse fragments of past documents and
forms, but in changes from secretary to italic hand across the period, between
paper stocks, and in changes in ink production, the very identity of writing can
be seen to be in flux. In creating new documents and in adding to an archive,
scribes are actively creating a never-ending narrative of a town (in the case of the

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[11] Zygmunt Bauman, *Identity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004).

Lydd Corporation), or an individual/ family (in the case of the servants, arms-drawers, and officeholders). These narratives play a part in creating a town's, an individual's, a family's, or an institution's, identity and its voice. Scribes should be considered as performing their occupational and scribal identities, whilst also playing a significant role in crafting their employer's distinctiveness through writing. This thesis begins to move towards an understanding of who makes early modern literate culture, the forces that forge its identity, and the practices of its creators: education, reading materials, records, papers, and writing, all being aspects of this culture addressed in each chapter.

Another broad theme this thesis can address is time, and early modern understandings of it. The meanings of the word 'occupation' are tied to time, and the manner in which it is taken up by actions. Document temporalities have been addressed throughout this thesis in multiple ways: the relationship between drafts and fair copies, filing and the production of text, patterns of writing as they appear in manuscripts, and links between the past, present, and future. Jonathan Gil Harris, in *Untimely Matter,* speaks of objects (including texts) as palimpsests, which are 'polychronic assemblages' or objects which 'are never of a singular moment but […] combine ingredients from several times'.[12] Throughout this thesis it is clear to see how documents have gained marks over time, through storage, corrections, or annotations, but it is also possible to see the palimpsest as more than directly material. In scribes' writing practices, there is a sense of the depth of time. This is particularly apparent in the way in which forms are replicated for financial and legal documents, but also in the way scribes draw on a variety of sources from the near or distant past to inform their understanding of

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[12] Jonathan Gil Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), pp. 3 and 17.

the present. This use of the past to inform the present and future is clear in the diary writing practices of William Whiteway and Walter Yonge, who bring the past and present into conversation when they align information they receive with chronological time. It is also present in the way documents are stored together by topic in Cranfield's St. Bartholomew's closet, where there is a clear sense of the depth of time, and the layering of information in bundles such as 'evidences for Milcote', which would have included details about its past, as well as present, ownership. Time, in its depth, and its expression in documents, can be chronological, and ordered, with one event recorded after another, or one sheet placed upon another in a palimpsest with a clear timespan.

However, a second perspective of document temporality can also be gained in scribes' work: one that mediates between the temporary and permanent, where filed papers could be destroyed when they cease to become useful after being copied into other volumes, or the process for which they were made is finished, and where certain documents are always intended to be kept for the future. These documents-for-the-future hold value as patrimonial items, and look beyond the lifetime of their makers. The relationship between the temporary and the permanent demonstrates a horizontal understanding of time, one in which fragments of temporary voices can be brought together into a document to be kept and valued into the future. It also demonstrates a different kind of depth, a palimpsest, which is made of fragments of text and documents that do not appear chronologically or ordered, but that are reused or given new life in scribes' work. Consequently, this thesis provides a new avenue of research to be built upon: the temporalities of writing; the ways in which past, present, and future are

understood; and further understanding with regards to the time scribes spent writing, or their habits of attention.

This thesis has demonstrated that it is essential to diversify the dominant narratives of material archives, which largely focus on the elite, letters, or the literary, and look more broadly at manuscript creators and administrative archives. The meanings generated through manuscripts' interactions with scribes, through the process of their preservation and future use, suggest that certain texts held value for communities. As such, their study is important to our understanding of how scribes understood their position as text-creators, and how early modern people experienced writing. This study focused on four examples of occupational manuscript-making, but these studies resonate with one another in many ways, and speak to broader themes: manuscripts use a strikingly intertextual practice; they combine a sense of the importance of the past with a recording of the present, and a keeping for the future; and they all respond textually and materially to the environments in which they were made. These continuities suggest a collective scribal practice (with allowance for innovation), and a sense of narratives always being generated in records kept within communities.

Manuscripts are never fully materially detached from the social, material, and spatial contexts in which they were made. In uncovering the lives and occupational practices of scribes making manuscripts for a living, or for a community, these writers have been considered as more than hands. Scribes are, and always have been, essential, active contributors in the generation of text. Their practices are embedded within the occupational worlds they inhabit, where they learn to generate texts to expected aesthetic standards, but also innovate in

their presentation in a way that suggests pride in their expertise. Scribes are textual artisans, and, as Chapter Four revealed, their interest in text can be carried into their homes, where they might read and process diverse materials. Future work must be done on the manner in which the cultures of reading entwine with cultures of recordkeeping and manuscript making across the social scale. 'Narrative' holds meanings of 'establishing connections between' events and facts, as well as telling a story, and scribes certainly have a sense of narrative in their organisation and use of information.[13] For example, they bring documents into dialogue, the past into the present, make written records of events, and do this in a way that crafts a story about the family or institution in which they are employed. A sense of narrative is also present in the manner through which scribes file papers for use in other documents, in how they bring into conversation the past and the present in their document forms and content, and also in how they work to preserve memories for the future. In looking to the future, scribal narratives cannot ever be considered complete, but constantly evolving in the reuse and keeping of their work over time.

Applying an interdisciplinary, material, textual, and digital approach to manuscripts has enabled their close analysis and, as a result, a fuller understanding of scribal practices, lives, and early modern textual production. This method has facilitated the uncovering of diverse archival narratives, and has given value to scribal documents that have been preserved due to their perceived worth at the point of their making and beyond.

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[13] 'Narrative' (n.) 2a, and (adj.) 1a, *OED*.

Appendix One

Image Processing Method and Glossary of Terms

Processing Method

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┌────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Take images of manuscripts during  │
│ archive visits                     │
└────────────────────────────────────┘
                 ↓
┌────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Take letterform samples using GIMP │
└────────────────────────────────────┘
                 ↓
┌────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Binarize the samples (black and    │
│ white)                             │
└────────────────────────────────────┘
                 ↓
┌────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Apply Otsu, Otsu + 1 or Otsu -1,   │
│ choosing which gives the cleanest  │
│ image and then clear any excess    │
│ pixels from the letterforms        │
└────────────────────────────────────┘
                 ↓
┌────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Use MatLab to measure letterform   │
│ features defined by the region     │
│ props.                             │
└────────────────────────────────────┘
                 ↓
┌────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Place each sample with accompanying│
│ data into groups for analysis.     │
└────────────────────────────────────┘
                 ↓
┌────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Use SPSS to analyze groups using   │
│ questions defined within each case │
│ study                              │
└────────────────────────────────────┘
                 ↓
┌────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Analyse data and make into         │
│ presentable forms using Microsoft  │
│ Excel.                             │
└────────────────────────────────────┘
```

Flow Chart demonstrating an overview of the image-processing approach used in this thesis.

The photographs used for image processing were taken principally on trips to archives. Once the images were taken, the next stage was to gather samples of letterforms. These were extracted as cleanly as possible from the manuscript images, with letters from lines without overlap chosen. The software used for this process was GIMP, an image manipulation programme that enables the cropping of images in a precise manner.[1] Once this was complete, the images were binarised (changed to black and white) ready for applying measurements. This was done using Otsu's method on MatLab with three levels of intensity applied in order to gain the cleanest foreground/background

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[1] <https://www.gimp.org/> [accessed 15th March 2018].

(ink/paper) image possible.[2] The cleanest sample was then chosen for each letter, and the excess pixels from other letterforms were then cleared from the images using GIMP.

Once these letters were extracted, specialist Dr Richard Guest then put them through a series of measurements using MatLab, measurements that were designed to focus on image features called 'Region Props'.[3] These are described in the glossary section for ease of reference. Once the data was gathered from the digital images, I then grouped them on Excel and processed the data in SPSS statistics analysis software.[4] Once each category had been compared using the 'compare means' function on SPSS, and mean values were generated, the data was was transferred to Microsoft Excel in order to form it into presentable tables and graphs and to generate the median value for each letterform (see Appendix Four for all data). After this, the results were visualised in charts that can be seen throughout this thesis.

Glossary of Terms

a. Area

The area measurement is a count of the pixels that make up the letterform. In the binarisation of letters, this is a count of the pixels in the black area. This is a useful measure when thinking about the amount of space a letter inhabits on a page, and for understanding how capital letters might be used to draw attention to certain sections of text.

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[2] This was done by Dr Richard Guest. For technical information about this method see the following: <https://uk.mathworks.com/help/images/ref/graythresh.html>. [accessed 15th March 2018].

[3] Technical information about these is available here:
<https://uk.mathworks.com/help/images/ref/regionprops.html?requestedDomain=true> [accessed 16th March 2018].

[4] See: <https://www.ibm.com/analytics/data-science/predictive-analytics/spss-statistical-software> [16th March 2018].

Capital letter 'A' sample taken from London, BL, MS Egerton 784. The blue line represents the convex area perimeter.

b. Convex Area

This is a count of the number of pixels in the area where the letter is contained. See figure 1.11 for a visual representation of the area counted. This measurement, when compared with the area category, can measure the thickness of strokes a scribe applies when making letterforms.

c. Eccentricity

This is where an ellipse is drawn around a letter and used as a measure of how thin a letterform is. The measurement is given as a ratio between the height and width of the ellipse. The closer the ratio to 0, the closer to a circle the ellipse is, and the closer to 1, the closer to a single line.

d. Euler Number

This is a measure of the number of objects in an image minus the number of holes in these objects. Figure 1.11 is a single object with one hole, so the Euler number is calculated as: 1-1=0. This is a measure of the form of the letter and should be consistent across a letterform for a single scribe.

e. Extent

A bounding box is a box drawn around a letter to represent the minimum and maximum x and y coordinates. The ratio between the area of a bounding box and

the area of the letter within it gives the extent value. As such, this is a measure of the amount of ink used to create a letter shape: the ratio between the letterform and the bounding box is higher when less ink, or a thinner line, is used.

f. Filled Area

This measurement fills in all of the holes in a letterform and then counts the number of pixels within the whole area. When compared with the area category it can be used to understand the space between strokes and within letters.

g. Major or Minor Axis Length

MatLab defines these as the 'length (in pixels) of the major [or minor] axis of an ellipse that has the same normalized second central moments as the region, returned as a scalar'.[5] When an ellipse is drawn around the letterform, then, this measures the longest axis and the shortest axis of the shape. This measure is useful for comparing the spread of a letterform on the page, and thinking about what visual features might alter this measurement, like cadels and loops.

h. Orientation

MatLab defines this as 'Angle between the x-axis and the major axis of the ellipse that has the same second-moments as the region, returned as a scalar. The value is in degrees, ranging from -90 degrees to 90 degrees' below this definition there is a useful illustration.[6] In other words, this measures the angle to which the letterform slants, with a – value meaning a lean to the left, and a + value meaning a lean to the right.

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[5] <https://www.mathworks.com/help/images/ref/regionprops.html>
[6] <https://www.mathworks.com/help/images/ref/regionprops.html>

This is a count of the number of pixels around a letterform.

j. Solidity

The solidity is calculated by dividing the area of the image by its convex hull.

The resulting number is measure of how solid the shape is, or how dense the ink

appears within a letterform shape.

Appendix Two

Verse Transcriptions for Chapter Four

Thomas Davis, British Library, MS Lansdowne 674

The Som[er]setshire mans complent
Gods Boddikins 'chill worke no more
dost think 'chill labor to be poore
No no ich haue a doe
If this be now the world & trade
That I must breake & rogues be made
Ich will a plundering too

'Chill sell my cart & take my plow
And get a swird if I know how
For I meane t be right
'chill learne to drinke to sweare to roare
to be a gallant, drab & whore
no matter thon ere fight

But first a warrant that is vitt
from mr captaine I doe get
twill make a sore a doo
for then 't haue power by my place
to steale a horse without disgrace
and beate the owner too

God blesse us what a world is here
can neuer last another yeare
voke cannot be able to row
dost think I euer 't had the art
to plow my grownd up with my cart

my beast are all I goe

Ire had ripe oxen tother day
And them the Roundheads stole away
　　　　a mischief be their speed
I had six horses left me whole
and them the cavileers haue stole
Gods zores they are both agreed

Here I doe labor toile & zweat
And dure the cold, hot, dry & wett
　　　　But what dost think I get
Fast must my labor for my paines
This Garrisons haue all the gaines
　　　　And thither all is vett.

There goes my corne my beans & pease
I doe not dare them to displease
　　　　They doe soe zweare & vapour
Then to the Governor I come
And pray him to discharge the some
But nought can get so paper

Gods bores dost think a paper will
Keep warme my back & belly fill
　　　　no, no, goe burne the note
If that another yeare my voeld
No better profitt doe me yield
　　　　I may goe cut my throate

If any money 't haue in store
Then straight a warrant to e therefore
　　　　or I must plundred be
And when 't haue shuffled up one pay
There comes a new without delay
Was ouer the like a see
And as this were not greif enow
They houe a thing called quarter too
　　　　Oh that's a vengeance waster
A pox upon't they call it vree
'c ham sure that made us slaues to be
　　　　And every roage or master

　　　　　　Verum.[7]

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[7] London, British Library Lansdowne MS 674, fols.21v-23v.

1.

September 15th 1628
I George Duck of Buckingham
I that my country did betray
undid my king that let me sway
His sceptre as I pleas'd threw downe
The glory of great Britaines Crowne
The countries bane the countries hate
The agent for the Spanish state
The papists friend the Gospells foe
The church and kingdoms ouerthrow
Here may my odious carcas dwell
Until my soule returne from Hell
Where with Judas I intrust
Such portion as all traitors merit
If heauen admit of Treason, Pride or Lust
Expecct my spotted soule among the just

In eundem
Some say the Duke was gratious virtuous good
And FELTON basely did to spill his bloud
If that be true how then did he amisse
In sending him so quickly to his blisse!
Pale death seems pleasant to a good mans ey
And onely bad men are afraid to dy
Left he this kingome to possesse a better?
Why? Felton then hats made the Duke his debter[8]

2.

22 May 1627

1
Come here lady muses and helpe me to sing
Come loue me whereas I lay
Of a Duke that deserues to be crowned a king,
The cleane contrary way

2
Our Buckingham Duke is the man that justice
Come &c
On whose shoulders the wealts of our kingdom
The cleane &c   doth lean

3
O the happiest kingdom that euer was known

---

[8] CUL, Dd.11.73, fol.67^v.

Come &c
And happy the king that hath such a friend
The &C

4
I need must extoll his worth & his bloud
Come &c
And thos dispositions so mild & so good
The &c

5
Those innocent smiles that embellish his face
Come &c
Who from them not tokens of goodness & grace
The &c

6
And what other scholler could euer arise
Come &c
From a man that was so sincere & wise
The &C

7
Who if he could from his graue asend
Come &c
Would surely the truth of his seruice commend
The &c

8
The King understands how he holds his place
Come &c
Which is to his majesty no little grace
The &c

9
Therefore the Gouernment justly hath he
Come &c
Of horse for the land & ships for the sea
The &c

10
What though our fleet bee our enemys dettors
Come &c
Wee braued them once, we will braue them better
The &c

11
Should they land here, they should be disappointed
Come &c
To find horse & foote so brauely appointed

The &c

12
Then let us all sing the noble Dukes praise
Come &c
And pray for the length of his life and daye
The &C

13
And when that death shall close up his eyes
Come &C
God take him up into the skyes
The cleane contrary way[9]

3.

June 1 1627
Rex and grex the same doth sound
But Dux doth Rex & Grex confound
If Grex on Dux might haue their filly
Then Rex with Grex might work his will
Three subsides to fiue would turne
And grex would laugh which now doth mourne
O Rex, thy Grex doth fore complaine
That Duxbeares Crux and Crux not Dux againe

4.

A libell found at the court and printed to the king by the B[isho]p of London Dr
Lawde 8[th] march 1628

The wisest king did wonder when he spied
The nobles march on foote & vassels ride
His matie may wonder more to see
Some that will needs be kinds as well as he
A sad presage of danger to the land
Where lower stiue to get the upper hand
Where prince & peeres to peasants must obey
Where lay men must their teachers teach the way
Where pym and prince & Jordan must define
What law is Heterodox and what diuine
Good brother barues Elder of Amsterdam
Shut up at home the wild Arminian Ram
If here he come these men will cut his throte
Blest Buchanan sings them a better note
He teacheth how to put downe power of kinds
And shewes us how to clip the Eagles wings

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[9] BL, MS Egerton fols 68[r]-69[r]. For article referencing this song see: Alastair Bellany, 'Singing Libel in Early Stuart England: The Case of the Staines Fiddlers, 1627', *Huntington Library Quartery*, 69.1 (2006), 177-194.

It is a Puritane in it sett all right
Then shall the Gospell shine as Phaebus bright
Our consistorian Fabrike is the thing
wee must rease up in spyght of church or king
Against the papists wee haue got the day
Blind Bishops onely stand now in our way
But wee will haue a tricke to tame their pride
Tonnage and Pondage els shalbe decried
Martii 14 1628[10]

Appendix Three

Thomas Temple to Henry Rose

Harry Rose, at your next coming hither I pray yow bring my letters to yow wth
on the pointe filed, whereby I may know how mindfull yow haue bin to effect
my desires, which I should otherwise wright againe to my trowble & yo[urs] to
wright unto yow, to doe that, which alredy I haue done.[11]

Forgett not at your next opportunity to bring with yow all my letters filed on a
point which yow haue done already I hope & in the meane time forget not to
effect in them what yow can the carriage of which being not great & the
knowledge of my busyness wilbe I hope to any proffitt & contentment.[12]

Forgett not to bring all my letters with yow till I appoint yow which to leaue
behind which wilbe quickly lessened if the falte be not in yow & being putt on a
pointe, where they be most. The cariage is not great ferring for notes especially
of remembrance whereby my self may serue paines of wrighting both to me &
yow also & my business must the letter also come.[13]

That yow bring with yow whensoeuer yow come all letters & notes filed on a
point as I haue appointed the trowble whereof our waighte is so little & light as it
can be without which I can doe nothing & therefore if yow canot doe
accordinglye yow can doe nothing & therefore if yow canot doe nothing for me
& therfore refer yow the pointe & by a pointe fastened the papers cannot be
lost.[14]

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[10] BL, MS Egerton fol. 102ᵛ.
[11] HL, STT 2147.
[12] HL, STT 2299.
[13] HL, STT 2301.
[14] HL, STT 2284.

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Add MS 18777 (Walter Yonge, House of Commons Journal)

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STT 2288 (Thomas Temple to Henry Rose)

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PRC 31/3 S/9 (Will)

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