

# Notes

## 1 Introduction

1. CP88/58. The letter is rendered here approximately as it appears on the manuscript page in terms of lineation.
2. CP88/60: 24/9/1601.
3. Mark Bland (2004) 'Italian Paper in Early Seventeenth-Century England', in R. Graziaplana (ed.) *Paper as a Medium of Cultural Heritage: Archaeology and Conservation* (Rome: Istituto centrale per la patologia del libro), pp.243–55.
4. A.G.R. Smith (1968) 'The Secretariats of the Cecils, circa 1580–1612', *EHR*, 83, 481–504. On Cecil's own hand (a distinctive mixed hand, which was pure italic except for occasional use of a secretary 'e') see, Giles E. Dawson and Laetitia Kennedy-Skipton (1968) *Elizabethan Handwriting, 1500–1650* (Faber and Faber), pp.84–5. For a Cecil autograph see BL, Harley MS, 292, fol.79.
5. James Daybell (1999) 'Women's Letters and Letter-Writing in England, 1540–1603: An Introduction to the Issues of Authorship and Construction', *Shakespeare Studies*, 27, 161–86.
6. Hasler, 2, p.17.
7. Mark Brayshay, Philip Harrison, and Brian Chalkley (1998) 'Knowledge, Nationhood and Governance: The Speed of the Royal Post in Early-Modern England', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 24, 265–88. I am grateful to Professor Brayshay for discussion on the postal endorsements in this letter.
8. On the Dover route see, Brayshay (1991) 'Royal Post-Horse Routes in England and Wales: The Evolution of the Network in the Late-Sixteenth and Early-Seventeenth Century', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 17/4, 373–89 (pp.379–81).
9. BL, Cotton MS, Caligula C/VI, fols66<sup>v</sup>–67<sup>r</sup>.
10. TNA, AO 1/1950/1–7, 1951/8–14, 1952/15–22, 1953/23–8, Declared Accounts of the Masters of the Posts, 1566–1639.
11. CP88/60.
12. Charles Hughes (1905) 'Nicholas Faunt's Discourse Touching the Office of the Principal Secretary of Estate, & c. 1592', *EHR*, 20, 499–508 (pp.501–2, 503–4). Bodl., Tanner MS, 80, fols91–4.
13. *The Thirtieth Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (1869), p.225.
14. On the history of the Cecil Papers see HMC, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable The Marquess of Salisbury, Preserved at Hatfield House Hertfordshire*, 24 vols (1883–1973), 1, pp.iii–vii.
15. HMC, *Salisbury*, 11, p.394.
16. For a classic account of epistolarity see, Janet Gurkin Altman (1982) *Epistolarity: Approaches to a Form* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State UP).
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18. Roger Chartier (1997) 'Secrétaires for the People? Model Letters of the Ancien Régime: Between Court Literature and Popular Chapbooks', in Roger Chartier (ed.) *Correspondence: Models of Letter-Writing From the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Polity Press), pp.59–111.
19. David M. Bergeron (1999) *King James & Letters of Homoerotic Desire* (Iowa City: U of Iowa P); Alan Bray (1990) 'Homosexuality and the Signs of Male Friendship in Elizabethan England', *History Workshop Journal*, 29 (1990), 1–19.
20. See also, T. Van Houdt, et al. (eds) (2002) *Self-Presentation and Social Identification: The Rhetoric and Pragmatics of Letter Writing in Early Modern Times* (Leuven: Leuven UP).
21. Marie Boas Hall (1975) 'The Royal Society's Role in the Diffusion of Information in the Seventeenth Century', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 29, 173–92; Maarten Ultee (1987) 'The Republic of Letters: Learned Correspondence, 1680–1720', *The Seventeenth Century*, 2, 95–112. On newsletters see Richard Cust (1986) 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England', *P&P*, 112, 60–90; F.J. Levy (1982) 'How Information Spread Among the Gentry, 1550–1640', *JBS*, 21/2, 11–34; Ian Atherton (1999) 'The Itch Grown a Disease: Manuscript Transmission of News in the Seventeenth Century', in Joad Raymond (ed.) *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain* (Frank Cass), pp.39–65.
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26. See, for example, Victoria E. Burke (2007) 'Let's Get Physical: Bibliography, Codicology, and Seventeenth-Century Women's Manuscripts', *Literature Compass*, 4/6, 1667–82; James Daybell and Peter Hinds (eds) (2010) *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture, 1580–1700* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan); Peter Stallybrass (2004) 'The Library and Material Texts', *PMLA*, 119/5, 1347–52.
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28. McKenzie, *Bibliography*, p.39.
  29. See for example, Mary Hobbs (1992) *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (Aldershot: Scolar Press); Harold Love (1993) *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: OUP); Arthur F. Marotti (1995) *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell UP); H.R. Woudhuysen (1996) *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press); Peter Beal (1998) *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and Their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press); Margaret J.M. Ezell (1999) *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP); David McKitterick (2003) *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge: CUP).
  30. Tanselle, 'Textual Criticism', p.83. Heather Hirshfield (2001) 'Early Modern Collaboration and Theories of Authorship', *PMLA*, 116/3, 609–22.
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  33. Michael Hunter (1995) 'How to Edit a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript: Principles and Practice', *The Seventeenth Century*, 10, 277–310 (p.281); A.R. Braunnmuller (1981) 'Editing Elizabethan Letters', *Text*, 1, 185–99. For recent editions that have sought to represent in print the material aspects of early modern letters see: *The Collected Works of Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke*, eds Margaret P. Hannay, Noel J. Kinnamon, and Michael G. Brennan, 2 vols (Oxford: OUP, 1998), 1; *Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland: Life and Letters*, ed. Heather Wolfe (Tempe, AZ and Cambridge: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, and Renaissance Texts from Manuscripts, 2001); A.R. Braunnmuller (ed.) (1983) *A Seventeenth-Century Letter-Book: A Facsimile Edition of Folger MS. V.a.321* (Newark, DE: U of Delaware P); Edmund Spenser, *Selected Letters and Other Papers*, eds Christopher Burlinson and Andrew Zurcher (Oxford: OUP, 2009). For pioneering work on electronic-based letter texts see the AHRC Centre of Editing Lives and Letters [www.livesandletters.ac.uk] [accessed 15 February 2012].
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  37. Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass (2000) *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: CUP), p.11.

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47. Judith Rice Henderson (1993) 'On Reading the Rhetoric of the Renaissance Letter', in Heinrich F. Plett (ed.) *Renaissance-Rhetorik Renaissance Rhetoric* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter), pp.143–62 (p.149).
48. Fulwood, *Enemie of Idleness*, sig.69<sup>v</sup>.
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51. Peter C. Sutton, et al. (2003) *Love Letters: Dutch Genre Paintings in the Age of Vermeer* (Greenwich, CT and Dublin: Frances Lincoln).
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60. Guillén, 'Notes Toward', distinguishes at least seven kinds of writing associated with the letter: the neo-Latin prose letter, the vernacular prose letter, the neo-Latin verse epistle, the vernacular verse epistle, the tradition of the theory of the letter, practical manuals for letter-writing, and letters inserted within other genres.
61. *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1558–1561, 1584–86*, ed. Simon Adams, Camden Society, 6 (1995), p.388.
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## 2 Materials and Tools of Letter-Writing

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3. BL, Add. MS, 62092, fols1<sup>r</sup>, 7<sup>r</sup>, 8<sup>r</sup>, 11<sup>r</sup>, 11<sup>v</sup>, 12<sup>r</sup>, 14<sup>r</sup>, 16<sup>r</sup>: account book for personal expenses of Margaret Spencer (d.1613), 1610–13.
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5. SP16/310, fols54<sup>r</sup>–55<sup>v</sup>.
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9. Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Darron Dean and Andrew Hann (2004) *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600–1750* (Routledge), p.117.
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18. Beal, *Dictionary*, pp.331, 332; CP130/159: 'The abuses in paper and the remedye of them' [c.27/6/1605].
19. Coleman, *British Paper Industry*, pp.13, 21.
20. Hunter, *Papermaking*, 224, 241. Bodl., Rawl. MS, D398, fols156<sup>r</sup>–157<sup>r</sup>: Account of various sorts of paper; their names, watermarks, sheets in a quire, inches in length and prices per ream.
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23. (1587) *The Petie School*, p.52.
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27. *The Papers of Sir Richard Grosvenor, First Bart (1585–1645)*, ed. Richard Cust, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 134 (1996), pp.56, 65, 72, 73.
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34. D.M. Livock (ed.) (1966) *City Chamberlain's Accounts in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Bristol Record Society, 24, pp.47, 130.
35. John Webb (ed.) (1996) *The Town Finances of Elizabethan Ipswich: Select Treasurers' and Chamberlains' Accounts*, Suffolk Records Society, 38, p.105.
36. BL, Eg. MS, 2812, fol.21<sup>v</sup>.
37. Coleman, *British Paper Industry*, p.11; James Sharpe (1987) *Early Modern England: A Social History, 1550–1760* (Edward Arnold), p.212; Keith Wrightson (1982) *English Society, 1580–1680* (Hutchinson), p.34.
38. BL, Sloane MS, 922, fols96<sup>r-v</sup>, c.1634.
39. Finlay, *Western Writing Implements*, pp.32–3.
40. Bales, *Writing Schoolmaster* (1590), sig.Q4<sup>v</sup>.
41. Todd Gray (ed.) (1995) *Devon Household Accounts, 1627–59: Part I*, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 38, pp.1, 2, 5, passim.
42. Plat, *The Jewell House*, p.46.

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44. DRO, 1392M/L1601/10.
45. Folger, L.d.18, L.d.19, L.d.20, L.d.21: [1572–3].
46. Mary Siraut (ed.) (1990) *The Trevelyan Letters to 1840*, Somerset Record Society, 80, p.82.
47. LPL, Bacon MS, 651, fol.207<sup>r-v</sup>: 6/6/1595.
48. Bodl., Rawl. MS, D859, fols3<sup>v</sup>–10<sup>v</sup>, 36<sup>r</sup>–7<sup>v</sup>, 71<sup>r</sup>–3<sup>r</sup>: 1613–23.
49. SP1/22, fol.65<sup>r</sup>: Accounts of Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, 1521; HMC, *Rutland*, 4, p.263.
50. 'Undergraduate Account Book', pp.177 189, 205. *Household Books of Lord William Howard*, pp.110, 144, 208, passim. See also, *The Household Papers of Henry Percy Ninth Earl of Northumberland (1564–1632)*, ed. G.R. Batho, Camden Society (Royal Historical Society, 1962), pp.35, 87, 91, 94, 98.
51. BL, Eg. MS, 2804, fols146, 223 [12/1601], n.y.
52. HMC, *Middleton*, pp.379, 429; L&P, 4.i.771.
53. Finlay, *Western Writing Implements*, pp.26–8; Whalley, *Writing Implements*, pp.77–84. An alternative type of ink was carbon-based, using lampblack and soot: Beal, *Dictionary*, p.202.
54. (1571) *A Booke Containing Divers Sortes of Hands . . .* un-paginated. See also, Edward Cocker (1658) *The Pen's Triumph*, p.23. For a fifteenth-century recipe for iron-gall ink see, TNA, C47/34/1/3.
55. p.52.
56. sigsE<sup>r-v</sup>.
57. sigsBiv<sup>r</sup>–Bv<sup>v</sup>.
58. *Secrets of the Reuerend Maister Alexis*, pp.90<sup>v</sup>, 94<sup>r</sup>–7<sup>r</sup>, 119<sup>v</sup>, 127<sup>r</sup>, 131<sup>r</sup>. Wecker, *Eighteen Books*, also includes a recipe for 'Powder of Ink that one may carry in a Journey: so it be mingled with Wine or Water' (pp.272, 329).
59. William Philip (1596) *A Booke of Secrets . . .* passim. See also (1583) *A Very Proper Treatise, Wherein is Briefly Sett Forthe the Arte of Limming*, sigsBiii<sup>r</sup>–Biv<sup>r-v</sup>.
60. p.181.
61. sig.A3<sup>v</sup>.
62. 'To make a Pouder, that will make ink in an instant' was printed at the end of the seventeenth century in (1697) *A New Book of Knowledge Treating of Things . . .* p.10.
63. Queen's College, Cambridge, MS 34, fols48<sup>v</sup>; BL, Add. MS, 34163, fol.5; LPL MS 2086, fol.42<sup>r</sup>; BL, Add. 34307, fol.19; Folger, V.b.296, p.23. For other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century recipes for ink see BL, Sloane MS, 4, fols2, 3<sup>r</sup>, 62<sup>r</sup>, BL, Add. MS, 32658, fol.23; BL, Stowe MS, 850, fol.5; BL, Add. MS, 36308, fol.91<sup>v</sup>; BL, Eg. MS, 2679, fol.1; Bodl. Rawl. MS, D1120, fol.140<sup>v</sup>. See also, Bodl., Rawl. MS, D1056, fol.8<sup>v</sup> for recipes by one Edward Bastard, 'To make a potte of good blacke Incke' and 'To make iiij pintes of Incke suddenly', 1641–49.
64. Daybell (2005) 'Elizabeth Bourne (fl.1570s–80s): A New Elizabethan Woman Poet', *N&Q*, 250, 52/2, 176–8; Folger, V.a.430, pp.96, 103.
65. See, for example, Christopher Burlinson and Andrew Zurcher (2005) "'Secretary to the Lord Grey Lord Deputie here": Edmund Spenser's Irish Papers', *The Library*, 6/1, 30–75.
66. CP175/136: 7/12/1597.
67. sig.A3<sup>v</sup>.
68. HMC, *Middleton*, p.556.



69. DRO, ECA, Exeter City Archives, Corporation of Exeter, 'Ancient Letters', L203.
70. Joseph P. Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Bacon MSS of Redgrave Hall, 4198 [1611]; CP102/56.
71. SP11/5, fol.77; CP173/124: Fulke Greville to Robert Cecil, 8/1596; SP84/5, fol.147<sup>r</sup>-149<sup>v</sup>: Sir John Conway to Walsingham, 27/12/1585.
72. Bodl., Eng. Hist. c.475, fol.156: 16/5/1582.
73. CP78/32: 3/4/[1601]; CP90/48, [1601].
74. Daybell (2001) 'The Social Conventions of Women's Letter-Writing in England, 1540-1603', in Daybell (ed.) *Early Modern Women's Letter-Writing in England, 1450-1700* (Basingstoke: Palgrave), pp.59-76.
75. 'Undergraduate Account Book', p.162; Bodl., Eng. Hist. c.481, fols25<sup>r</sup>-26<sup>r</sup>: 26/4/1613.
76. L&P, 3 (I): 463; L&P, 5: 1799; L&P, 4 (III): 6748. *Household Papers of Henry Percy*, p.75.
77. HMC, *Middleton*, pp.403, 435; SP12/265, fol.218<sup>r</sup>: 1597.
78. Beal, *Dictionary*, pp.203-04.
79. CP42/22: 9/7/1596.
80. Francis Steer (1953) 'The Inventory of Anne Viscountess of Dorchester', *N&Q*, 198, 94-6, 155-8, 379-81, 414-17, 469-73, 515-19 (pp.416-17).
81. Finlay, *Western Writing Implements*, pp.35-9, 136-57; Whalley, *Writing Implements*, pp.85-106; Beal, *Dictionary*, pp.203-04, 293, 395.
82. L&P, 4 (I): 1792; HMC, *Middleton*, pp.383, 401; *Household Books of Lord William Howard*, pp.203, 253.
83. Finlay, *Western Writing Implements*, p.34; Beal, *Dictionary*, p.42.
84. *A Booke Containing Divers Sortes of Hands*, unpaginated; Bertholde Wolpe (1975) 'John de Beauchesne and the First English Writing Books', *Journal for the Society of Italic Handwriting* 82, 2-11.
85. HMC, *Rutland*, 4, p.263.
86. Finlay, *Western Writing Implements*, pp.32-4, 133-4; Beal, *Dictionary*, pp.307-08; Whalley, *Writing Implements*, pp.90-2.
87. On quills see Finlay, *passim*; Whalley, *passim*; Beal, *Dictionary*, p.329. Steel pens were however in use during the sixteenth century (Whalley, *Writing Implements*, p.41; Finlay, *Western Writing Implements*, pp.44, 47). In 1581 Richard Stonley, a teller of the Exchequer of Receipt bought a 'brasse penne': Peter Stallybrass, Roger Chartier, J. Franklin Mowery and Heather Wolfe, 'Hamlet's Tables and the Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 55/4 (2004), 379-419 (p.401).
88. DRO, ECA/Book 144, pp.129-34.
89. L&P, 16: 217.
90. *Household Papers of Henry Percy*, pp.36, 65; HMC, *Middleton*, p.464; BL, Add. MS, 62092, fols8<sup>r</sup>; *Household Books of Lord William Howard*, p.216; SP16/330, fols5<sup>r</sup>-6<sup>v</sup>: 2/8/1636.
91. Finlay, *Western Writing Implements*, p.89.
92. sigsD2<sup>r</sup>-D3<sup>v</sup>.
93. Finlay, *Western Writing Implements*, pp.3-4; Bales, *Writing Schoolemaster*, sigsQ2<sup>r</sup>-Q3<sup>r</sup>; Clement, *Petie Schole*, p.53.
94. A.S. Osley (1980) *Scribes and Sources: Handbook of the Chancery Hand in the Sixteenth Century: Texts From The Writing Masters* (Boston, MA: Godine), pp.92-6; *A Booke Containing Divers Sortes of Hands*, unpaginated; Clement, sig.Dii<sup>r-v</sup>; Bales, *Writing Schoolemaster*, p.60; John Brinsley (1612) *Ludus literatus*, sigsE3<sup>r-v</sup>.

95. Clement, sig.Dii<sup>r</sup>; Billingsley (1618) *Pens Excellencie*, sigsD2<sup>v</sup>–D3<sup>r</sup>.
96. On pen knives see Finlay, *Western Writing Implements*, pp.13–20, 102–07; Whalley, *Writing Implements*, pp.33–40. Whalley consciously uses the form pen knife rather than penknife to distinguish the early modern ‘scribal knife’ from modern-day pocket penknives (p.38). *Household Papers of Henry Percy*, p.65.
97. Finlay, *Western Writing Implements*, p.13.
98. Bales, sig.Q2<sup>r</sup>.
99. Clement, sig.Div<sup>v</sup>; Bales, sig.Q3<sup>v</sup>; Billingsley, sig.D3<sup>v</sup>.
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104. Richard Mulcaster (1981) *Positions Wherin Those Primitive Circumstances Be Examined, Which Are Necessarie For The Training Vp Of Children . . .* sig.Ei<sup>v</sup>.
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106. L&P, 2 (II): 12.2; Clement, *Petie Schole*, sig.Div<sup>v</sup>.
107. *Lisle Letters*, 6, p.200, 1, pp.441–2; Frederick Fenn and B. Wyllie ([1904]) *Old English Furniture* (Scribner), p.16, plate XV.
108. L&P, 5: 456: 30/9/1531; L&P, 7: 557: 27/4/1534.
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116. Overton, *Production and Consumption*, pp.127, 129.
  117. *Surrey Probate Inventories*, pp.249, 305, 371, 377. Parlour used here refers to a reception room, but for differences in type of parlour see Overton, *Production and Consumption*, pp.131–2.
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### 3 Epistolary Writing Technologies

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37. *Ibid.*, 4: 1062; SP3/1, fol.108.
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#### 4 Interpreting Materiality and Social Signs

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24. See for example, BL, Cotton MS, Titus B/I, fol.361: University of Oxford to Thomas Cromwell, n.d.
25. Jenkinson, 'Elizabethan Handwriting', p.23; Alfred Fairbank and Berthold Wolpe (1960) *Renaissance Handwriting: An Anthology of Italic Scripts* (Faber & Faber); Alfred Fairbank and Bruce Dickins (1962) *The Italic Hand in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge Bibliographical Society); Bertold Louis Ullman (1960) *The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura); Herbert C. Schulz (1942–43) 'The Teaching of Handwriting in Tudor and Stuart Times', *HLQ*, 6, 381–425.
26. On secretary hand see, Giles E. Dawson and Laetitia Kennedy-Skipton (1966) *Elizabethan Handwriting, 1500–1650: A Guide to the Reading of Documents and*

- Manuscripts* (Faber & Faber); Jean F. Preston and Laetitia Yeandle (1992) *English Handwriting, 1400–1650* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies); M.B. Parkes (1969) *English Cursive Book Hands, 1250–1500* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), pp.xix–xxv; N. Denholm-Young (1954) *Handwriting in England and Wales* (Cardiff: U of Wales P); L.C. Hector (1958; 1966) *The Handwriting of English Documents* (Edward Arnold), pp.60–61; Muriel St. Clare Byrne (1925) ‘Elizabethan Handwriting for Beginners’, *RES*, 1/2, 198–209; R.B. McKerrow (1927) ‘The Capital Letters in Elizabethan Handwriting’, *RES*, 3/9, 28–36; idem (1972) ‘A Note on Elizabethan Handwriting’, in Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), pp.361–7.
27. Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, pp.63–9.
  28. See for example, BL, Add. MS, 27999, fols24<sup>r</sup>–25<sup>v</sup>: Robert Hegge to Richard Oxinden, 5/9/1624.
  29. BL, Add. MS, 27999, fols336<sup>r</sup>–337<sup>v</sup>: 12/1639.
  30. Graham Williams (2011) ‘Theorizing Uglyography: The Socio-cultural Implications of George Talbot’s Gouty Hand’ (Paper at the Cultures of Correspondence Conference, University of Plymouth); Beal, *Dictionary*, p.184.
  31. Keith Thomas (1986) ‘The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England’, in Gerd Baumann (ed.) *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition, Wolfson College Lectures 1985* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), pp.97–131 (p.117); Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, pp.99–100.
  32. CP90/147; *Collected Works of Mary Sidney*, I, p.291.
  33. Thomas, ‘Meaning of Literacy’, pp.97–131.
  34. (1595) *English Secretorie*, 2, p.132.
  35. Christopher Burlinson and Andrew Zurcher (2005) ‘“Secretary to the Lord Grey Lord Deputie here”: Edmund Spenser’s Irish Papers’, *The Library*, 6/1, 30–75 (pp.32–41).
  36. *The Letters of Lady Arbella Stuart*, ed. Sara Jayne Steen (Oxford: OUP, 1994), pp.107, and 112–13.
  37. H.R. Woudhuysen (2007) ‘The Queen’s Own Hand: A Preliminary Account’, in Peter Beal and Grace Ioppolo (eds) *Elizabeth I and the Culture of Writing* (British Library), pp.1–27. Helen Darbishire (1933) ‘The Chronology of Milton’s Handwriting’, *The Library*, 14, 229–35; Davids, ‘Handwriting of Robert Devereux’, 351–65.
  38. DRO, 1392M/L1599/13: 3/8/1599. The paper used while good quality was also slightly smaller than standard folio sized sheets.
  39. *The Correspondence of Lady Katherine Paston, 1603–1627*, ed. R. Hughey, Norfolk Record Society, 14 (1941) p.92 [Early April 1626?], p.83 [Late April 1625?].
  40. Jonathan Goldberg (1988) ‘Hamlet’s Hand’, *SQ*, 39/3, 307–27 (p.316).
  41. Davids, ‘The Handwriting of Robert Devereux’, p.359. Cf. Sara Jayne Steen (2001) ‘Reading Beyond the Words: Material Letters and the Process of Interpretation’, *Quidditas*, 22, 55–69 (p.59).
  42. BL, Harl. MS, 7003, fol.146, n.d. Cf. Steen (1988) ‘Fashioning an Acceptable Self: Arbella Stuart’, *ELR*, 18, 78–95 (p.93).
  43. Tom Davis (1992) ‘The Analysis of Handwriting: An Introductory Survey’ in Peter Davison (ed.) *The Book Encompassed: Studies in Twentieth-Century Bibliography* (Cambridge: CUP), pp.57–68 (p.68).
  44. See for example, Braunmuller, ‘Accounting for Absence’; Gibson, ‘Significant Space’; Steen, ‘Reading Beyond the Words’; Stewart (2008) ‘The Materiality of Shakespeare’s Letters’, in *Shakespeare’s Letters* (Oxford: OUP), pp.39–74; Daybell (2009) ‘Material Meanings and the Social Signs of Manuscript Letters in Early Modern England’, *Literature Compass*, 6, 1–21.

45. sig.B2<sup>v</sup>. Fulwood's rules largely follow those outlined in the major source for his work, *Le stile de manière de composer, dicter, et escrire toute sorte d'espistre* (1553). Gibson, 'Significant Space', pp.2, 8, n.10.
46. Day (1586) *English Secretorie*, sig.C2<sup>r</sup>.
47. Editions of Massinger's work also appeared in 1658 and 1668. The English translation of Antoine de Courtin's *Nouveau traité de la civilité* first published in 1671 appeared in a further 6 editions: 1673, 1675, 1678, 1685 and twice in 1703.
48. de Courtin (1685), sigsI3<sup>r-v</sup>; I4<sup>r-v</sup>. See also Massinger (1654), sigsB5<sup>v</sup>-B6<sup>v</sup>.
49. *De conscribendis epsitolis* (1534), ed. Charles Fantazzi (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), p.91.
50. Massinger (1654), sigsB5<sup>v</sup>-B6<sup>r</sup>; de Courtin (1685), sigsI1<sup>v</sup>-I2<sup>r</sup>.
51. Massinger (1654), sig.B5<sup>v</sup>.
52. Sue Walker (2003) 'The Manners on the Page: Prescription and Practice in the Visual Organisation of Correspondence', *HLQ*, 66/3&4, 307-29 (p.313); eadem (2001) *Typography and Language: Prescriptions and Practice* (Harlow: Longman).
53. Gibson, 'Significant Space', pp.4-5; Walker, 'Manners on the Page', p.315.
54. Steen, 'Reading Beyond the Words', p.63.
55. Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, pp.49-51.
56. Folger, L.b.526 (2/2/1602).
57. Folger, L.b.526, L.b.527, L.b.529, L.b.532 (Donne to George More, 1602). Cf. L.b.542: Donne to George More, 22/6/1629.
58. Folger, L.b.528, L.b.530, L.b.534, L.b.533 (Donne to Egerton, 1602).
59. BL, Add. MS, 74286: Hulton MS (1590-1601).
60. Folger, L.d.305: 12/4/1627.
61. SP16/63/89: 18/5/1627. *Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland: Life and Letters*, ed. Heather Wolfe (Tempe, AZ and Cambridge: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, and Renaissance Texts from Manuscripts, 2001), p.40.
62. DRO, D3799/Add. 3, Box, 14706/ bundle 1, folder 1/97/61: 15/10/1598.
63. *Proud Northern Lady*, 43: 31/1/1598.
64. Folger, X.d.428 (11): 31/12/1605 (Henry Cavendish); X.d.428 (4, 5, 6), 6/11/[c.1585], 18/6/[c.1600], [c.1600] (Charles Cavendish); X.d.428 (8): 27/6/[1589] (Grace Cavendish).
65. BL, Add. MS, 27999, fol.79<sup>r</sup>; BL, Eg. MS, 2715, fol.94: 10/06/[1608].
66. BL, Eg. MSS, 2713-2722.
67. BL, Eg. MS 2713, fol.217<sup>r</sup> (7/1/1588), fol.183<sup>r</sup> (21/10/1585).
68. Folger, L.d.384, L.d.387 (n.y., 29/12/1626). Cf. L.d.386, which leaves a space and marginal indent after 'Honorable Sir', but does not have room for a respectful space before the signature since the letter fills the entire page.
69. Folger, L.d.395, 14/9/[1626].
70. Folger, L.d.581: 9/6/1621.
71. DRO, 1392 M/L1595/3: 5/9/1595.
72. Davids, 'Handwriting of Robert Devereux', p.357.
73. DRO, D3799/Add.3, Box, 14706/bundle 2, folder 1/200/100 (4/6/1606); DRO, 1392M/L1630/3; DRO, D3799/Add.3, Box, 14706, bundle 3, folder 3, 281 (13/10/1643); bundle 3, folder 2/395/166 and 398/168 (23/9/1644, 4/10/1644), and passim.
74. BL, Add. MS, 27999, fols210<sup>r-v</sup>: 21/7/1635.
75. See, for example, Henry Ashforde's letter to Edward Seymour, DRO, D3799/Add. 3, Box, 14706/bundle 3, folder 3: 18/10/1643.
76. CRO, AR/15/12: 3/3/[1571], AR/15/16: 20/4/1571. See also, AR/15/18: Robert Cade, Mayor and Hugh Hexte from Barnstaple to Sir John Arundell, 1/[6/1571]; AR/15/20: William Kendall from Lostwithell to Edward Arundell, 11/6/[1571].

77. *Letters from Redgrave Hall: The Bacon Family, 1340–1744*, ed. Diarmaid MacCulloch, Suffolk Records Society, 50 (2007), pp.xxiii, 114; Joseph P. Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Bacon Papers of Redgrave Hall, 4234: Sir John Higham to Sir William Spring, 20/3/1626.
78. BL, Eg. MS, 2584, 16/5/1626. Paul J. Rylands (1911) 'Merchants' Marks and Other Mediaeval Personal Marks', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 62, 1–34; Charles Sisson (1928) 'Marks as Signatures', *The Library*, 91, 1–34; Thomas, 'Meaning of Literacy', pp.100–02.
79. BL, Harl. MS, 292, fol.79; BL, Eg. MS, 2713, fol.40<sup>r-v</sup>; Folger, X.d.428 (83); SP16/270, fol.6; SP10/10, fol.19; DRO, 1392M/L1595/1; SP12/201, fol.39; BL, Cotton MS, Titus B.III, fol.99; SP16/113, fol.107; DRO, 3799M-3/0/1/50: (13/7/1644); SP14/216/2, fol.173.
80. Jenkinson, 'Elizabethan Handwriting', p.30.
81. SP70/118, fol.117: 2/6/1571.
82. Michele Margetts (1997) "'The wayes of mine owne hart": The Dating and Mind Frame of Essex's "fantasticall" letter', *Bodleian Library Record*, 16/1, 101–10 (p.101).
83. BL, Add. MS, 9828, fol.5; Davids, 'Handwriting of Robert Devereux', p.355.
84. Bodl, Rawl. MS, D859, fols4<sup>r</sup>, 7<sup>r</sup>, 8<sup>r</sup>, 10<sup>r</sup> (28/5/1621, 14/10/1622, 25/10/1622, 12/3/1624). Ian Atherton, 'Scudamore family (per. 1500–1820)', *ODNB*.
85. David Stevenson (1984) 'Masonry, Symbolism and Ethics in the Life of Sir Robert Moray, F.R.S', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 114, 405–31 (p.410); *Lady Falkland: Life and Letters*, p.33.
86. Jenkinson, 'Elizabethan Handwriting', pp.31–2.
87. Daybell (2002) 'Henry VIII's Sign Manual' in Heather Wolfe (ed.) *The Pen's Excellencie: Manuscript Treasures at the Folger Shakespeare Library, A Festschrift on the Retirement of Laetitia Yeandle* (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library), pp.36–8.
88. DRO, D3799/Add. 3/Box, 14706/bundle 3/folder 5, 380/157: 15/8/1644.
89. Burlinson and Zurcher, 'Spenser's Irish Papers', p.57.
90. William Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, II.i.72–3.
91. (1984) *Letters of King James VI & I*, ed. G.P.V. Akrigg (Berkeley: U of California Press), p.349.
92. CP88/166: 21/10/1601.
93. SP63/250, fols204<sup>r</sup>–207<sup>v</sup> (fols204<sup>r</sup>–205<sup>v</sup>): 1630.
94. Dard Hunter (1947) *Papermaking: The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf), p.229; *Lisle Letters*, 2, 103.
95. SP12/6/3: 7/8/1559.
96. Alan Nelson, 'Letters and Memoranda of Edward de Vere 17th earl of Oxford', <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~ahnelson/oxlets.html>. (19/8/1563–3/1/1604). [accessed 15 February 2012]
97. de Courtin, *Rules of Civility*, sig.11<sup>v</sup>.
98. BL, Eg. MS 2715, fols2, 5, passim: 25/1/1605, 6/4/1605.
99. LMA, ACC 1876/F03/1–8; CRO, AR/15/4–41.
100. BL, Add. MS, 23212, *passim* (1577–88).
101. Bodl., Rawl. MS, D859, fols14<sup>r</sup>–23<sup>v</sup>.
102. On cropping see, BL, Lansd. MS, 14, fols185<sup>r</sup>–86<sup>v</sup>, Edward de Vere's letter to Burghley dated 22/9/1572, a bifolium measuring 265mm x 230mm and 265mm x 195mm. On a single sheet used for a copy see DRO, 1392 M/L1595/6: Privy Council to Earl of Bath, 9/11/1595.



103. CRO, AR/15/8: 24 Feb. 1571; DRO, 1392M/L1611/4 (1611). *Alumini Oxoniensis*, 4: 1337. See also DRO, 1392M/L1608/1, L1643/14, 15, L1643/24, L1644/2, L1645/13 (Elizabeth Fulforde to Edward Seymour, 28/5/1645).
104. DRO, 1392M/L1608/3, L1610/1, L1611/1, 3, 5, 6 (1608–11).
105. Folger, X.c.51 (39): 14/03/1633. Compton's letter was approximately 'one-quarter of a standard-size letter': Stewart and Wolfe, *Letterwriting in Renaissance England*, p.51.
106. H.R. Woudhuysen (2008) 'The Early Modern Letter: Shapes and Forms' (Paper at the 'Material Readings in Early Modern Culture, 1550–1700' Conference, University of Plymouth). Professor Woudhuysen's analysis is based on various sources, including items from the Albin Schram collection, sold at Christie's in 2007. On paper size see also, Graham Pollard (1941) 'Notes on the Size of the Sheet', *The Library*, 22/2, 105–37.
107. DRO, 3799M, 97/61 (11/10/1598). 3799M-3/0/1/38 (13/10/1643); 3799M-3/0/1/52 (15/8/1644); 3799M-3/0/1/53 (16/8/1644); 3799M-3/0/1/80 (17/11/1677) 3799M-3/0/1/81.
108. DRO, 3799M, 251/113 (9/1/1641), 271 (26/7/1643), 273/119 (11/9/1643). See also, 1392M/1644/8 (15/2/1644), 1392M/1644/35 (20/6/1644), 1392M/L1644/34 (29/6/1644), 1392M/L1644/33 (2/6/1644); 1392M/L1644/49 (22/7/1644), 1392M/L1644/50 (22/7/1644), 1392M/L1644/52 (25/7/1644), 1392M/L1645/15 (29/5/1645), 1392M/L1645/14 (28/5/1645).
109. Dorothy Osborne, *Letters to Sir William Temple*, ed. Kenneth Parker (Penguin, 1987), p.19; Robbie Glen (2007) 'Lines of Affection: Dorothy Osborne and Women's Letterwriting in the Seventeenth Century' (Ph.D. diss, University of Pennsylvania), pp.86–7.
110. SP46/24/224, n.d.; SP46/60 fol.8 (1/2/1580); WCRO, Essex Letter Book, MI 229, n.d.
111. BL, Add. MS, 33975, passim; *Letters to William Temple*, p.19.
112. David N. Durant (1977; 1999) *Bess of Hardwick: Portrait of an Elizabethan Dynast* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson), pp.217, 245 n.2 (31/1/1599); Kendal RO, *Proud Northern Lady*, p.43.
113. Bodl., Rawl. MS, D917, fols55<sup>r</sup>–66<sup>v</sup>.
114. Beinecke, MS b.27, unfoliated, 8/11/1602; CP200/108\_a: Accounts, 26/5/1629; SP16/285, fol.43; SP/16/321, fol.99<sup>r-v</sup>: 18/5/1636.
115. SP52/62, fol.54<sup>r</sup>–55<sup>v</sup> (31/7/1598); CP134/122: 5/[1607].
116. Mark Bland (2004) 'Italian Paper in Early Seventeenth-Century England', in R. Graziaplina (ed.) *Paper as a Medium of Cultural Heritage: Archaeology and Conservation* (Rome: Istituto centrale per la patologia del libro), pp.243–55 (pp.246–8); idem (2010) *A Guide to Early Printed Books and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Blackwell), pp.31, 38, 43–8.
117. Bland, 'Italian Paper', p.244.
118. (1951) *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, trans. and ed. Philip Caraman (Longmans, Green and Co.), p.117.
119. SP46/24/91: [temp. Mary I/Eliz I].
120. Nancy Pollard Brown (1989) 'Paperchase: The Dissemination of Catholic Texts in Elizabethan England', *EMS*, 1, 120–44.
121. In cases where letters are undated scholars attempt dating by using internal evidence and through broader contextualisation: a letter-writer maybe known to have resided at a particular place at a given time. See, for example, Michael Brennan and Noel J. Kinnamon (2003) *A Sidney Chronology: 1554–1654*

- (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan). On dating by handwriting see Hilary Jenkinson (1927) *The Later Court Hands in England from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols (Cambridge: CUP); Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton, *Elizabethan Handwriting*; Fairbank and Dickens, *Italic Hand in Tudor Cambridge*. On dating by paper and ink analysis see Mitchell C. Ainsworth (1922) *Documents and their Scientific Examination* (Griffin); Charles Moïse Briquet (1907) *Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire Historique des Marques du Papier dès Leur Apparition vers 1282 Jusqu'en 1600 . . .* 4 vols (Paris: A. Picard & Fils); Edward Heawood (1950) *Watermarks Mainly of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Hilverstrum: Paper Publications Society); Daniel W. Mosser, Michael Saffle and Ernest W. Sullivan II (eds) (2000) *Puzzles in Paper: Concepts in Historical Watermarks* (British Library). One of the problems with dating using watermarks is that even where paper can be dated, there is no telling when stocks of paper were used up; furthermore a hand learned in one generation might be carried through to the next. Sometimes letters can be dated more or less approximately from endorsements on receipt. Where it is impossible however to establish precisely when a letter was written, it is common practice to provide a probable range of dates, the *terminus a quo* ('boundary from which') and *terminus ad quem* ('boundary to which'), or to date a letter to a particular period or reign.
122. BL, Eg. MS, 2713 fols69<sup>v</sup>–70<sup>v</sup>; CRO, Tremayne Family of Heligan, St Ewe, T/2091; Bodl., MS. Eng. Hist. c.475/fol.146; *Lisle Letters*, 5, 1093.
  123. Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, pp.55–6.
  124. On dating see C.R. Cheney (ed.) (1945; 1996) *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History* (Cambridge: CUP); Beal, *Dictionary*, pp.106–09.
  125. Cheney, *Handbook of Dates*, p.4.
  126. SP78/39, fol.88: 14–28/3/1597; SP77/5, fol.16: 15–25/4/1589; SP12/274, fol.2: 1–12/1/1600.
  127. SP78/21, fol.44: 30/1–9/2/1590.
  128. Cheney, *Handbook of Dates*, p.11.
  129. SP16/262, fol.87: 10–20/3/1634; SP16/290, fol.154: 11–21/6/1635.
  130. BL, Cotton MS, Caligula CVII, fol.338<sup>r-v</sup>. The date should have been 1 November.
  131. Cheney, *Handbook of Dates*, pp.12–13, 24–6.
  132. BL, Add. MS., 19401, fol.33: 16/8/ 1537.
  133. Edinburgh University MS De 1.12/9: 26/1/1596; Steven W. May (2004) *Queen Elizabeth I: Selected Works* (New York: Washington Square Press), p.242 (20/8/1602).
  134. CP128/175: 16/12/1610.
  135. *Lisle Letters*, 5, 1113: 4/3/1538.
  136. Medieval letters were commonly dated by saints' days: *The Plumpton Letters and Papers*, ed. Joan Kirby, Camden Society, 8 (1996), letters 170, 171, 172, 176, 185, 187, 190, 195, 198, 212 and *passim*; *The Cely Letters, 1472–1488*, ed. Alison Hanham, Early English Text Society, 273 (1975), 111, 121, 139, 144, 157 and *passim*; *Kingsford's Stonor Letters and Papers 1290–1483*, ed. Christine Carpenter (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), 136, 144, 145, 154, and *passim*.
  137. SP1/113, fol.28: 25/12/1536; SP1/3, fol.133: [20/3/1513; SP1/233, fol.312: 30/11/1523; *Lisle Letters*, 1: 8 (8/61533); SP70/123, fol.32 ([30/3/1572); BL, Add. MS, 32,653, fol. 2<sup>v</sup> (1/11/1543); *Plumpton Letters and Papers*, 228 ([16/11/1532]).
  138. Folger, X.d.145; SP16/185, fol.113: (28/2/ 1631).
  139. *Lisle Letters*, 1: 16, 14, 84, and *passim*; SP/12/4, fols227<sup>v</sup>–228<sup>v</sup>: 30/6/1559.
  140. *Cely Letters* (30–8, 224, 225 and *passim*); *Kingsford's Stonor Letters* (250, 251 and *passim*).

141. Folger, L.d.510: 10/11/[1572]; SP/12/6, fols70<sup>r</sup>–71<sup>v</sup>: 31/8/1559.
142. WCRO, Throckmorton, CR 1998/Box 60/Folder 4: 19/09/n.y.
143. *Lisle Letters*, iii. p.72, n.3.
144. [Hugh Oldcastle] (1588) *A Briefe Instruction and Maner Howv to Keepe Bookes of Accompts*, ed. John Mellis, sigsF7<sup>v</sup>–F8<sup>r</sup>.
145. SP60/5, fol.112. One of the reasons that so many of the medieval Cely letters are dated at the top is perhaps because they are mainly business letters: *Cely Letters, passim*.
146. SP46/5–7.
147. SP46/5/1, fol.39.
148. SP46/5/1, fol.136; Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p.56.
149. *De conscribendis epsitolis*, ed. Fantazzi, p.91.
150. DRO, 3799M-3/0/1/2: John Gilbert to Edward Seymour, 24/11/1598; DRO, 3799M-3/0/1/25: William, earl of Bath to Edward Seymour, 10/6/1601; DRO, 1392M/1595/3: William, earl of Bath to Edward Seymour, 5/9/ 1595; 1392M/L1595/7: William, earl of Bath to Deputy Lieutenants, 8/12/1596; 1392M/L1600/1: William, earl of Bath to Deputy Lieutenants, 19/2/1600; DRO, 1392M/L1601/17: William, earl of Bath to Justices of the Peace, 8/5/1601.
151. Burlinson and Zurcher, 'Spenser's Irish Papers', p.60.
152. Roger H. Ellis (1986) *Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office: Monastic Seals*, vol. 1 (HMSO); idem (1979, 1981) *Personal Seals*, 2 vols (HMSO); Walter de Gray Birch (1900) *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (British Museum); A.B. Tonnochy (1952) *A Catalogue of British Seal Dies in the British Museum* (British Museum). Bodl., Ashmole MS, 1138: Collection of seal impressions; Allan Wyon (1887) *The Great Seals of England* (Elliot Stock).
153. BL, Eg. MS, 2713, fols57<sup>v</sup>, 61v, 62v; DRO, D3799/Add. 3, Box 14706, Bundle 1, folder 3/30/14, Bundle 1, folder 4/13/5; Stewart and Wolfe, *Letterwriting*, p.36.
154. *The Household Papers of Henry Percy Ninth Earl of Northumberland (1564–1632)*, ed. G.R. Batho, Camden Society, 93 (1962), p.25.
155. Jason Powell (2007) 'Thomas Wyatt's Ivy Seal', *N&Q*, 54/3, 242–4.
156. *John Donne's Marriage Letters*, eds M. Thomas Hester, Robert Parker Sorlien and Dennis Flynn (Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, 2005), p.33.
157. Stevenson, 'Masonry, Symbolism', pp. 412–13, 416, 420–3.
158. BL, Add. MS, 28001, fols236<sup>r</sup>–237<sup>v</sup>, see also 268<sup>r</sup>–269<sup>v</sup>, 276<sup>r</sup>–277<sup>v</sup>, 278<sup>r</sup>–279<sup>v</sup>, 280<sup>r</sup>–<sup>v</sup> (1646, 1647).
159. sig.B8<sup>r</sup>.
160. Folger, L.a.852, L.a.853: 14, 17/04/[1610].
161. CP100/1 (30/5/1603); K. Duncan-Jones (1996) 'Notable Accessions: Western Manuscripts', *Bodleian Library Record*, 15, 308–14 (p.312).
162. Alison D. Wall (1982) *Two Elizabethan Women: Correspondence of Joan and Maria Thynne, 1575–1611*, Wiltshire Record Society, 38, p.21 (15/9/1601).
163. R.C. Backus (1917) 'The Origin and Use of Private Seals Under the Common Law', *American Law Review*, 51, 369–80.

## 5 Postal Conditions

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2. Paul Arblaster (2006) 'Posts, Newsletters, Newspapers in A European System of Communications' in Joad Raymond (ed.) *News Networks in Seventeenth-Century Britain and Europe* (Routledge), pp.19–34 (p.22).

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38. Brayshay, 'Post-Horse Routes in England and Wales'; idem (1991) 'Royal Post-Horse Routes in South-West England in the Reigns of Elizabeth I and James I',

- Devonshire Association Report and Transactions*, 123, 79–103; idem (1992) ‘The Royal Post-Horse Routes of Hampshire in the Reign of Elizabeth I’, *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archeological Society*, 48, 121–34.
39. BL, Add. MS, 25460, fol.273 (1/4/1594); Brayshay, ‘Post-Horse Routes in England and Wales’, p.373; Brayshay, ‘Post-Horse Routes in South-West’, p.81. The term postmaster to denote ‘the official at each of the stations or stages of a post-road, whose primary duty it was to carry the mail to the next stage, and to receive and deliver or send out letters for his own town or district’ was first employed at the start of the seventeenth century (*OED*); previously they had merely been known as ‘posts’.
  40. SP12/96, fols109<sup>r</sup>–110<sup>v</sup> (1574); SP12/167 fol.64 (1584).
  41. DRO, City of Exeter Book, 55, p.181; J.M.W. Stone (1987) *The Inland Posts, 1392–1672* (Christie’s-Robson Lowe), p.25.
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  43. BL, Lansd. MS, 78, fol.222<sup>r</sup>: 1556.
  44. APC, 5, p.315: 29/7/1556.
  45. SP12/41, fol.187: 1566.
  46. SP12/41/189: 1566; ‘SP12/96, 109<sup>r</sup>–110<sup>v</sup>: 1574.
  47. APC, 8, p.379.
  48. APC, 7, p.326 (12/2/1567); APC, 10, p.219, 1/5/1578; Florence M.G. Evans (1923) *The Principal Secretary of State: A Survey of the Office From 1558 to 1680* (Manchester: U Manchester P), p.279.
  49. CP141/367: 1/1/1591.
  50. I am grateful to Mark Brayshay for discussion on this point.
  51. (1583 [1584]) *Orders Set Downe and Allowed by the Lordes of her Maiesties Priiue Counsell, and Appoynted to be Put in Print for the Postes Betweene London, and the Borders of Scotland*; SP12/167, fol.64.
  52. *Articles Set Downe by the Right Worshipfull Thomas Randolph Esquier* ([c.1618]). This is a later printing of earlier articles in 1584 to tie in with the Elizabethan proclamation.
  53. BL, Lansd. MS, 78, fols224<sup>r</sup>–227<sup>v</sup>: 1590.
  54. *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 6, pp.566–7 (27/4/1603, 1/5/1603), 10, 832 (1/7/1615), 12, p.82 (15/9/1619); Beale, p.246.
  55. SP12/176 fol.32.
  56. ([1591]) *By the Queene. Whereas Heretofore Sundry Wayes Haue Bene Deuised to Redresse the Disorders Among the Postes of our Realme . . .*
  57. (1609) *By the King Whereas Heretofore Sundry Wayes Haue Bene Deuised to Redresse the Disorders Among the Postes of Our Realme . . .* ([1619]) *By the Lord Deputie and Councell Whereas the Kings Most Excellent Maiestie . . . Did Giue and Grant to Iohn Lo. Stanhope of Harrington . . . the Office of Maister of His Maiesties Posts . . .*
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65. *Ibid.*, pp.373, 375, 386; Brayshay, 'Speed of Royal Post', p.270.
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72. SP38/19 (24/6/1625); APC, 40, p.103, 145, 162, APC, 46, p.101; SP/16/223/63, SP16/274/37.
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74. BL, Cotton MS, Caligula C.VI, fols66<sup>v</sup>-67<sup>r</sup>: 30/9/1582. SP15/27/1, fol.187: 1/10/1582, enclosing SP15/27, fol.188: 'Orders by Queen and Council to be observed by all the posts between London and Berwick', 1582.
75. CP88/47: 16/9/1600.
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82. Brayshay, 'Post-Horse Routes in South-West', pp.81-2, 85.
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86. Brayshay, 'Post-Horse Routes in South-West', p.79.
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  165. p.85.
  166. CP44/64, 6/9/1596.
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172. SP70/67, fols151, 153, 157, 164; SP70/72, fol.187.
173. SP70/72, fol.123, 20/6/1564; SP70/67 fol.228, 31/1/1564.
174. SP83/14, fol.35: 25/2/1581.
175. Housden, 'Merchant Strangers Posts'; Beale, *England's Mail*, pp.189–95. CP23/66: 15–25/2/1595.
176. SP50/4, fol.98: 8/6/1548; SP63/41, fol.94: 15/6/1573.
177. BL, Eg. MS, 2804, fol.150: 12/5/1602; Folger, L.a.66, c.1610.
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189. SP52/17 fol.18: 28/1/1570; CP157/48–9.
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193. SP63/125, fol.37: 12/7/1586.
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207. BL, Eg. MS, 2812, fol.3<sup>r</sup> and passim. SP70/48, fol.165; CP154/16, 18; BL, Lansd. MS, 11, fol.68.
208. BL, Eg. MS, 2812, fols9<sup>r</sup>, 26<sup>v</sup>.
209. Ibid., fols20<sup>r</sup>–21<sup>v</sup>.
210. Ibid., fol.12<sup>r</sup>.
211. Ibid., fols11<sup>r</sup>, 12<sup>v</sup>, 36<sup>v</sup>, 39<sup>v</sup>.
212. Ibid., fols26<sup>v</sup>, 7<sup>r</sup>–8<sup>r</sup>, 20<sup>r</sup>–21<sup>v</sup>, 57<sup>v</sup>–58<sup>v</sup>, 73<sup>r</sup>–76<sup>v</sup>, 89<sup>r</sup>–91<sup>r</sup>, 102<sup>v</sup>, 106<sup>v</sup>–107<sup>r</sup>, 114<sup>r</sup>, 117<sup>r</sup>–118<sup>r</sup>, 119<sup>v</sup>, 134<sup>r</sup>–136<sup>r</sup>.
213. *The Letter Book of John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich Compiled During the Years 1571–1575*, ed. Ralph A. Houlbrooke, Norfolk Record Society, 43 (1974, 1975), pp.67, 72.
214. Ibid., p.78 [1555–56].
215. *The Correspondence of Lady Katherine Paston, 1603–1627*, ed. R. Hughey, Norfolk Record Society, 14 (1941), p.90 (3/1626?).
216. CKS, U1475/C81/132, 29/4/[1597]; CKS, U1475/C81/262, 6/8/1611.
217. SP10/10/25: 8/9/1550.
218. CP42/40:13/6/1596. Hasler, iii. 345–6.
219. APC, 39, p.504.
220. SP14/185, fols198–200.
221. Daybell (2005) ‘“I wold wyshe my doings myght be . . . secret”: Privacy and the Social Practices of Reading Women’s Letters in Sixteenth-Century England,’ in Jane Couchman and Anne Crabb (eds) *Women’s Letters Across Europe, 1400–1700: Form and Persuasion* (Aldershot: Ashgate), pp.143–61.
222. CKS, U1475/C81/63, 21/8/1595.
223. Joseph P. Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Bacon Papers of Redgrave Hall, 4077 [11/1/1567].
224. *Lisle Letters*, 4, 1048; BL, Add. 27395, fol.143<sup>r</sup>–144<sup>v</sup>.
225. *Lisle Letters*, 5. 1148.
226. BL, Eg. MS, 2812, fols5<sup>r</sup>, 21<sup>v</sup>–22<sup>v</sup>, 18/8/1600, 22/9/1600.
227. Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p.139
228. Alison D. Wall (1982) *Two Elizabethan Women: Correspondence of Joan and Maria Thynne, 1575–1611*, Wiltshire Record Society, 38, p.30: 5/3/1603.
229. Thomas Birch (1848) *The Court and Times of James the First*, 2 vols, 2, p.264.
230. BL, Eg. MS, 2713, fol.103<sup>v</sup>: 2/7/1580.
231. Bodl., Tanner MS, 74, fol.228<sup>v</sup>.
232. Bodl., Rawl. MS, D, 859, fol.6<sup>r</sup>, 16/9/1622.
233. CP191/61: 21/10/1605.
234. DRO, 1392M/L1596/17.
235. DRO, 1392M/L1596/20.
236. Bodl., Rawl. MS, C.368, fol.18.
237. CP88/58, 60.

## 6 Secret Letters

1. Mary E. Hazard (2000) *Elizabeth Silent Language* (Lincoln and London: U of Nebraska P); Curtis C. Bright (1996) *Surveillance, Militarism and Drama in the Elizabethan Era* (Basingstoke: Macmillan).
2. Ian Arthurson (1991) ‘Espionage and Intelligence from the Wars of the Roses to the Reformation’, *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies*, 35, 134–54.

3. SP78/17, fols99<sup>r</sup>–100<sup>v</sup> (fol.99<sup>r</sup>) [24/3]/1587; Bodl., Carte MS, LVI, fol.475 (26/10/1573).
4. SP16/210, fol.6<sup>r</sup>: 2/1/1632.
5. Sabrina A. Baron argues that early-seventeenth-century 'manuscript letters did not resort to codes, ciphers, or shorthand as letters filled with sensitive information would do during other periods of political stress such as the Civil Wars': (2001) 'The Guises of Dissemination in Early Seventeenth-Century England: News in Manuscript and Print', in Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron (eds) *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (Routledge), pp.41–56 (p.48).
6. BL, Cotton MS, Vespasian C.I, fols23, 25, 26, 30, 34, 36, 43, 50, 53, 56, 60, 63, 65, 69, 71. L&P, I (I): 7, 264, 360, 737; L&P, I (II): 2716, 3009.
7. SP1/225, fol.165; Sheila R. Richards (1974) *Secret Writing in the Public Records: Henry VIII to George II* (HMSO), pp.3–16.
8. Simon Singh, *The Code Book: The Science of Secrecy from Ancient Egypt to Quantum Cryptography* (Fourth Estate, 1999), pp.1–44.
9. CP124/5.
10. Richards, *Secret Writing*, pp.71–86; BL, Add. MS, 72399. For early-seventeenth-century use of ciphers see also BL, Add. MS, 72388 (Trumbull Papers); BL, Add. MS, 35097: Letter book of John Scudamore, 1635–1639; BL, Stowe MSS, 172, 174 (Edmondson Papers, 1611–1614); John Holt Schooling (1896) 'Secrets in Cipher', *Pall Mall Magazine*, 8, 119–29, 245–56, 484–9, 608–18.
11. Richards, *Secret Writing*, pp.120–44; Lois Potter (1989) *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature, 1641–1660* (Cambridge: CUP). See for example, SP16/502, fol.81, SP106/10, nos. 5, 7 and 9; SP16/502, fol.82; SP16/502, fol.84; SP16/506, fol.22; SP21/16, fol.53.
12. Nadine Akkerman, 'Enigmatic Cultures of Cryptology', in James Daybell and Andrew Gordon (eds) *Cultures of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain, 1580–1640* (forthcoming).
13. Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (eds) (2011) *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
14. M. Le Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove (1890) *Relations Politiques des Pays-bas et de l'Angleterre, sous le Règne de Philippe II* (Brussels: F. Hayez).
15. SP1/116 fols256<sup>r</sup>–268<sup>v</sup>: [12/3]/1537. For a letter in cipher from Wyatt to Cromwell see, BL, Cotton MS, Vespasian C.VII, fol.24 (11/3/1539). See also, BL, Harl. MS, 282, fols119, 126, 232.
16. BL, Cotton MS, Galba D.III, fols264<sup>r</sup>–266<sup>v</sup> (20/11/1588), 267<sup>r-v</sup> (1588), 272, 273<sup>r-v</sup>, 275 (28/11/1588).
17. BL, Hargrave MS, 17, fols208<sup>r-v</sup>: 25/7/1591.
18. Schooling, 'Secrets in Cipher', p.252.
19. Bodl., Tanner MS, 79, fols56<sup>r</sup>–57<sup>v</sup> [temp. Eliz.].
20. Florence Evans (1923) *The Principal Secretary of State: A Survey of the Office from 1558–1680* (Manchester: Manchester UP), pp.7–8, 116, 130, 181, 228–9, 286–90; Alan Haynes (1992) *The Elizabethan Secret Services* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing).
21. Charles Hughes (1905) 'Nicholas Faunt's Discourse Touching the Office of the Principal Secretary of Estate, & c. 1592', *EHR*, 20, 499–508 (p.502).
22. Conyers Read (1926) *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
23. CP173/137: Henry Brooke to Robert Cecil, 1/10/1594. For collections of ciphers in the Cecil papers see CP205/131, 'Key to an Italian cipher [temp Elizabeth]; CP140/54, 'French cipher key'; CP140/64, 'The Cipher Mallroy'; CP140/67, cipher

- letters endorsed 'Legate'; CP169/9: 'Italian cipher keys'; CP329/3, cipher containing signature of Edward Reynolds, Essex's secretary.
24. Paul E.J. Hammer (1994) 'The Uses of Scholarship: The Secretariat of Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, c.1581–1601', *EHR*, 109/430, 26–51 (pp.35, 39–40).
  25. Joyce Freedman (1979) 'Anthony Bacon and His World, 1558–1601' (Ph.D diss., Temple University), p.237.
  26. CP47/6, CP47/15, CP47/17, SP12/242, fol.69<sup>r-v</sup>.
  27. Edmund Spenser, *Selected Letters and Other Papers*, eds Christopher Burlinson and Andrew Zurcher (Oxford: OUP, 2009), pp.xlvi–xlvii; SP63/82, fols139<sup>r</sup>–141<sup>v</sup>. See also SP63/83, fols11<sup>r</sup>–12<sup>v</sup>; an autograph letter from Grey to Walsingham written using his usual cipher.
  28. In strict technical terms, the words code and cipher have different meanings. A code is where a word or phrase is replaced with a word, number or symbol; a cipher refers to a system where individual letters of the alphabet are substituted rather than whole words. It was common practice throughout the period for cipher alphabets to be complemented by a series of coded words. For general works dealing with Renaissance ciphers see, Peter Way (1979) *Codes and Ciphers* (Aldus Books); Singh, *Code Book*, chs.1, 2; David Kahn (1966) *The Codebreakers: The Story of Secret Writing* (Weidenfeld & Nicholson), pp.6–37; William F. Friedman and Elizabeth S. Friedman (1957) *The Shakespearean Ciphers Examined* (Cambridge: CUP), pp.15–50.
  29. Johann Trithemius (1606) *Clavis generalis triplex in libro steganographicos Iohannis Trithemii* (Darmstadt: Balthasar Hofmann).
  30. Johann Trithemius (1518) *Polygraphia libri sex* (Oppenheim). Roland Behrendt (1974) 'Abbot John Trithemius (1462–1516), Monk and Humanist', *Revue Bénédictine*, 1, 212–29; Way, *Codes and Ciphers*, pp.18–21.
  31. Charles J. Mendelsohn (1940) 'Blais de Vigenère and the "Chiffre Carré"', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 82/2, 103–29 (p.120).
  32. Giovanni Battista della Porta (1563; repr. 1591) *De furtiuis literarum notis*, pp.101, 114–33. Mendelsohn, 'Blais de Vigenère', p.121. See also, pp.113, 120.
  33. Mendelsohn, 'Blais de Vigenère', p.110; Blaise de Vigenère (1586) *Traicté des chifres, ou secrètes manières d'escrire* (Paris), sig.50<sup>v</sup>; David Kahn (1980) 'On the Origin of Polyalphabetic Substitution' *Isis*, 71/1, 122–7.
  34. (1605) *The Two Bookes of Francis Bacon. Of The Proficiency and Aduancement of Learning, Diuine and Humane*, 2, sigsP4<sup>v</sup>–Q1<sup>r</sup>. Francis Bacon (1605) *The Advancement of Learning*. See also *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis and Douglas Denon Heath, 7 vols, (1859–64) I, pp.841–4; *The Advancement of Learning*, ed. Michael Kiernan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), pp.318–19; *Francis Bacon: A Critical Edition of the Major Works*, ed. Brian Vickers (Oxford: OUP, 1996), p.232.
  35. Francis Bacon (1623) *De dignitate et augmentis scientiarum libros IX*, pp.279–82.
  36. *Ibid.*, p.279.
  37. *Ibid.*, p.280.
  38. *Works of Francis Bacon*, I, pp.841–4.
  39. Alan Stewart (2011) 'Francis Bacon's Bi-literal Cipher and the Materiality of Early Modern Diplomatic Writing' in Adams and Cox, *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, pp.120–37; Alan Stewart and Heather Wolfe (2004) *Letterwriting in Renaissance England* (Washington, DC: Folger), p.156. Cf. Friedman and Friedman, *Shakespearean Ciphers*, pp.28–36. An example of a slightly different kind of biliteral cipher can be found in Porta: *Works of Francis Bacon*, I, p.842.

40. Bacon, *De augmentis scientiarum*, p.280.
41. On shorthand see E.H. Butler (1951) *The Story of British Shorthand* (Pitman); Edwin Chappell (ed.) (1933) *Shorthand Letters of Samuel Pepys. From a volume entitled 'S. Pepys' Official Correspondence 1662–1679'* (Cambridge: CUP); Albert Foyer (1953) 'Extracts From the Shorthand Diary of the Rev. John Wade, M.A., Minister of Hammersmith', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 11/2, 168–72.
42. Timothy Bright (1589) *Characterie: An Arte of Shorte, Swifte and Secret Writing by Character*, sig.A9<sup>v</sup>. See also, Patricia Brewerton (2002) "'Several keys to ope' the character": The Political and Cultural Significance of Timothy Bright's "characterie"', *SCJ*, 33/4, 945–61. A manuscript copy of Bright's 'characterie' also survives, BL, Add. MS, 35333, fols70r–74<sup>v</sup>: 'Arte of Characterye', c.1600. Vincent Skinner recommended Bright's art of shorthand to Michael Hicckes, and sent him a letter containing an 'epistle of Titus' as a specimen: BL, Lansd. MS, 51, fol.55<sup>v</sup>: 1586.
43. Bright, *Characterie*, sig.C1<sup>r</sup>.
44. *Ibid.*, sigsA12<sup>v</sup>–B3<sup>r</sup>.
45. *Ibid.*, sigsA12<sup>v</sup>–B3<sup>r</sup>. The Bodleian copy of the text consulted contains marginal annotations in a reader's hand, registering attempts to expand and personalise the manual's vocabulary; the hundreds of manuscript additions made to the 'Table of English Wordes' were taken from Peter Bale's *The Writing Schoolmaster* (1590); Madeline Doran (1936) 'Manuscript Notes in the Bodleian Copy of Bright's *Characterie*', *The Library*, 16/4, 418–24.
46. Bright, *Characterie*, sigsA3<sup>r-v</sup>.
47. Brewerton, 'Several Keys', pp.954–6. See also, Jonathan Goldberg (1990) *Writing Matters: From the Hands of the English Renaissance* (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP), pp.204–5. This idea of applying the rules of 'closed' communications to open or universal language systems was one that developed more fully during the seventeenth century most notably by the Hartlib circle: Gerhard F. Strasser (1994) 'Closed and Open Languages: Samuel Hartlib's Involvement With Cryptology and Universal Languages', in Mark Greengrass, Michael Leslie and Timothy Raylor (eds) *Samuel Hartlib and The Universal Reformation: Studies in Intellectual Communication* (Cambridge: CUP), pp.151–62.
48. Bales (1590) *The Writing Schoolemaster*, sig.B2<sup>r</sup>.
49. Bales (1597) *The Arte of Brachygraphie*, sig.Bi<sup>v</sup>; Bales, *Writing Schoolemaster*, sigsC2<sup>r-v</sup>, C4<sup>r</sup>. The table was absent from the later *The Arte of Brachygraphie*.
50. Thomas Shelton (1630) *Short Writing the Most Exact Methode*; idem (1642), *A Tutor to Tachygraphy, or, Short-Writing . . .*; idem (1650) *Zeiglographia, or a New Art of Short-Writing*; John Wilkins (1641) *Mercvry, or the Secret and Swift Messenger . . .*; William Cartwright (1642) *Semography, or Short and Swift Writing*; Thomas Heath (1644) *Stenographie or The Art of Short-Writing*; Jeremiah Rich (1646) *Charactery or, A Most Easie and Exact Method of Short and Swift Writing*; idem (1669) *The Pens Dexterity Compleated: Or Mr Riches Short-Hand Now Perfectly Taught*.
51. John Willis (1602) *The Art of Stenographie . . .*
52. *Art of Stenographie* was reprinted in 1617, 1618, 1622, 1628, 1632, 1638, 1639, 1644, 1647. John Willis (1618) *Stenographia*; idem (1622, 1628, [1647]) *The School-Maister . . .*
53. John E. Bailey (1879) 'Dee and Trithemius's "Steganography"', *N&Q*, 11, 401–2, 422–3. SP12/27, fol.264, 16/2/1563 (letter from Dee to William Cecil); Bodl., Ashmolean MS, 434.iii (a manuscript copy of part of *Steganographia*).

54. Ciphers and secret writing were also printed in the mid- to late-seventeenth century for their fascination value linked as they were to contemporary politics and intrigue. Richard Browne's publication in 1645 of *The Lord Digbys designe to betray Abingdon, carried on for divers vveeks by an intercourse of letters*, for example, included 'the cipher which the Lord Digby sent him'. Political interest and entertainment aside, there is also a sense in which the publication of ciphers in popular literature of this kind encouraged emulation. John Cotgrave in his *Wits Interpreter* (1655) included 'Cardinal Richelieu's Key, his manner of writing Letters by Cyphers', pp.123-4, 125-7.
55. On medieval and Renaissance books of secrets see William Eamon (1994) *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP).
56. Girolamo Ruscelli (1560) *The Second Part of the Secrets of the Reuerend Maister Alexis of Piemont*, pp.26-7. The text appeared in multiple editions.
57. Thomas Lupton [(1579)] *A Thousand Notable Things*, p.150.
58. Hugh Plat (1594) *The Iewell House . . .*, pp.13-15.
59. William Phillip (1596) *A Booke of Secrets . . .*, sig.Bi<sup>v</sup>.
60. Wecker, *Eighteen Books*, pp.268-71. See also, Francisco Dickinson (1649) *A Precious Treasury . . .*, sig.A2<sup>v</sup>. A copy was also printed by La Fontaine.
61. The largest collection of cipher alphabets is SP106/1-10, Secretaries of State, State Papers Foreign, Ciphers, Elizabeth I to 1791. Within this category SP106/1-3 cover Elizabeth I's reign, 106/4 (James I), 106/5 (Charles I), 106/6 (Charles II), 106/7-8 (Anne to George II), 106/10 (Italian and other ciphers) which is a collection of mainly alphanumeric cipher code tables and keys to ciphers, both in manuscript and printed forms.
62. BL, Cotton MS, Galba D.III, fol.273: 28/11/1588; BL, Hargrave MS, 17, fol.209<sup>v</sup>, 25/7/1591.
63. See for example, BL, Add. MS, 35831, fol.344<sup>r</sup>; BL, Lansd. MS, 111, fols70, 76; BL, Cotton MS, Galba B.XII, fol.170<sup>v</sup>, 'Cyphers for Dymmock'; BL, Add. MS, 35831, fols342<sup>r-v</sup>.
64. BL, Cotton MS, Galba E.VI, fols365<sup>r</sup>-366<sup>r</sup>, n.d. See also 'Secretary Walsingham's cipher to Sir Edw[ard] Stafford in a<sup>o</sup> 1588' (fols376<sup>r</sup>-377<sup>v</sup>); SP78/13, fols101<sup>r</sup>-102<sup>v</sup>: Stafford to Walsingham, 10/4/1585. BL, Cotton MS, Galba CVI.1 fol.155<sup>r</sup>, 'A Cipher for Corbett'; BL, Add. MS, 33594, fols34<sup>r</sup>, 39<sup>r</sup>, 28 Nov. 1583; BL, Add. 33591, fols166<sup>r</sup>-167<sup>v</sup>: '[Thomas] Rand[olph's] Cipher Aug. 31, 1559'; BL, Add. MS, 4277, fols200<sup>r</sup>-1<sup>v</sup>, 'Sir Henry Wotton's Cipher'; Bodl., Tanner MS, 79, fols56<sup>v</sup>-7<sup>r</sup>.
65. BL, Cotton MS, Galba E.VI, fols365<sup>r-v</sup>.
66. BL, Add. MS, 39853, fols15<sup>r-v</sup>, [1605-1607]. Cf. BL, Add. MS, 4277, fols200<sup>r</sup>-1<sup>v</sup>.
67. Schooling, 'Secrets in Cipher', p.254.
68. CP35/112: 30/10-9/11/1595.
69. Richards, *Secret Writing*, plates II, III; SP53/32: Cipher alphabet of Mary Queen of Scots, 1586; BL, Add. MS, 33594, fol.34<sup>r</sup>: 'alphabet contained in the deciphering of a copy of a letter from Seton to Mary, Queen of Scots, 28/11/1583 (see also fols58<sup>r</sup>, 39<sup>r</sup>).
70. SP106/10/9: 22/9/1645.
71. HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord De L'Isle & Dudley, Preserved at Penshurst Place*, 6 vols (1935-66), 2, pp.253, 273 (19/3/1597, 30/4/1597).
72. BL, Add. MS, 33592, fols116<sup>r-v</sup>: Thomas Barnabie (alias Randolph) to Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft, 19/11/1559. See also, CP178/69: [1598].

73. See for example, BL, Cotton MS, Caligula E.XII, fols6<sup>r</sup>-7<sup>v</sup>: 'Queen Elizabeth's Instructions to her Ambassador in France', 28/2/1559; BL, Cotton MS, Galba D.I, fols49<sup>r-v</sup>: Buckhurst to Walsingham, 8/6/1587.
74. CP173/114: 7/8/1596.
75. SP1/143, fols106<sup>r</sup>-16<sup>v</sup>: 19/2/1539; BL, Lansd. MS, 102, fol.37: 13/11/1562.
76. SP84/32, fol.19<sup>r</sup>. The cipher symbols (for Sir Thomas Morgan and Lord Willoughby) both occur in Bodley's cipher of 28/11/1588: BL, Cotton MS, Galba D.III, fol.273.
77. BL, Add. MS, 33594, fols86<sup>r</sup> (Curle's cipher), 85<sup>r</sup> (Curle to Baldwin, 20/9/1584), 87<sup>v</sup> (A copy of Curle's letter). See also, CP46/60: Thomas Nichol's Letters, 26/11/1596.
78. SP12/29, fols70<sup>r</sup>-73<sup>v</sup>: Thomas Rogers to Walsingham, 18/10/1585. See also, SP12/29, fols69<sup>r</sup>-70<sup>v</sup>, SP12/29, fols71<sup>r</sup>-72<sup>v</sup>, SP12/29, fols77<sup>r</sup>-78<sup>v</sup>, SP12/29, fols84<sup>r</sup>-85<sup>v</sup>, SP12/29, fols108<sup>r</sup>-109<sup>v</sup>.
79. SP12/248, fols49<sup>r</sup>-50<sup>v</sup>: R.H. to earl of Huntingdon, 14/3/1594.
80. BL, Cotton MS, Caligula B.VIII, fols286<sup>r</sup>-287<sup>v</sup>.
81. SP12/103, fols118<sup>r-v</sup>, SP12/108, fol.83<sup>r-v</sup>: Sir Francis Englefield to William Cotton, 28/5/1575, 2/6/1576; SP12/107, fols60<sup>r-v</sup>, SP12/107, fols75<sup>r</sup>-76<sup>v</sup>, SP12/108, fols89<sup>r</sup>-90<sup>v</sup>, SP12/108, fols103<sup>r</sup>-104<sup>v</sup>, SP12/108, fols163<sup>r</sup>-164<sup>v</sup>, SP12/108, fols165<sup>r</sup>-166<sup>v</sup>, SP12/108, fols171<sup>r</sup>-172<sup>v</sup>: countess of Northumberland to William Cotton from Liege, 21/1/1576, 11/2/1576, 9/6/1576, 26/6/1576, 7/8/1576, 7/8/1576, 8/8/1576, 16/8/1576.
82. SP83/7, fols39<sup>r</sup>-40<sup>v</sup>: Wilson to Walsingham, 30/6/1578.
83. The fullest account of Phelippes' career is William Richardson, 'Phelippes, Thomas (c.1556-1625x7)', *ONDB*. See also, Hasler, 3, 219-20; Paul E. J. Hammer (1999) *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge: CUP), passim.
84. SP12/187, fols133<sup>r</sup>-137<sup>v</sup>: Thomas Rogers [alias Nicholas Berden] to Walsingham, [?]/1586. Deciphered by Phelippes.
85. *List and Analysis of State Papers Foreign Series, Elizabeth I, vol V July 1593-December 1594*, ed. R.B. Wernham (HMSO, 1989), 728; SP97/2, fols291<sup>r</sup>-292<sup>v</sup>: Thomas Phelippes to Burghley, 10/7/1594, which enclosed SP97/2, fols283<sup>r</sup>-284<sup>v</sup>, 10/5/1594, a decipher of SP97/2, fols281<sup>r</sup>-282<sup>v</sup>: Edward Barton to Burghley, 10/5/1594.
86. *CSP Venetian, 1621-23*, p.289; *CSP Venetian, 1623-25*, pp.600, 601, 604, 626; *CSP Venetian, 1625-26*, pp.5-6. SP14/184 fol.58<sup>r</sup>-59<sup>v</sup>: Phelippes to Conway, 23/2/1625.
87. CP38/97: Phelippes to Robert Cecil, 6/3/1597.
88. BL, Cotton MS, Caligula B.VIII, fols327<sup>r</sup>-332<sup>v</sup>. On Dr William Gifford, see Haynes, *Elizabethan Secret Services*, pp.41, 47, 62, 64, 72, 94; E.C. Butler and J.H. Pollen (1904) 'Dr William Gifford in 1586', *The Month*, 103, 243-58.
89. BL, Cotton MS, Caligula B.VIII, fols332<sup>r</sup>, 327<sup>v</sup>, 329<sup>v</sup>.
90. BL, Cotton MS, Caligula C.II, fols76<sup>r</sup>-77<sup>v</sup>: 'Extract out of ye lres in ciphre 1570 1571 Concerning ye Scott Queen and ye D. of Norfolk'; BL, Add. MS, 48049, fols255<sup>r</sup>-56<sup>v</sup>.
91. SP78/18, fols52<sup>r</sup>-56<sup>v</sup>: Stafford to Elizabeth I, 25/2/1588.
92. SP12/192, fols40<sup>r-v</sup>: examination of William Wake, 12/5/1586; Bodl., Tanner MS, 79, fols185<sup>r</sup>-186<sup>v</sup>: 'Articles ministred to William Holt 1584 29 Eliz.'
93. Margaret Ferguson (1998) 'The Authorial Ciphers of Aphra Behn', in Steven N. Zwicker (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature, 1650-1740* (Cambridge: CUP), pp.225-49 (p.227).



94. For Anne's ciphers see, 651, fols108<sup>r</sup>, 328<sup>r</sup>, 653, 343<sup>r</sup> (in Greek) and LPL, 649, fol.23 (in Latin); *The Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding, 7 vols (1861–74), I, p.112. On Anne Bacon's use of cipher, see Gemma Allen (2009) 'Education, Piety and Politics: The Cooke Sisters and Women's Agency, c.1526–1610' (D.Phil thesis, University of Oxford), pp.129–31. On Morison's use of Greek transliterations see SP68/6, fols213<sup>r</sup>–214<sup>v</sup>, SP68/10, fols24<sup>r</sup>–25<sup>v</sup>, SP68/10, fols37<sup>r</sup>–38<sup>v</sup>, SP68/11, fols53<sup>r</sup>–54<sup>v</sup>, SP68/12, fols26<sup>r-v</sup>, SP18/12, fols169<sup>r</sup>–170<sup>v</sup>.
95. CP123/132: Roger Williams [*alias* of John Ball] to Mary Phelippes, 10–20/12/1607; HMC, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable The Marquess of Salisbury, Preserved at Hatfield House Hertfordshire*, 24 vols (1883–1973), 19, pp.386–7; CP119/65: William Roberts to Mary Phelippes, 19–29/12/1607 [in same hand as previous letter]; CP197/41: Mary Phelippes to Salisbury, [c.2/1609]; CP/P.1144: petition of Mary Phillips to Salisbury [12/1607]. Richardson, 'Phelippes, Thomas', *ODNB*.
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97. *The Letters of the Lady Brilliana Harley, Wife of Sir Robert Harley*, ed. T.T. Lewis, Camden Society, 58 (1854), pp.11, 37, 40, 55, 191–9. Jacqueline Eales (2004) 'Patriarchy, Puritanism and Politics: The Letters of Lady Brilliana Harley (1598–1643)', in Daybell (ed.) *Early Modern Women's Letter-Writing*, pp.143–58 (p.148).
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100. Alison D. Wall (1982) *Two Elizabethan Women: Correspondence of Joan and Maria Thynne, 1575–1611*, Wiltshire Record Society, 38, pp.37–8: n.d. [1607?].
101. Folger, L.a.912: 29/11/1599.
102. Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, ch.8.
103. Folger, Add. MS, 1006: Leicester to Elizabeth, 3/8/1588. SP84/9, fol.38<sup>r</sup>: Elizabeth to Leicester, 19/7/1586. See also SP15/17, fols83<sup>r-v</sup>, fols205<sup>r-v</sup>, SP15/20, fols21<sup>r</sup>, 173<sup>r-v</sup>, SP15/28/1, fols47<sup>r-v</sup>, 92<sup>r</sup>, SP84/8, fols292<sup>r</sup>–294<sup>v</sup>, SP84/18, fols211<sup>r</sup>–212<sup>v</sup>, 217<sup>r</sup>–218<sup>v</sup>, SP15/30, fols84<sup>r-v</sup>; *CSP Dom, Addenda 1566–1579*, p.575. Cf. SP84/8, fols78<sup>r</sup>–80<sup>v</sup>.
104. SP/12/91, fols100<sup>r</sup>–101<sup>v</sup>; SP12/91, fol.116<sup>r</sup>; SP12/142, fols18<sup>r</sup>–19<sup>v</sup>; SP12/142, fols73<sup>r</sup>–74<sup>v</sup>; SP12/89, fols142<sup>r</sup>–145<sup>v</sup>; SP12/92, fols42<sup>r-v</sup>; SP12/92, fols49<sup>r</sup>–50<sup>v</sup>.
105. CP134/49 (1604?), CP134/48 (2/1605), CP134/89 (23/1/1606). See also CP134/53, 55, 56, 59, 66, 71, 72, 79, 84, 87, 91, 98, 116, 128, 131, 132, 133, 140, 141, 143, 145, 146, 147, 149, 152, 154, 155. Cf. letters before James ascended to the English throne: CP134/4, 28, 35, CP135/80.
106. *Letters of King James VI&I*, ed. G.P.V. Akrigg (Berkeley: U of California Press, 1984), pp.221–2, pp.253–5, 263–4, n.1; BL, Cotton MS, Vespasian F.III, fol.76. See Alan Stewart (2004) 'Government by Beagle: The Impersonal Rule of James VI and I', in Erica Fudge (ed.) *Renaissance Beasts: of Animals, Humans, and Other Wonderful Creatures* (Champaign, IL: U of Illinois P), pp.101–15.
107. *Letters of King James*, pp.372–3, 374, 386–7, 409–10, 418–19, 423–4, 425–6, 431–2, 436–42. He addressed his son and Buckingham together as 'My sweet boys' (*Letters*, *passim*).

108. SP10/8, fols8<sup>r</sup>–11<sup>v</sup> (fol.8<sup>v</sup>): 7/7/1549. On another occasion Paget wrote to Somerset partly in cipher: SP68/3, fol.155<sup>r</sup>–156<sup>v</sup>; copies BL, Cotton MS, Titus BV, fols30<sup>r</sup>–31<sup>r</sup> and Galba B.XII, fols41<sup>r</sup>–41<sup>v</sup>.
109. Akkerman, 'Enigmatic Cultures of Cryptology'.
110. BL, Add. MS, 23212, fols199 (Anne Haynes), 193<sup>r</sup>–93<sup>v</sup> (Frances Wesley), n.d.
111. *Lisle Letters*, 4: 1062, 1070.
112. Helen Wilcox (1992) 'Private Writing and Public Function: Autobiographical Texts by Renaissance Englishwomen', in S.P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne Davies (eds), *Gloriana's Face: Women, Public and Private in the English Renaissance* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester), pp.47–62 (p.47).
113. BL, Eg. MS, 1527 [c.1685]. See also BL, Add. MS, 27427, fol.118<sup>v</sup>.
114. SP12/155, fols44<sup>r</sup>–45<sup>v</sup>: confession of a servant of Sir Thomas Copley's, 27/8/1582; SP12/156, fols31<sup>r-v</sup>: W. Williams to Walsingham, 15/12/1582; SP12/203, fol.54: Copies of letters sent by Thomas Phellipes to Gilbert Gifford, 7/9/1587; SP12/234, fol.77<sup>r</sup>: Thomas Cely to Burghley, 8/12/1590; SP14/17, fol.48<sup>r</sup>: Examination of Thomas Strange, Jesuit, 12/12/1605. CP113/34: 'Interrogatories to be ministered to Tho. Strange, alias Hungerford [c.2/1606]; CP110/8: Henry Wright to Salisbury, 12/2/1606.
115. CP110/16 [2/2/1606]. See also SP14/216/2, fol.201.
116. *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, ed. Philip Caraman (Longmans, Green and Co., 1952), pp.116–18.
117. *Ibid.*, p.118.
118. *Ibid.*, pp.118–19.
119. *Ibid.*, p.118. See also, pp.92–3.
120. SP15/29, fols50<sup>r</sup>, 52<sup>r</sup>, 59<sup>r</sup>, 65<sup>r</sup>, 70<sup>r</sup>, 84<sup>r</sup>, 98<sup>r</sup>.
121. CP63/47: Andrew Facy to the Lord Admiral, 13/8/1598. CP167/22: Relation of William Pittes [1592].
122. SP12/241/115, fol.176<sup>r</sup>: 5/4/1592. See also, SP12/248, fol.138<sup>r</sup>: Examination on interrogatories of Laurence Minter, 8/4/1594.
123. SP12/271, fol.61<sup>r-v</sup>: 24/6/1599.
124. *Lisle Letters*, 6, p.147.
125. BL, Add. MS, 39829 (Tresham MSS), fols190<sup>r-v</sup>, 192<sup>r</sup>, 71<sup>r</sup>; *HMC, Various*, 3 (1904), p.v; Gerard Kilroy (2005) *Edmund Campion: Memory and Transcription* (Aldershot: Ashgate), ch.5.
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127. BL, Cotton MS, Caligula C.IV, fols87<sup>v</sup> (Sir William Drury to Burghley, 19/5/1573) 88<sup>r</sup> (deciphered letter).
128. SP12/253, fols39<sup>v</sup>–40<sup>r</sup>: Examination of George, son of Thomas Huxley, 2/7/1595; SP12/240, fol.234<sup>r</sup> [1591], SP12/242, fol.161<sup>r</sup>; SP12/243, fols245<sup>r-v</sup>, 248<sup>r</sup>. See also, SP59/16, fols186<sup>r</sup>–187<sup>v</sup>: Lord Hunsdon to William Cecil, 30/1/1570.
129. *Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, p.92.
130. SP63/207/2, fols30<sup>r</sup>–31<sup>v</sup>: Sir Nicholas Walsh to Sir Robert Cecil, 4/3/1600.
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133. *The Letters and Despatches of Richard Verstegan (c.1550–1640)*, ed. Anthony G. Petti, Catholic Record Society, 52 (1959), xv–xxii. See also, *Letters of Thomas Fitzherbert, 1608–1610*, ed. L. Hicks, Catholic Record Society, 41 (1948); *Letters of William Allen and Richard Barret, 1572–1598*, ed. P. Renold, Catholic Record Society, 58 (1966); *Letters and Memorials of Father Robert Persons, S.J., Vol.1 (to 1588)*, ed. L. Hicks, Catholic Record Society, 39 (1942); John B. Wainwright (1926) 'Some Letters and Papers of Nicolas Sander, 1562–1580', Catholic Record Society, 26, Miscellanea, 13 (1926), pp.1–57; Patrick Ryan 'Some Correspondence of Cardinal Allen, 1579–85; From the Jesuit Archives', Catholic Record Society, 9, Miscellanea, 7 (1911), pp.12–105; A.H. Dodd (1939) 'Correspondence of the Owens of Plas Du 1573–1604', *Transactions of the Caernarvonshire Historical Society*, pp.47–54.
134. SP12/249, fols22<sup>r</sup>–24<sup>v</sup> (24<sup>r</sup>): Further confession of Henry Walpole, 1594; SP12/249, fols75<sup>r-v</sup>: Confession of Henry Walpole, 1594.
135. *Letters and Despatches of Richard Verstegan*, pp.xxi–xxiii, 87: Verstegan to Persons, 29/10/1592.
136. CP29/12: to 'Mr Peter Hallins', 2/12/1594.
137. *Letters and Despatches of Richard Verstegan*, pp.xxi–xxiii. CP26/10: Examination of Simon Knowles, 2/4/1592; CP26/5: Matters disclosed by Robert Barwts, priest [31/3/1594]; SP12/249, fol.28<sup>r</sup>: Examination of Henry Walpole before Attorney General Coke, 17/6/1594.
138. CP26/10: Examination of Simon Knowles, 2/4/1592. On Stanley, see Rory Rapple, 'Stanley, Sir William (1548–1630)', *ODNB*.
139. CP26/1: The Examination of Simon Knowles, Cutler, 30/3/1594. For another copy see SP12/248, fols102<sup>r</sup>–103<sup>v</sup>. See also, SP12/248, fols181<sup>r</sup>–184<sup>v</sup>, 207<sup>r</sup>–208<sup>v</sup>, 244<sup>r</sup>–245<sup>v</sup>, SP12/249, fols6<sup>r-v</sup>, 25<sup>r-v</sup>, 28<sup>r</sup>: Examinations of Henry Walpole, Jesuit.
140. Marie B. Rowlands (1985; 1996) 'Recusant Women 1560–1640', in Mary Prior (ed.) *Women in English Society 1500–1800* (Routledge), pp.149–80.
141. SP14/216/1, fols22<sup>r</sup>–23<sup>v</sup>, 112<sup>r-v</sup>; SP14/16, fols84<sup>r</sup>–85<sup>v</sup>, 160a<sup>r-v</sup>; SP/17, fols19<sup>r</sup>–20<sup>v</sup>; *Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, p.208.
142. SP14/18, fol.167<sup>r</sup>–168<sup>v</sup>, SP14/216/2, fols139<sup>r</sup>–140<sup>v</sup>, 141<sup>r-v</sup>, 152<sup>r</sup>–153<sup>v</sup>, 201<sup>r</sup>–203<sup>v</sup>, 203<sup>r</sup>–204<sup>v</sup>, 206<sup>r</sup>–207<sup>v</sup>, 208<sup>r</sup>–210<sup>v</sup>, 211<sup>r</sup>–212<sup>v</sup>, 213<sup>r</sup>; SP14/19, fols17<sup>r</sup>–20<sup>v</sup>, 25<sup>r</sup>–26<sup>v</sup>; SP14/20, fols29<sup>r</sup>–31<sup>v</sup>, 91<sup>r-v</sup>; CP115/13. Anne Vaux also corresponded with Guy Fawkes, whom she sheltered at her house in Enfield Chase: SP14/16, fols17<sup>r-v</sup>.
143. Daybell (2011) 'Women, News and Intelligence Networks in Elizabethan England', in Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (eds) *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp.101–19 (pp.111–13).
144. Claire Walker (2000) 'Prayer, Patronage and Political Conspiracy: English Nuns and the Restoration', *HJ*, 43/1, 1–23; Nadine Akkerman (2011) 'The Postmistress, the Diplomat, and a Black Chamber?: Alexandrine of Taxis, Sir Balthazar Gerbier and the Power of Postal Control', in Adams and Cox, *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, pp.172–88.
145. A.E. MacRobert (2002) *Mary Queen of Scots and The Casket Letters* (I.B. Tauris).
146. SP53/17 fol.3<sup>r</sup>–4<sup>v</sup>: 9/1/1586.
147. BL, Cotton MS, Caligula C.VII, fols338<sup>r-v</sup>.

## 7 Copying, Letter-Books and the Scribal Circulation of Letters

1. Harold Love (1983) *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press); H.R. Woudhuysen (1996) *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press); Arthur F. Marotti (1995) *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell UP); Peter Beal (1998) ‘“Hoping they shall only come to your merciful eyes”: Sidney’s *Letter to Queen Elizabeth* and Its Transmission’, in *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), pp.109–46, 274–80; Andrew Gordon (2007) ‘“A fortune of Paper Walls”: The Letters of Francis Bacon and the Earl of Essex’, *ELR*, 37/3, 319–36; idem (2010) ‘*Copycopia*, or the Place of Copied Correspondence in Manuscript Culture: A Case Study’ in James Daybell and Peter Hinds (eds) *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture, 1580–1730: Texts and Social Practices* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp.65–82; Daybell (2010) ‘Women, Politics and Domesticity: The scribal Publication of Lady Rich’s Letter to Elizabeth I’, in Anne Lawrence-Mathers and Philippa Hardman (eds) *Women and Writing, c.1340–c.1650: The Domestication of Print Culture* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer), pp.111–30.
2. Steven W. May (2009) ‘Some Renaissance Scribal Communities’ (Paper Delivered at the Annual Conference of the Renaissance Society of America, Chicago).
3. Beal’s definition of ‘Letterbooks’ illustrates the fluidity of the term as applied contemporaneously, as well as by modern scholars: *Dictionary*, pp.226–7. A.R. Braummuller (ed.) (1983) *A Seventeenth-Century Letter-Book: A Facsimile Edition Folger MS V.a.321* (Newark, DE: U of Delaware P).
4. Strictly the term letter-book refers to a manuscript book employed for the copying of incoming and outgoing correspondence (Beal, *Dictionary*, pp.226–7), but the terms copy-book, register, journal, entry book or paper-book represent manuscripts used for similar functions.
5. Gary Schneider (2008) ‘Libellous Letters in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England’, *Modern Philology*, 105/3, 475–509.
6. Giles Constable (1976) *Letters and Letter Collections* (Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age Occidental, 17), pp.28, 56–62; John Taylor (1980) ‘Letters and Letter Collections in England, 1300–1420’, *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 24, 57–70 (pp.62–4); W.A. Pantin (1933) ‘English Monastic Letter Books’, in J.G. Edwards, V.H. Galbraith and E.F. Jacob (eds) *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait* (Manchester), pp.201–2; E. Rickert (1927) ‘Documents and Records: A Leaf from a Fourteenth-Century Letter Book’, *Modern Philology*, 25, 249–55.
7. Constable, *Letters*, p.60.
8. Ffiona Swabey (1998) ‘The Letter Book of Alice de Bryene and Alice de Sutton’s List of Debts’, *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies*, 42, 121–45 (p.136).
9. A.E.B. Owen (1973) ‘Sir John Wolley’s Letter-Book as Latin Secretary to Elizabeth I’, *Archives*, 11/49, 16–18; Florence M.G. Evans (1923) *The Principal Secretary of State: A Survey of the Office From 1558 to 1680* (Manchester: MUP), pp.168–73. BL, Add. MS, 35840, BL, Royal MS, 13 B.I (Ascham’s letter-books, 1554–68); SP104/164 (Smith’s Foreign Entry book, 1603–07); BL, Add. MS, 38597 (Reade’s Letter-Book, 1619–24); BL, Add. MS, 38669 (Weckherlin); Leo Miller ([1992]) *John Milton’s Writings in the Anglo-Dutch Negotiations, 1651–1654* (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne UP).
10. BL, Add. MS, 38137, 1591–92.
11. Bodl., Rawl. MS, B285: Letterbook of Peter Edgecombe, 1569–93.

12. National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, MS 4919D (Letter-book of Thomas Bentham, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1560–61); CUL, Ee ii. 34 (Letter-book of John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, 1571–75); Bodl., Rawl. MS, C368, fols1–18 (Letter-book of Bishop Wren of Norwich and Ely, 1636–40).
13. For examples of Factors' letter-books, see BL, Eg. MSS, 2121–23, 2086.
14. Queens' College, Cambridge, MS 34, fols47<sup>r</sup>, 50<sup>v</sup>.
15. St John's College, Cambridge, MS S.34, fols24<sup>r</sup>, 32<sup>v</sup>, 32<sup>v</sup>–33<sup>r</sup>, 33<sup>v</sup>, 34<sup>r</sup>: first quarter of the seventeenth century, and then c.1650.
16. Frances Harris (1998) 'The Letterbooks of Mary Evelyn', *EMS*, 7, pp.202–15; Douglas Chambers (2003) "'Excuse These Impertinences": Evelyn in his Letterbooks', in Frances Harris and Michael Hunter (eds) *John Evelyn and His Milieu* (British Library), pp.21–36; BL, Sloane MS, 922.
17. See, for example, *The Letter Book of Robert Joseph, Monk-Scholar of Evesham and Gloucester College, Oxford, 1530–3*, eds Hugh Aveling and W.A. Pantin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967); *The Letter Book of John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich Compiled During the Years 1571–1575*, ed. Ralph A. Houlbrooke, Norfolk Record Society, 43 (1974, 1975); 'The Letter-Book of Thomas Bentham, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield 1560–1561', eds Rosemary O'Day and Joel Berlatsky, *Camden Miscellany*, 22 (1979), pp.113–238; *The Letter Books of Sir William Brereton, 1645–1646* ed. R.N. Dore, 2 vols, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 123, 128 (1984, 1990).
18. BL, Add. MS, 4296. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, 2, p.175.
19. 'The Letters of William Lord Paget of Beaudesert, 1547–63', eds Barrett L. Beer and Sybil M. Jack, *Camden Miscellany*, 25 (1974), pp.1–141 (p.100).
20. Charles Hughes (1905) 'Nicholas Faunt's Discourse Touching the Office of the Principal Secretary of Estate, & c.1592', *EHR*, 20, 499–508 (pp.501–2, 503–4). Bodl., Tanner MS, 80 fols91–94.
21. Robert Beale (1592) 'A Treatise of the Office of a Councillor and Principall Secretarie to her Ma[jes]tie' printed in C. Read, *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), 1, pp.423–43 (pp.427, 428). BL, Add. MS, 48148, fols3<sup>v</sup>–9<sup>v</sup>.
22. Peele ([1554]) *Maner and Fourme*, sig.Aiii<sup>v</sup>. Peele's ([1569]) *The Pathe Waye to Perfectnes*, in *Th'Accomptes of Debitour, and Creditour* refers to 'the booke or copies of letters' (sig.Avi<sup>r</sup>). [Hugh Oldcastle] (1588) *A Briefe Instruction and Maner How to Keepe Bookes of Accompts*, sigsF6<sup>r</sup>–F8<sup>r</sup>.
23. Cecil H. Clough (1976) 'The Cult of Antiquity: Letters and Letter Collections', in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller* (Manchester: Manchester UP), pp.33–67. Lisa Jardine (1993) *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP); Roger Ascham ([1576]) *Disertissimi viri Rogeri Aschami, Angli*.
24. DRO, D3799/ Add. 3, Box, 14706/ folder 3.
25. BL, Eg. MS, 2121: journals of voyages to the East Indies.
26. BL, Add. MS, 27632, fols95<sup>v</sup>–7<sup>r</sup>, 101<sup>r</sup>–2<sup>r</sup>, 103<sup>r</sup>–5<sup>v</sup>.
27. Bodl., Rawl. MS, D1286, fols81<sup>v</sup>–86<sup>r</sup>: 1605–06.
28. Bodl., Rawl. MS, D47, fols4<sup>v</sup>, 15<sup>v</sup>, 16<sup>r</sup>, 48<sup>v</sup>, 49<sup>r</sup>, 51<sup>r</sup>, 51<sup>v</sup>: Commonplace book of Daniel Featley. On Featley, see Arnold Hunt, 'Featley, Daniel (1582–1645)', *ODNB*.
29. *Letter Book of John Parkhurst*, p.19.
30. Bodl., Rawl. MS, D.214, fols1–41, 81<sup>v</sup>, 48<sup>r</sup>, 52<sup>r</sup>–66<sup>v</sup>, 82<sup>r</sup>–116<sup>r</sup>.
31. *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, ed. D.J.H. Clifford (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1990; reprinted 1994), passim; *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary*

- of *Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599–1605*, ed. Joanna Moody (Stroud: Sutton, 1998), passim; L.J. Redstone (trans) (1929) 'The Diary of Adam Winthrop', in *Winthrop Papers, vol. 1, 1498–1628* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), pp.64–105, passim.
32. BL, Add. MS, 72433. Leonard Foster (1993) 'The Weckherlin Papers', *BLJ*, 19/2, 133–41.
  33. BL, Add. MS, 20921.
  34. BL, Add. MS, 72445.
  35. BL, Add. MS, 4296; BL, Sloane MS, 922.
  36. 'The Undergraduate Account Book of John and Richard Newdigate, 1618–1621', ed. Vivienne Larminie, *Camden Miscellany*, 30 (1990), pp.149–269 (pp.163, 188, 194, 198, 264).
  37. BL, Add. MS, 36293, fol.1; BL, Add. MS, 52798A, folsiii, iv.
  38. Adam Smyth (2008) 'Almanacs, Annotators, and Life-Writing in Early Modern England', *ELR*, 38/2, 200–44.
  39. BL, Add. MS, 49609 A, 1599–1603.
  40. BL, Add. MS, 48166.
  41. *Letter Book of John Parkhurst*, pp.17–19.
  42. BL, Add. MS, 49609 A.
  43. Bodl., Rawl. MS, C439.
  44. See, for example, BL, Add. MS, 32464 (Letter-book of Sir John Holles, 1598–1617); BL, Add. MS, 36451 (Letter-book of Sir Walter Aston, 1620–1625); BL, Sloane MS, 922 (Letter-book of Nehemiah Wallington, 1650–58).
  45. BL, Add. MS, 48591, fols10–13 (1588–1604).
  46. BL, Add. MS, 70505, fols1<sup>v</sup>–3<sup>v</sup>: John Holles's letter-book 1597–1614.
  47. National Library of Wales, MS 4919D, fol.52.
  48. Bodl., Rawl. MS, C368, fols1–18.
  49. BL, Add. MS 36778, fols14<sup>v</sup>, 15<sup>r</sup>, 15<sup>v</sup>, 16<sup>r</sup>, 16<sup>v</sup>, 17<sup>r</sup>, 17<sup>v</sup>; *The Letter Book of Thomas Hill, 1660–1661*, ed. June Palmer, *Devon and Cornwall Record Society*, 51 (2008), pp.lxx–lxxii.
  50. BL, Add. MS, 10615: letter-book of William Jessop, Secretary of the Providence Island Company, 1634–41; BL, Add. MS, 63854 A and B (papers relating to the letter-book of William Jessop).
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97. The tailoring of standardised letters for different parties is illustrated by three letters Throckmorton sent from Paris on 8 September 1560: SP70/18, fols18<sup>r</sup>–22<sup>v</sup> (to Queen Elizabeth), 24<sup>r</sup>–26<sup>v</sup> (to Cecil; SP70/18, fol.27<sup>r</sup>–28<sup>v</sup> is a corrected partial copy), 29<sup>r</sup>–33<sup>v</sup> (to the Privy Council).
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**Cornwall Record Office, Truro**

AR: Arundell of Lanherne Papers

AR/15/4–41: Newquay Right of Wreck, 1571

B35: Basset of Tehidy, Letters Relating Mainly to the Civil War

B36: Basset of Tehidy, Transcripts of B35

BU and WH: Buller of Morval Papers

PB: Prideaux Brune of Place, Padstow

PD 324: Miscellaneous Receipts

R: Rashleigh of Menabilly Papers

T: Tremayne of Heligan Papers

V: Vyvyan of Trelowarren Papers

**Corpus Christi College, Cambridge**

MS 119



***Derbyshire Record Office***

D258: Gell Family of Hopton Hall

***Devon Record Office, Exeter***

City of Exeter Book

123M: Petre Family Papers

346M: Drake Family of Buckland, Correspondence

1148M: Acland of Broad Clyst Papers

1258M: Papers of Earl of Bedford

1262M: Fortescue of Castle Hill

1392M/ L15, L16: Seymour Family of Berry Pomeroy, Correspondence

1499M4/3–5: Tremayne MSS

D1508M: Courtenay Family of Powderham, Earls of Devon, Papers

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L.e.: Tamworth MSS

V.a.164

V.a.317

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V.a.334

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V.a.381

V.a.421

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HM 267: Commonplace Book

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HM 419

HM 420

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HM 898

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HM 951: State Papers, 1554–1649

HM 971

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