

“I rest. your pore troublesome sister”: An Edition of the Letters of Lettice
Kinnersley, and an Examination of Syntactic Sensitivity in the Application
of Punctuation

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This thesis has two objectives. The first is to create an edition of the letters of Lettice Kinnersley, written circa 1595-1622. The letters belong to the Folger Shakespeare Library. The edition provides original transcriptions of the letters, as well as a glossary. In addition to this, it also discusses the handwriting practices of the 16th and 17th centuries with a focus on the qualities of the individual hands used in the letters. There are also chapters on abbreviation practices and punctuation marks. The transcriptions are a contribution to the *Early Modern Manuscripts Online* database maintained by the Folger Shakespeare Library. The purpose of the database is to provide transcriptions of historical English texts for the purpose of research. The transcriptions I provide are semi-diplomatic and remain fairly faithful to the appearance of the original texts. Editorial additions have been clearly indicated as such.

The second objective is to examine if Lettice Kinnersley's punctuation system is functionally syntactic. The transcriptions created for the edition are used to conduct an analysis of the punctuation in the materials. During the time the letters were written, punctuation was commonly applied as a means to imitate qualities of spoken language. A new punctuation method that was sensitive to syntax was beginning to take hold however. My materials exhibit punctuation that appears to be sensitive to syntax, and as such I conducted a grammatical analysis of the punctuation. My analysis utilized a grammatical framework to explain the punctuation method used by Lettice Kinnersley and her scribe. In addition, the punctuation methods of Lettice and her scribe were compared to a few select theoretical accounts of 'correct' usage of punctuation that were written in the 16th and 17th centuries. The theoretical accounts represented the new, syntactic method of punctuation.

If a reasonable amount of inconsistency in practice is forgiven, the punctuation in my materials appears to indicate syntactic structures. This is notable because women's punctuation has previously been deemed as particularly unruly. My results would suggest that applying a grammatical method of analysis in the case of some female letter writers might prove this assertion wrong.

Keywords: Early Modern English, paleography, transcription, letters, manuscripts, punctuation, grammar, syntax

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1 Introduction

Transcribing and editing historical English manuscripts are some of the most important means by which scholars are provided with materials for research. Hunter aptly describes editions as “central to scholarship” (2007:1). The collections of libraries, universities and other institutions are still full of historical manuscripts that have never been made available for “convenient” consumption. The reading of historical documents can be laborious due to numerous factors, such as physical wear and tear, changing writing conventions, as well as linguistic change. It is therefore necessary to provide versions of historical texts in a medium that is more accessible than the manuscripts themselves, or more likely in modern days, images of them. One of the purposes of this thesis is to contribute to the overall formidable (and ultimately, quixotic) task of one day providing intelligible versions of, ideally, all preserved historical English manuscripts. To that end, the private letters of a single person, Lettice Kinnersley (1573-?) of the Bagot family were chosen from the larger collection of the Papers of the Bagot Family of Blithfield, Staffordshire. The collection belongs to the Folger Shakespeare Library. The institution maintains an online database of high-definition images of the manuscripts which was utilized for the thesis.

In addition to providing original transcriptions, this thesis also has a research objective: to analyse Lettice Kinnersley’s punctuation within a grammatical framework to establish whether or not she may have been using punctuation to indicate syntactic structures in her writing. Punctuation in the Elizabethan period was still at a point where its usage was not standardized, and the usage of individual punctuation marks, their amount and their function varied greatly from writer to writer, particularly in manuscript usage (Petti 1977:25, Salmon 2000:13-54). As such, manuscripts from the era often utilize punctuation that differs greatly from modern practice. The complexity of punctuation in this period has resulted in somewhat of a failure to analyse it in any satisfying detail (Salmon 1988:47). The historical development of punctuation to a more controlled medium had, however, begun to take place. In the 16th century, humanists had begun publishing their views on punctuation in grammar books and suggested greater uniformity and standardization for punctuation (Parkes 1992: 41-61, Salmon 1988:47-60).

The aims of this thesis, then, are two-fold. The first is to provide transcriptions of the letters of Lettice Kinnersley, as well as an explanation of my interpretation of the materials. The second is to examine whether or not the new humanistic trends proposing a syntactic punctuation method can be observed in the writings of Lettice Kinnersley. She was the daughter of an influential and wealthy sheriff from Blithfield, Richard Bagot (1530-1597). In the 16th century, “the skills and practices associated with letter-writing increasingly formed an integral part of the education of an upper-class woman” (Daybell 2006:113). The ability to write allowed for women to take up important roles in their families and society itself. Women's capacity to write varied remarkably, however, and manuscripts from the era display women capable of elegant correspondence in many writing styles and languages to those who could merely write their signature or a mark (Daybell 2006:59). While not quite the former, Lettice's letters still exhibit that she was a fluent correspondent whose letters represent a skilled female Elizabethan writer. The research objective of this thesis was chosen because Lettice's punctuation exhibits qualities that suggest she may have been aware of a syntactic system of punctuation. The implications of this would be quite notable, because the punctuation in women's Early Modern letters has, in general terms, been deemed as so inconsistent and unhelpful in terms of textual structuring that it has caused many editors to modernize the punctuation of female writers in their editions (Williams 2013a:65). In this thesis, Lettice's punctuation is presented and analysed as is.

I will make frequent reference to a few historical periods in this thesis. Many of the handwriting manuals and punctuation studies to which I refer speak of the Renaissance era, Elizabethan era, and Early Modern era. All of these distinctions apply to my materials in the sense that they were written during the course of these periods, and as such are affected by linguistic phenomena that occurred then. In the interest of avoiding both confusion and repetition, I will note here that the Renaissance era is the period between the 14th and 17th centuries, the Elizabethan era is marked by the reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603), and the Early Modern period is that between approximately 1450 and 1750.

In the following chapter, I will introduce my primary materials and discuss their content. After this, I will provide a brief introduction to the writing practices of the Renaissance, and examine the qualities of the literary hands of Lettice and her scribe in chapter 3. This will be followed by an explanation of my editing methods and the transcriptions themselves, in chapters 4 and 5, respectively. Chapter 6 contain a historical and theoretical background that

will elucidate the nature of historical English punctuation, and examines previous studies with similar objectives. In chapter 7, I will elaborate on my methods of analysis and the grammatical framework that I utilize. Chapters 8 and 9 will contain the analysis and my discussion of the results, and in chapter 10 I will present my concluding remarks.

2 The Bagot Family Papers, and the letters of Lettice Kinnersley

Here I will elaborate on the origin of my materials, as well as their general content. The degree to which the letters have been previously examined will also be noted. First, I will briefly introduce the source of the manuscripts. After this, I will focus on the materials used for this thesis and discuss their amount and content.

The materials originate from the collections of the Folger Shakespeare Library. The Folger Shakespeare Library is an independent research center in Washington D.C., opened in 1932. It holds the largest collection of printed works of William Shakespeare in the world, as well as a remarkable collection of Renaissance manuscripts and printed texts. Their collection of manuscripts amounts to some 60,000 documents (Folger Shakespeare Library 2015). The 16th and 17th century collections include the family papers of the English families of Bagot, Bacon-Townshend, Rich, Ferrers of Tamworth, Cavendish-Talbot and Loseley. The letters examined in this thesis belong to the Papers of the Bagot family of Blithfield, Staffordshire. The Bagot family papers date from 1551 to 1671. The majority of the letters are either by or for Richard (1530-1597) and Walter Bagot (1557-1623), the latter being Richard's son. The papers “cover a wide variety of topics and amply illustrate the life of a prosperous county family and the multifarious duties its members were called upon to perform for the Crown” (Guide to the Bagot Family Papers, 1428-1671 2011). In the Papers of the Bagot family, the source call numbers of Lettice's letters are l.a. 594 through l.a. 608. Her letters are written between circa 1595-1622.

Letters by female writers from the 16th century range from letters that were entirely composed by scribes to letters that were penned entirely by the women themselves (Daybell 2006:91). The collection of Lettice's writings belongs firmly to the latter category: her letters consist of fifteen letters all in all, fourteen of which are written by Lettice herself and only a single one being a scribal letter. Texts written by the person they are attributed to are referred to as holographs – the holographs of Lettice in the collection are letters 594-605 and 607-

608. In letter 606, a scribe was used. Below is a list of the letters, with their call number, date and recipient noted. To give some indication of the length of the letters, the word count of each letter is also included. The word count reflects the number of words found on the main body of the letter.

Table 1 – Call number, word count, date and recipient of Lettice’s letters

Call number	Word count	Date	Recipient
594	163	1.18.1595?	Richard Bagot (father)
595	273	2.2.1602?	Walter Bagot (brother)
596	216	21.3.1605?	Walter Bagot (brother)
597	227	20.5.1608?	Walter Bagot (brother)
598	274	14.9.1608?	Walter Bagot (brother)
599	355	9.5.1610?	Walter Bagot (brother)
600	165	20.5.1610?	Elizabeth Bagot (sister-in-law)
601	331	8.7.1610?	Walter Bagot (brother)
602	439	14.9.1610?	Walter Bagot (brother)
603	190	19.10.1610?	Walter Bagot (brother)
604	336	8.4.1618?	Walter Bagot (brother)
605	262	23.5.1618?	Walter Bagot (brother)
606	450	23.3.1619?	Walter Bagot (brother)
607	260	10.3.1620?	Walter Bagot (brother)
608	107	1622?	Walter Bagot (brother)

The vast majority of the letters are addressed to her brother Walter, but 594 was addressed to her father, and 600 to her sister-in-law Elizabeth Bagot, neé Cave – the wife of Walter. The year of writing for each letter is an estimate by the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Discussion of Lettice is markedly overshadowed by the discussion of her male relatives in the family histories of the Bagots. *A history of the family of Bagot* (Wrottesley 1908) mentions her in passing as one of the children of Richard Bagot (1530-1597), having been born in 1573 (Wrottesley 1908:83). Her letters have been previously read and even utilized for research to some degree, however. Folger Shakespeare Library's collection guide on the Bagot family papers briefly alludes to the problems Lettice faced with her husband and his family, (Folger Shakespeare Library 2011) and Wolfe of the Folger Shakespeare Library has written on Walter Bagot's habit of writing Latin aphorisms on the letters he received, many of which were from his sister Lettice (Wolfe 2014). Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton, also of the

Folger Shakespeare Library, have transcribed a brief excerpt from one of her letters, l.a. 597, in their manual on Elizabethan handwriting (1969:94-95). In addition to this, her letters were examined by Longfellow (2006) for her article on early 17th century familial relations in England. All in all, a few brief excerpts from the letters have been utilized in a few studies, but no comprehensive transcriptions of Lettice's letters have been created thus far. The most notable themes in her letters are financial matters, as well as Lettice's troubles with her husband and mother-in-law. Her husband Francis Kinnersley mismanaged the family estate and their financial matters, and the responsibility to keep the family afloat often fell to Lettice. As the recipient information of her letters shows, she frequently relates her woes to her brother.

The secretarial letter l.a. 606 is signed by Lettice, but the scribe who wrote it is unidentified. The reason Lettice would utilize a scribe for this particular letter can be inferred from its content and vocabulary. The letter discusses financial and legal matters, and although Lettice touches upon the subjects frequently in her own hand, the secretarial letter does so in much more detail. In this letter, a lawsuit between Lettice's husband Francis Kinnersley and a man named Vaughan is described in formal and legal vocabulary that does not appear to be the kind of vocabulary that Lettice uses in any of her holograph letters. A scribe was most likely utilized because it was exceptionally important that the letter conveys accurate information in suitable vocabulary. Daybell notes that even adept female writers were likely to turn to secretaries or third parties "cognisant of legal, political, or financial practices" (2006:106) in formal letters due to the precision they required (ibid.). While its impossible to determine with absolute certainty why the letter was not penned by Lettice while all the rest are, it seems highly plausible that she employed a professional scribe so as to convey the decision of the court with the accuracy and degree of formality that she could not herself commit to paper.

The transcriptions in this thesis themselves are a contribution to Early Modern Manuscripts Online (EMMO), a project that aims "to make a variety of rare manuscripts from the Folger Shakespeare Library's premier collection available to users for free via an easy, searchable web site with high-quality images and consistent transcriptions" (Folger Shakespeare Library 2017). Through the project, Folger encourages transcription of their manuscript collections. The project has a favoured transcription methodology of its own that was not

utilized in this thesis – for this reason, the transcriptions present here were altered for submission for EMMO. I will elaborate on my transcription methodology in chapter 4.

3 Handwriting in Renaissance England

Transcribing the letters of Lettice Kinnersley necessitated the study of Elizabethan handwriting. The study of old handwriting is called palaeography. The purpose of this chapter is to provide pretext for my transcriptions, and explain my interpretation of the materials. This is also the chapter in which I address issues regarding difficult instances of interpretation of the marks found in my materials. Petti describes the development of 16th century writing scripts as a pursuit for “acquiring a generally acceptable, all-purpose hand combining aesthetic appeal and clarity with smoothness and facility for execution” (Petti 1977:8). This pursuit led to the development and widespread usage of two competing and remarkably different scripts, *secretary* and *italic*. Lettice writes in the italic hand, and her scribe for letter l.a. 606 writes in secretary. For this reason, I will discuss the italic script and Lettice’s hand in the chapter on italic, and the hand of her scribe in the chapter on secretary. I will provide a brief introduction into the development and general characteristics of these scripts, and then discuss the individual hands found in my materials. Once the scripts have been discussed, I will address abbreviation practices and punctuation marks in separate chapters. It was customary to use quite a wide variety of abbreviations in writing, and many of the abbreviation conventions used are no longer familiar to modern writers – for this reason they merit their own chapter. The usage of punctuation is discussed extensively in chapters 6 through 10 due to my research objective, but the chapter on punctuation marks records the punctuation marks in my materials, much in the same manner as different types of abbreviation are recorded in the chapter on abbreviations.

I will not discuss spelling in any detail while prefacing the handwriting practices, but there are a few general observations on this topic that should be made since the spelling in my materials differs from modern practice as well. The first serious attempt to standardize English spelling occurred in the late 16th century (Salmon 2000:32). By 1650, printed texts had arguably gained somewhat of a standard for spelling (Nevalainen 2006:36). Even by 1650, this did not apply to private writing, however, and private writings continued to “display both phonemic variation and idiosyncratic spellings” (ibid.). The spelling of

manuscripts varied with the education of the writer, with educated men using more consistent spelling, and less educated men using more erratic spelling (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1969:16). Moreover, women's spelling has been observed as particularly inconsistent and erratic, owing to their usual lack of formal education (ibid.) Lettice's spelling appears to be quite comprehensible, however. I will not attempt to give an encompassing description of spelling practices in this era here. Nevalainen notes that seemingly idiosyncratic spellings may be reflective of "phonemic realisation of a regional pronunciation of a word" (2006:36) – while I will not comment on any potential 'regional' aspect in the spelling found in my materials, it is noteworthy that reading Lettice's letters with attention to apparent pronunciation helps understand the majority of her intended words. In addition, the glossary of my transcriptions, which I will elaborate on later in chapter 4, is also intended to assist the reader with her spellings.

I utilized a number of manuals on historical handwriting for my transcriptions. Byrne has written an introductory article with the explicit intent of guiding readers in deciphering secretary (1925). Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton (1969) have written about Renaissance English hands with an introductory approach similar to that of Byrne (1925), but with a broader focus – their manual provides images of original manuscripts, some of which are written in italic, as well as sample transcriptions. Ioppolo (2010), in addition to describing Late Modern handwriting, discusses the professional and social dynamics related to the writing of manuscripts in the same period. For more exhaustive and advanced accounts of handwriting practices, one can consult Petti (1977) and Tannenbaum (1930). They concentrate on the historical development of English literary scripts, with a particular focus on Renaissance handwriting.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the secretary script and the scribe's handwriting. After this, I will discuss the italic script and Lettice's handwriting. This will be followed by my treatment of abbreviations, and the final chapter on handwriting practices will record the punctuation marks found in my materials.

3.1 Secretary

The secretary script differs quite remarkably from modern scripts. It is an umbrella term for various cursive scripts that derive their letter forms from an earlier, angular script known as

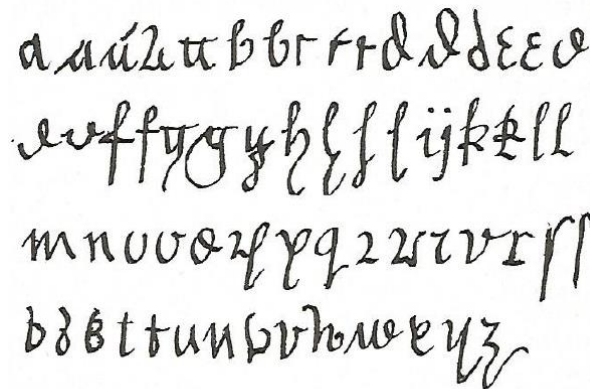
gothic (Petti 1977:16). There are many varieties of scripts called secretary, but from a chronological point of view, these varieties can be distinguished by their phases of development to early Tudor, mid-Tudor and Elizabethan. The early Tudor period of the script lasted about fifty years, from 1485 to the Henry VIII's last years as king. The mid-Tudor period was brief, approximately from the mid-1530's to Elizabeth's ascension to the throne (Petti 1977:16). The script can be observed to have evolved into *Elizabethan secretary* by approximately 1560 (Petti 1977:17). Different sources refer to different years when discussing the approximate time before hands mixing secretary and italic took over, but their estimations are relatively close to each other: Petti reports it to have been the end of the 1630's, (1977:20), Dawson & Kennedy Skipton "before 1650" (1969:18), and Tannenbaum implies that secretary still dominated until about 1625, after which italic began to gradually take its place (1930:15). In any case, the scribal letter l.a. 606 is dated around 1619, making the usage of secretary in it unsurprising.

The script derives its name from its origin of usage: having been introduced to England from continental Europe (Petti 1977:16), the royal secretaries of the early Tudor period employed it for official documents and decrees (Ioppolo 2010:177). By the Early Modern period, secretary hand had become the basic script used in English handwriting, albeit other scripts such as italic and different mixed hands already coexisted with it (Ioppolo 2010:177, Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1969:8). By this time, it had come to be used in virtually all kinds of handwritten documents from business records and governmental correspondence to private letters (*ibid.*). The secretary script arose out of the effort to create a hand that was easy to both write and read. As the amount of handwritten materials increased towards the Renaissance, so did the demand for an easily legible hand that could be produced quickly. To that end three grades of secretary developed: set, facile and fast, varying in their form by their degree of slope (Petti 1977:17) and consequently the speed at which they could be written. The standard variety and mean of these grades was the facile hand (Ioppolo 2010:178), and the grade in which most writing was done. Judging by the slope of the scribe's handwriting, I would estimate the scribal letter to be written in the facile variety.

Writing at this point in time was still a rather special skill for one to possess, and the ability to write not only legible but aesthetically pleasing secretary was a point of considerable pride, and inversely, anxiety, in Elizabethan English society (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1969:9, Ioppolo 2010:177, Earle 2000:20). Despite all the social pressure that was attached to writing,

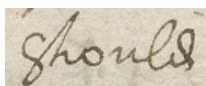
secretary eventually fell out of favor. It would have been an impossibility that some would not have written “a careless or sloppy form” of secretary (Ioppolo 2010:179), as this is inevitable regardless of the amount of scrutiny that can be placed on an activity such as writing. Petti points out that there is a natural propensity for inexperienced and busy writers to affect the quality of a script over decades and centuries (Petti 1977:10). By the Elizabethan period, secretary had reached a point where it was “capable of considerable misuse” (Petti 1977:18), and not in a sense of any prescriptive definition of it: rather, it became difficult to tell the secretary letter-forms apart from each other anymore, “with the minims tending to merge, and the linear letters, only partly formed and open at the top, having little or no differentiation” (ibid.).

The scribe’s letter amounts to some 450 words, and as such his variety of secretary merits some discussion. Petti provides illustrations of several varieties of the secretary hand (1977:17), and the graphs in his illustration of Elizabethan secretary are virtually identical to those used by Lettice’s scribe. For this reason, I will provide here his illustration of this variety of secretary, as well as some select examples of words from the scribal letter l.a. 606 for discussion.

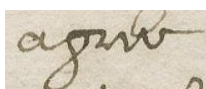


22. Elizabethan secretary, late 16th century

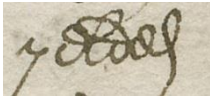
Figure 1 Illustration of Elizabethan secretary from Petti (1977:17)



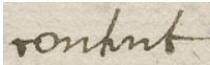
This is the scribe writing the word *should* (line 9). This ‘h’ is the scribe’s only letter variant not distinctly secretary.



This word is *agree* (line 19). Neither ‘e’ has a loop, but the latter one is easily distinguishable as an ‘e’ due to its flourish.



This word is *yelded* (line 19). This was written at the very end of the line: it is most likely for this reason that the loops of letters ‘e’, ‘l’ and ‘d’ are all clustered on top of each other, and this was a means of keeping the word on the line.



Here, the scribe uses the word *contnt* (line 11). The spelling is of most note here: this word is lacking the letter ‘e’, the usage of which I will discuss further below.

The scribe to whom Lettice Kinnersley dictated her letter in l.a. 606 writes in standard Elizabethan secretary hand. The secretary script is remarkably 'pure' in that it employs very few forms that are not secretary. The one peculiar exception to the consistency in the scribe's Elizabethan secretary is the word *should*, as this word is spelled with the italic (and contemporary) equivalent of ‘h’ rather than any of the secretary variants. In all other instances, a secretary variant is used. While it would be inaccurate to describe the scribe's hand as difficult to decipher, it does display some of the features that caused the script's fall from favor. The letter ‘e’ deserves special mention because it is used in such numerous forms with no clear preference, some of which were problematic in terms of transcribing the document. For one, the scribe makes frequent use of a vertical flourish at the ends of words that sometimes leaves the full form of the intended word ambiguous – in some cases it is impossible to determine whether the scribe intended a word-final ‘e’ or simply a flourish. Tannenbaum makes mention of this phenomenon, noting that in hurried writing a final ‘e’ can manifest as a “mere tick or indeterminate flourish, often to the bewilderment of a modern transcriber” (1930:40). The fact that the scribe's word-final e’ is inconsistent in both the usage of ‘e’ and the ‘e’ taking on the form of a flourish further exacerbates this difficulty. For instance, the word *end* is written without a flourish (line 19), as well as with a prominent flourish (lines 3, 6 and 29). In addition to this, one of the alternate forms of ‘e’ used by the scribe is little more than a cursive horizontal stroke – most likely as a result of the scribe writing the ‘e’ variant that uses a cursive horizontal stroke with a slight loop hastily. This occasionally results in a minim problem when reading the scribal letter. Minims are the vertical strokes in letters such as ‘i’, ‘u’, ‘m’ and ‘n’ (Petti 1977:9), and the “minim problem” is the difficulty in ascertaining what letters these short horizontal strokes are a part of. The scribe's marking of the letter ‘e’ sometimes amounts to little more than a form resembling

the letter ‘i’ with its tittle missing. In addition, the marking of the letter ‘e’ is so slight that estimating the presence of the letter in some words is tentative at best. There are also instances where it is perfectly reasonable to conclude that an ‘e’ is missing from a position it would be expected to be in, resulting in such peculiar spellings such as *contnt* (line 11) and *ordr* (lines 15 and 24).

It was noted in chapter 2 that Lettice probably employed a scribe for l.a. 606 so as to ensure the legal proceedings discussed in the letter are in accurate legal language. There was a large market for businesses providing scribal services, some of which specialized in legal documents (Ioppolo 2010:179). The vocabulary and the usage of standard secretary in l.a. 606 are strong indications that the letter is written by a professional scribe.

3.2 Italic

The italic script is quite similar to modern handwriting. It arose as a competitor to the secretary script (Petti 1977:18). The precursor to what would eventually develop into italic can be traced to 14th century Italy. Gothic-based scripts like secretary “sorely strained the eyesight” (Petti 1977:18), and as a result alternative scripts began to be sought and developed. The dissatisfaction with the gothic scripts, along with a renewed interest in the antiquity, inspired contemporary Italian humanists to take the gothic script and return it “to something of the simplicity of its ancestor” (ibid.). The classical texts that these reformers were familiar with were primarily written in *Carolingian minuscule*: the round handwriting which, in the process of losing its roundness in favour of angularity, had developed into gothic some centuries before (Petti 1977:12-13). The Italian humanists reading the Latin classical texts took Carolingian minuscule as their inspiration, and eventually created a completely new script based on it – *littera antiqua* (Petti 1977:18). *Littera antiqua* arrived in England in around the middle of the 15th century (Petti 1977:19), but the script did not survive long because it could not be written quickly. Varieties that were more cursive developed. By the middle of the 15th century a humanistic cursive based on *littera antiqua*, *cancellaresca corsiva* came to be used. It was adopted by the Papal chancery (Petti 1977:18, Tannenbaum 1930:14) and became very popular in Italy because of this, eventually developing several forms that came to be used as business hands in cities across Italy (1977:18-19). It is at this point that these cursive humanistic scripts had developed into what can be called *italic* (Petti 1977:19).

Italic is fairly easy to decipher for modern readers. The script still retains some relatively elaborate digraphs and decorative elements, but the letters are mostly standardized in that there are very few individual letters with several variants. Compared to secretary, the linking elements are also less pronounced. Despite this, cursiveness, or the capacity of the script to be written with the individual letters joined together, was still a valued feature. More “utilitarian styles” were used in general correspondence (Petti 1977:19). The new humanistic cursive was initially slow to gain ground in England, but once it began to be taught to the royal children by a handful of prominent writing masters in the 16th century, the script began to spread (ibid.). The adoption of italic in wider circles in England then followed a natural progression of lower social classes adopting a script used by the upper classes: the nobility adopted it from the royalty, the gentry from the nobility, and towards the end of the 16th century the growing middle class began to employ it (ibid.). Italic was adopted early on by women: not particularly by choice, but because they were taught italic due to it being perceived as “suitable for the type of occasional writing that women were supposed to do” (Ioppolo 2010:178), presumably because it was easier to learn, read, and produce. Ioppolo notes that middle- and upper class women were at the very least taught to read the secretary hand as well, “given the number of women responding in italic or Roman hand to letters and documents written by men in secretary hand” (ibid.)

The most used formal version of italic in the Elizabethan period was *testeggiata* (or 'headed') italic, so named because the long letters of the script had clubbed heads on its ascenders (Petti 1977:19). The *testeggiata* variety is a good point of comparison to Lettice Kinnersley, as she writes in a careful and precise hand that is quite close to it. Given that the vast majority of text in my materials is written in Lettice’s italic hand, it is reasonable to present some examples of her letter forms here. Italic is remarkably close to our modern script, and as such it is unnecessary to present every letter she uses – instead, I will first present an image of the *testeggiata* graphs. After this, I will present a few select words to provide examples of the qualities of her hand that I will discuss later in this chapter.

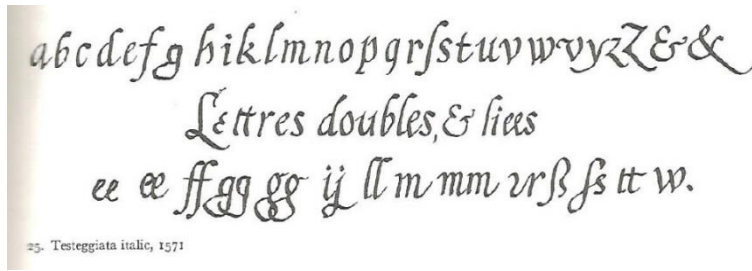
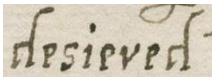


Figure 2 Illustration of testeggiata italic from Petti (1977:19)

This image is from l.a. 594 (line 7), the very first letter in the collection.

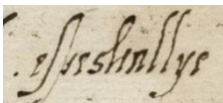


Lettice's handwriting had not yet at this point gained its distinctive sharpness, although her hand could already be described as fairly sharp. The word is *desiered*.

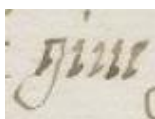
This word is *receue* (l.a. 597, line 3). Here, the sharpness of Lettice's hand has increased considerably. This image shows her open-bottomed 'u', and also illustrates a notable feature of her 'e' and 'c' letters: the only distinction between the two is a small loop used with the 'e'. Occasionally this loop is hastily applied and may make it difficult to tell these letters apart from each other.



Here, Lettice spells out *espeshallye* (l.a. 598, line 8). This image shows Lettice utilizing the long 's', as well as her habit of linking 's' letters to a following letter with an ascender. The horizontal stroke of the letter 'p' is applied without a pen lift in between the long 's' and 'p', and her quill appears to have run dry. The descender of the 'p' is still legible, however. Note the similarity between her 'p' and 'y': the distinction between the two is a tiny left-sided 'tick' that partly closes the tops of her 'p' letters. If applied hastily, the two may be difficult to distinguish.



The final example I shall give here: *giue* (l.a. 595, line 15). Note the non-clubbed flourish of the letter 'g', as well as how her stroke of the letter 'i' is indistinguishable from the strokes that form the letter 'u'. This is also an example of a hastily applied loop in her 'e' – in this case, the surrounding letters prevent one from erroneously interpreting it as a 'c'.



Lettice's earliest letters employ graph forms that would suggest she may have been taught to write in the *testeggiata* variety. She writes in a sharp, rather than rounded hand, with the right-sided clubs typical of *testeggiata* attached to any letter with an ascender. Taking the sharpness of her hand into account, however, a hook might be a more apt description than 'club'. Many letters that would typically have a closed bottom such as 'a', 'd' and even 'u' are consistently open-bottomed, with the right-sided spurs that are present in letters such as 'l' and 'e' being substituted for a closed bottom. In addition, her hand markedly lacks in the use of linking elements. Linked letters are much more an exception than a rule in her writing, with the only fairly consistent use of linking elements being either an 's' or a 'c' followed by a letter with an ascender: in these cases, the 's' or 'c' is linked to the ascender of the following letter, occasionally with a loop. The standard term for "the running of two or more letters together to form a single graph" is ligature (Petti 1977:9), but the way in which Lettice executes them makes it somewhat contentious to call these linked letters ligatures, as the end result is rarely a single graph. Even when linking occurs, it appears to be more a decorative feature than an attempt at writing economically, as it is often evident that both letters still required a pen lift. This is notable because cursiveness and speed of writing were valued qualities even in italic, and the introduction of *testeggiata* resulted in individual writers developing styles more "utilitarian" for general correspondence (Petti 1977:19). Lettice Kinnersley's writing is anything but cursive or economical, as linking elements are so rare and even the letter 'u' required two separate strokes. Her primary concern was clarity, and her letters clearly took a long time to pen. One explanation could be her desire to prove herself as a capable writer: in the Elizabethan period, women's writing skills were generally lagging behind that of men despite the fact that functionally literate women were no longer an outright rarity. As a result, there was a pressure on the women capable of writing their own letters to present themselves well (Daybell 2006:61). Lettice's style is also rather light in terms of overt decorative elements, but there are a few notable exceptions to this. The descenders of her g-letters receive a rather exaggerated flourish that seems out of place amidst all the clubbed spurs she usually employs. In addition, in the handful of instances Lettice signs her letter with the formulaic *Your loving sister Lettice Kinnersley*, the initial majuscule 'Y' has a kite-shaped quadrilateral body (l.a. 594, 600, 604). This only ever occurs in the instances of this formulaic signature.

Given the lengthy period of time Lettice's letters cover, I will make a few observations on

the changes her hand goes over time. Her very first letter is dated circa 1595: at this point, her hand was yet to gain its distinctive degree of angularity and sharpness, although there are some indicators of it. Initially, many of her graphs still lack the hook-like spurs, as a result of which ‘e’ and ‘c’ still mostly appear round in shape. By the second letter, penned circa 1602, ‘e’ and ‘c’ are no longer ever rounded. In general terms, her hand initially develops its sharp appearance and hooked spurs in the earlier letters, setting it apart from its initial *testeggiata* appearance, at which point the general qualities of her graphs seize to change. In her later letters, her handwriting gets larger. This change is slight however, and could be attributable to simple age-related deterioration of eyesight.

3.3 Abbreviation

Elizabethan English handwriting was rife with various types of abbreviations. It was a means of saving time and space, although it has been noted previously that in a time where writing material was relatively expensive and limited, most scribes were probably more concerned with saving space and ink than they were with getting through the writing task faster (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1969:18, Petti 1977:22). Abbreviation was originally used in Latin texts, from which it was adopted for vernacular languages such as English (Petti 1977:22). The means of abbreviation were copied “as is,” and many of the conventions and signs used in Latin texts were applied to English directly (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1969: 18-19, Petti 1977:22). In medieval times, abbreviation was abundant and complex to the point where no list of abbreviations would be sufficient to prepare a modern reader to decipher such writings without a good knowledge of the language itself (Tannenbaum 1930:119), and even then deciphering the abbreviations would often require a degree of conjecture (Petti 1977:22). By the Renaissance, however, these conventions had evolved to a point where they were less numerous and more uniform (*ibid.*). With the disclaimer that abbreviations still had individual variation in use, a fairly comprehensively applicable presentation of them can be given. The means of abbreviation commonly used in this period can be separated into four primary categories: contraction, curtailment (or suspension), superscript (or superior) letters and brevigraphs (or special signs) (Petti 1977:22). The forms of abbreviation overlap somewhat, as a single instance of abbreviation may be utilizing many of these methods at the same time. These methods are all present in the letters of Lettice Kinnersley. In order to elucidate the meaning of the abbreviations found in the materials, the functions of these methods will be discussed below. After this, examples with images from

the letters themselves will be given.

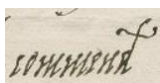
Contraction was the most frequently used method, in which one or more letters were omitted from the middle of the word. The omission was nearly always marked with a sign of some kind, typically a period or a bar mark (Petti 1977:22). The period was mostly employed in modes of address where only the first and last letter of the word remained after omission, such as ‘Mr.’ for *Master*. The bar mark, or macron, had a wider range of applications – it was placed above parts of the word that contained omissions. Although it was used in more general contractions, there were some predictable applications for it: legal terms, names, and specific letters. The bar mark would most commonly omit the letters ‘m’, ‘n’, and ‘i’ in a word-final ‘ion’ (ibid.) Curtailment is a closely related method of abbreviation, and refers to omitting the final letter, or letters of a word. This too was typically accompanied by a sign indicating the omission: often, but not exclusively, with either a period or a colon. The bar mark and superscript letters were in use in this capacity as well (Petti 1977:22-23). In more cursive varieties of handwriting, the bar mark used to signal curtailment was often connected to the last un-curtailed letter. As the flourish this created may well have been ornamental or otiose, determining the presence of curtailment may occasionally be difficult (Tannenbaum 1930:125, Petti 1977:23).

Superscript letters, or letters written above the standard lineation, were a means of omitting letters similar to contraction and curtailment. Usually when this method was employed, the last letters in a word were raised to indicate that one or more letters preceding the raised ones had been omitted (Tannenbaum 1930:134). An example of this would be *w^{ch}* for *which*. The most common words to be abbreviated in superscript letters were “modes of address, numerals, relative and possessive pronouns and adjectives, and some prepositions” (Petti 1977:24). Tannenbaum adds currencies to this list – pounds, shillings and pence (1930:136). Petti notes that the superscript letters were not, however, always final, and could appear in the middle of a word as well, such as in *w^hout* for *without* (Petti 1977:24). They were not always a means of abbreviation either, and could be merely ornamental (Tannenbaum 1930:134).

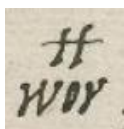
The final standard means of abbreviation was the brevigraph. A brevigraph consists of one or a few markings that were written in the place of “at least two letters or one syllable”

(1977:23). Brevigraphs were particularly common at the beginnings and ends of words (Tannenbaum 1930:125). The brevigraph may or may not resemble one of the letters it is replacing (Petti 1977:23), and as such identifying its meaning may have posed a challenge. There was a large amount of brevigraphs in use, many of which have been listed by Petti (1977:23-24) and Tannenbaum (1930:126-134). I will be discussing some of these brevigraphs when presenting examples from my materials.

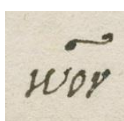
Lettice and her scribe both employ abbreviations, but to a markedly different degree. Lettice's usage of them is fairly limited, mostly for forms of address and a few specific vocabulary items. There is also some peculiarity in her usage of them, which will be discussed below. Her scribe, on the other hand, makes use of a wider variety of abbreviations for a wider array of vocabulary, and their usage is more standardized than that of Lettice. Below are examples of Lettice's abbreviations from the materials that require clarification.



The actual brevigraph here (l.a. 596, line 13) is the tilde-like symbol ‘~’, drawn through the vertical stroke that forms the ascender, or 'back' of the letter ‘d’. It is used to omit either ‘ations’ or ‘acions’ in the word *commendations*.



The sign above (l.a. 599, verso side of leaf 2) appears a handful of times in Lettice's writing. It appears to be a crossed double ‘l’. This was a common means of abbreviating ‘ll’, or the plural of *lordship* (1977:23), but appears in superscript letters above ‘wor’ in the addressee information. This word is often written out in full in the same position in the addressee information of her other letters as *worshipful*.

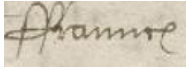


The lower image (l.a. 596, verso side of leaf 2) displays Lettice using the ‘tilde’ for the exact same purpose, also abbreviating *worshipful*.

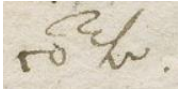
The rest of Lettice's abbreviations are either formulaic curtailments of forms of address or currencies, and quite obvious in context. Her scribe is much more prolific in making use of abbreviations, and uses abbreviations in a more consistent manner than Lettice. For the scribe, specific symbols usually denote specific kinds of abbreviation. Here are some central examples from l.a. 606:



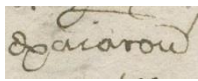
The Tironian sign, replacing *and* (line 5).



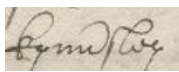
The final symbol here is similar to the Tironian sign: post-15th century this sign was commonly used to denote a word final ‘es’, but simply ‘s’ is also possible (Petti 1977:23). It is reasonable to assume that in full, this word is spelled *Frances* (line 5).



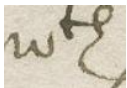
Written in superscript, the ‘squiggly line’ here stands for ‘ur’ or in the word *courte* (line 6), but it can also be found in words such as *your*, *answer*, *Bagesoer* and others, occasionally indicating ‘er’ as well.



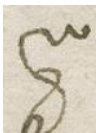
A word heavily abbreviated via contraction and curtailment. Expanded, this spells out *examinacoun* (line 4). The lengthy bar mark above the main body of the word contracts ‘m’ and ‘n’. The flourish attached to the ‘u’ extends to the superscript to create another bar mark, curtailing the word-final ‘n’.



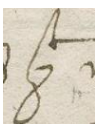
The abbreviation here is similar to the bar marks in the previous example. It is a flourish following ‘kynn’. This kind of a left-sided flourish frequently appears in superscript to denote ‘er’. The full word here is *kynnersley* (line 9), but this left-sided flourish can also be found in words such as *certefie*.



This is an instance of superscript letters being used for abbreviation. This manner of abbreviation features prominently in the secretarial letter. In full, this example would spell out *with* (line 21).



The scribe frequently writes *the* and *that* with the letter *thorn* and superscript letters. The image above represents *the* (line 15) and the one below *that* (line 2). The thorn is a letter that originates from Old English, where it held the form ‘þ’. It corresponds in pronunciation with the digraph ‘th’ (Scragg 1974:2). In the Early Modern period, the letter was at an intermediary stage where it was indistinguishable from the letter ‘y’ (ibid.). The scribe employs the letter in this form, corresponding in appearance to ‘y^e’ for *the* and ‘y^t’ for *that*. The thorn was commonly employed in this capacity (Petti 1977:24, Scragg 1975:2).



This concludes my treatment of the abbreviation practices found in my materials. In the next chapter, I will discuss punctuation marks and their meaning.

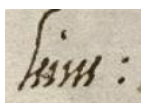
3.4 Punctuation marks

At the beginning of this chapter, it is necessary to elaborate on the structure of this thesis to avoid confusion. The purpose of this chapter is to record and explain the punctuation marks found in the materials in the same manner as the handwriting and abbreviation practices were discussed in the previous chapters. In chapters 8 and 9, the function of primary punctuation is analysed. I make a major distinction here between “primary” and “secondary” punctuation that needs to be explained. This terminology is inspired by an observation Rodriguez-Alvarez (2010) has made on the terminology used by Renaissance schoolmasters on the topic of punctuation. She notes that, in their discussion of punctuation, many Renaissance schoolmasters made distinctions between ‘types’ of marks that depended on their function (2010:41). Some schoolmasters differentiated between marks that are used to separate the text itself into units, and marks that signify additions, corrections and the like (*ibid.*). My usage is similar. In my treatment, primary punctuation refers to punctuation that is used for dividing the text into units, and secondary punctuation refers to punctuation that does not serve textual organization. If an example were to be used for comparison, the full stop and comma as they are used today are primary punctuation. An example of secondary punctuation would be, for instance, the apostrophe as it is used today. I cannot limit this treatment to specific punctuation marks, however, because both Lettice and her scribe use their “primary” marks also in a secondary capacity. Lettice uses the period ‘.’ and the colon ‘:’ to isolate numerals in her letters, and her scribe occasionally uses the period with abbreviations. It is easy to state the “secondary” capacity of these punctuation marks here, but it is much more complex to attempt to describe what the same marks are used for in their “primary” capacity. The function of individual punctuation marks had not yet standardized, and consequently, different writers used their marks in very different ways (Petti 1977:26). Furthermore, the principles governing an individual writer’s punctuation could have been informed by a variety of factors, such as pauses in speech, rhetoric, and syntax (Rodriguez-Alvarez (2010:35). Ascertaining an individual writer’s function for what I call “primary” punctuation here requires a detailed analysis of their practice, which is what chapters 6, 7, 8,

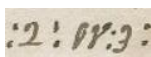
9 and 10 of this thesis will address.

This chapter will merely record all forms of punctuation, be it primary or secondary in nature. Passing reference will be made here to the function of primary punctuation marks, but the exact nature of their functions in the letters will be examined at length later on in this thesis. Lettice and her scribe also use secondary punctuation marks that are no longer used, and as such their function in my materials needs to be elaborated on. What follows now is presentation of the physical qualities of the punctuation marks present in the materials, and a description of the function of dedicated secondary punctuation marks. First, I will go through the marks used by Lettice, and then those used by the scribe.

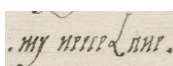
The punctuation marks used by Lettice are the colon ‘:’, the period ‘.’, the double-oblique hyphen ‘=’, and the caret ‘^’. The colon and the period are Lettice's means of primary punctuation. Lettice also ascribes a secondary purpose to the colon: that of isolating proper numerals in her text.



Examples of the colon by Lettice in two different contexts – in the first, it is used following the word *him* (l.a. 598, line 15). In the second, it is isolating numerals (l.a. 602, line 10). There is nothing about the colon's appearance in the materials that requires elaboration, as it is used in its modern form.



For the sake of being comprehensive and consistent, it should be noted here that in the very first letter, l.a. 594, the period was also used in the capacity of a secondary punctuation mark: to isolate proper numerals. In the second letter and after it, the colon is always utilized in the same context. It appears that by the time Lettice sent the second letter in the collection, approximately seven years after the first one, she had simply shifted this function over to the colon.

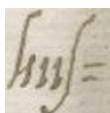


In the first example, the period is utilized to mark off a noun phrase (l.a. 600, line 11). The second example is from letter l.a. 594, in which it marks off the number 18 (line 16).



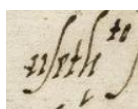
The double-oblique hyphen and caret are special instances of punctuation in terms of their function, and could be described as secondary punctuation marks. The double-oblique

hyphen is a variation of the standard hyphen. It looks like the modern equals sign, or ‘=’, with two straight, thin lines running alongside each other. This form of the hyphen had become the norm by the later 15th century (Petti 1977:27). Its usual function was to indicate words broken at the end of the line, but it was applied inconsistently – all instances in which a word was broken by the line may not utilize it (ibid.).



An example usage by Lettice: here it is marking the word *husband* (l.a. 595, line 12) being broken at the end of the line.

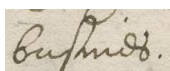
The caret ‘^’ was a means of indicating interlineation, or writing that occurs between lines. It was usually placed just below the line where interlineation occurred. The mark was sometimes inverted (Petti 1977:27), and is indeed inverted by Lettice.



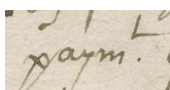
Lettice employing an inverted caret to insert *to* after *useth* (l.a. 598, line 10), as there is no room to include it within the standard lineation.

For Lettice, the inverted caret was a means of emending her writing, and as such her usage of the mark could be described as standard practice. It is notable, however, that her version of it always has a slight left-handed tilt.

The scribe employed by Lettice for letter l.a. 606 uses a wider variety of punctuation marks. These marks are the period ‘.’, colon ‘:’, semi-colon ‘;’, comma ‘,’, line-filler ‘–’, and caret ‘^’. The primary punctuation marks are the period, colon, semi-colon and comma. In form, the colon and period are identical to those of Lettice.



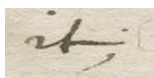
Here, the first example occurs after the word *busines* (line 3), and is used as primary punctuation. In the second, it is used as secondary punctuation and



simply accompanies an abbreviation of the word *payment* (line 22). Adding a period at the ends of abbreviations was common practice (Petti 1977:22).

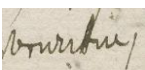
As the form of the colon is identical to that of Lettice, and its usage in the scribal letter will be discussed further in my analysis of primary punctuation, its presence in the scribal letter need not be elaborated on here. Once again, for the sake of consistency, I will provide examples of the semi-colon and comma. The semi-colon is a remarkably late addition to the

plethora of punctuation marks in use: it did not come to be widely used until 1580 (Petti 1977:26).



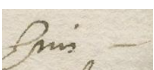
The scribe's semi-colon, following the word *it* (line 23).

On the comma, it should be mentioned that the tilt and speed of the scribe's hand occasionally results in a form that could potentially be misinterpreted as another punctuation mark from the era: the virgule ‘/’ (Tannenbaum 1930:143). By my estimation, however, the scribe does not utilize virgules.



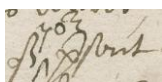
This is a notable example of a comma reminiscent of a virgule. Few instances begin this high up on the line, and usually the commas are easy to identify. The word here is *securitie* (line 19).

The line-filler and caret ‘^’ are the scribe's secondary punctuation marks. The line-filler is used to fill out the line when text itself does not accomplish this, and the following word is too long to write on it (Petti 1977:28). Petti actually makes the point that line-fillers are not true marks of punctuation (ibid.), but for the lack of a better space to record its presence and discuss its usage, let it be noted here.



A line-filler, following the word *him* (line 27).

The caret the scribe uses is the standard version, rather than an inverted one.



In this example, the caret is used to indicate the addition of *your* in *of your present* (line 31) at the very bottom of the image.

This concludes the treatment of handwriting in my materials. Now that an explanation of the peculiarities and special marks found in the letters has been provided, it is appropriate to move on to the chapter on editing and editing principles.

4 Editing and editing principles

The practice of processing select materials to convey their content in a desired manner is called editing. In reference to historical texts, this typically means collating, examining and interpreting old manuscripts or printed works and producing a version of them that can be easily utilized for reading and research by modern audiences. The purpose of editions is, effectively, to “make the inaccessible accessible” (Hunter 2007:1). They take the aspects of historical texts that make them 'inaccessible' and dissect them for the reader. My treatment of handwriting was dedicated to providing explanations for my interpretation of the materials. There is no single correct way of editing any manuscript materials, but a good general rule is that the edition should remain faithful to the original materials in representing their content accurately¹ – it is, however, often a necessity to make some compromises. Physical constraints and the aims of any particular edition place some limitations as to what is appropriate to present. This chapter is dedicated to outlining the methodology and presentation used in the edition.

The primary way in which my edition differs from most editions is that there is no historical annotation with regard to things such as the people and places mentioned in the letters. The reasons for this are space constraints, and the objectives of my thesis. The purpose of the edition is to provide transcriptions of Lettice Kinnersley's letters, as well as a glossary that supports the letters by making them comprehensible despite the usage of historical vocabulary. The space here is insufficient for both the transcriptions and for extensive historical annotation. I can, however, direct anyone interested in more in-depth historical annotation of Lettice Kinnersley's letters to Wrottesley (1908). His work on the family history of the Bagots is a good place to start for those interested in identifying the people, places and events discussed in the letters.

The purpose of my transcriptions is to provide a version of the letters that is legible to a modern reader, while retaining most of the features that may be of interest to linguists. To that end, I have reproduced most of the orthographic qualities of the original manuscripts. Spelling, word spacing and punctuation have been retained as they are in the originals.

¹ Hunter (2007) reviews numerous different approaches to editing Early Modern texts, but this is the essential, overarching principle he advocates.

Abbreviations and contractions, however, are expanded. This is a necessary practice to ensure the comprehensibility of the texts, but the previous chapter 3.3 explained most instances of what kinds of marks these positions contained.

It should be noted that there is occasionally an unavoidable degree of uncertainty attached to estimating Lettice's intended spacing. This is a commonly encountered problem when reproducing texts from this period. On the one hand, some words that are now customarily separated are written together, and on the other, some words that are now always written together are separated (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1969:23). When this factor is combined with a writer that was inconsistent or imprecise with their spacing, editors are sometimes "forced to make arbitrary choices" (Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton 1969:23). The spacing in the transcriptions represents my best estimation of the intended word spacing.

Any editorial additions I have made in the transcriptions are indicated by either square brackets '[]', parentheses '()', or question marks '?'. Square brackets are used to expand abbreviations, contractions, and the like. While the intended full form of a word in these contexts can usually be reliably determined, it should be mentioned that in some abbreviated words there is a degree of conjecture attached to estimating the intended spelling. The letters in square brackets amount to an educated guess. The function of the parentheses is similar. Due to factors such as smudged ink or tears in the document, some letters or words may be illegible. Words and letters within parentheses represent a reasonable estimation as to what these damaged parts of the document would have contained. The estimation is based on the context, and the legible graphs the damaged parts appear with. Question marks are used when I was unable to determine what particular graph was intended: a single question mark indicates a single illegible graph.

The transcriptions contain graphs in *italics*, and graphs that are ~~struck-out~~. These are not indications of outright editorial addition, but rather, represent specific circumstances in the passages that contain these features. Italics are used for indicating text that is written in superscript in the original document. This is somewhat of a compromise between faithfulness to the original documents and improving the readability of the transcriptions. While supralinear writing has been lowered, italicized text will still show where superscript letters were used. The only exceptions to this rule are currency symbols. Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton opted not to lower these instances of supralinear letters (1969:23) due to

the fact that such a practice may cause confusion, and I will abide by their example in these instances. Regarding superscript letters, it is also convenient here to point out that supralinear letters were indicated by both Lettice and her scribe with variations of the caret. This was discussed in chapter 3.4. The caret is represented in the transcriptions by ‘^’. Finally, the function of striking out letters in the transcriptions is to indicate deletions by the author. Various means are used in the original manuscripts to remove passages of text, such as crossing them out, or smudging them. Struck out words always represent deletions, the specific method notwithstanding.

There are markings in the letters by a few different hands other than Lettice or her scribe. All text, except for two different sets of numbered archiving markings on the letters are reproduced in the transcriptions. Each letter is identified by its call number, author and recipient. The letter side of each letter is transcribed in the following chapter 5, titled **Letter transcriptions**. An image of the original letter will be presented on the page following each transcription. The letters all have their own line numbering that corresponds to the lines of the original document. If a line of the transcription continues past a single line without the line number of the transcription changing, it means that in the original letter the line has not yet changed. There are some instances in which the letters contain passages in the margins – in these cases, the lineation is not followed, but the transcriptions of the passages in the margins are at the bottom of the page, with their position clearly marked. Similarly, any text that is written upside down in the original image by Folger Shakespeare Library is transcribed normally, rather than in its upside down state. The individual leaves of each letter are identified by the leaf number, and whether it is the recto or verso side of the document – that is, the front or back of the document. For instance, the front side of the first document is marked leaf 1r., meaning that it is the recto-side of the first leaf. The letters all contain more than one leaf, but in the interest of presenting the letters in a convenient manner, the **Letter transcriptions**-chapter will only contain the transcriptions and images of the letter side for each letter in the collection.

Once the transcriptions of each letter side for all the call numbers have been presented, the transcriptions of the documents and sides that are not in the Letter transcriptions-chapter can be found in chapter 5.1, titled **Verso sides and additional documents**. In this chapter, transcriptions of the verso-side of the letter leaf, as well as any other documents that the call number contained, can be found. For example, l.a. 601 in the collection contains two leaves.

In the case of l.a. 601, chapter 5.1 will contain the transcriptions for any text found in leaf 1v., leaf 2r., and leaf 2v. None of the transcriptions in 5.1 will be accompanied by images of the corresponding document. This is because they usually contain very little material to transcribe, if any at all. Presenting an image of what amounts to addressee information, or even a blank page, would needlessly clutter the edition; especially given the fact that this thesis does not comment on the physical condition of the documents in any way.

The final part of the Letter transcriptions-chapter is 5.2, titled **Glossaries**. This chapter contains a select glossary for each letter. The glossary provides clarification for select words that are spelled in a manner that either does not correspond to modern practice, may be difficult to recognise, no longer exist, or are specialized or rare. Hunter remarks on annotation that it is difficult to measure exactly how much material requires elucidation in this manner, as it is easy to either over-annotate or under-annotate (Hunter 2007:97). I will simply note here that the glossary represents my interpretation of which elements require clarification. The glossary takes into account the context a given entry is used in, and the entry may refer to other elements in the letter if it is necessary to explain the meaning of a word. This effectively means that, in cases where a modern interpretation was either impossible or did not make sense, I researched what the most likely intended meaning was for a given word and provided the entry in the glossary via Oxford English Dictionary. Each glossed item contains emboldened letters. This is because of Lettice's spacing. Embolding in the transcribed items allows for either separating the main word from extra letters or words attached to it, such as in the case of '**atenand**' for '**a tenant**' (l.a. 599, line 5), or attaching the separated parts of a single item, such as in the case of '**anin tent**' for '**an intent**' (l.a. 602, line 8). Ideally, a glossary would be presented directly after the transcription for ease of reference, but I decided to compile them into their own chapter because the letters require entries to a very different degree. Providing the glossary directly after each letter side would result in a fragmented presentation with several almost blank pages. To assist with referring to the glossary, the page which contains the glossary is given next to the leaf number in each transcription.

5 Letter transcriptions

L.a. 594 (to Richard Bagot, 18.1.1595[?])

Leaf 1r. (Glossary p. 63)

1 My good father. the last day I receued a² letter
2 from you. and a fore christmas. I receued forti shilinges
3 from you. ~~an~~ and ten from my mother: giueing you
4 Both houbmle thankes: for the same. my brother is nou
5 at loudlo. whear there was the greates christmas.
6 that euer I sau. my ladi made uery much of my sister.
7 and desiered her. to com to her sum times. and she
8 should haue her chamber in the house: and told ~~h~~ my
9 sister she should finde her redi to plesure her. or ani freand
10 she had: when the tearme is done. my brother. and my
11 sister wil com to Blithfilde. to see you. and my mother.
12 which wil be shortly after candulmas: this with
13 my houbul duti to you. and my good mother. with
14 the like from my sister: crauing your dely blesinges.
15 and crauing pardun for my vntoward wryting: I
16 houbly take my leaue: Broughton this.18.of ienuity

17 Your obedient *daughtt*er
18 Letice Bagot

My good father. the last day I received a letter
 from you, and a fore christmas. I received forti shilinges
 from you, and ten from my mother: giueing you
 Both humble thankes: for the same. my brother is now
 at loudlo. When thaire was the grettes christmas.
 that euer I saw. my lady made uery much of my sister.
 and desiered her. to com to her sum times. and she
 should haue her chamber in the house: and told to my
 sister she should finde her veeli to plesure her. or ani frend
 she had: when the tearme is done. my brother. and my
 sister wil com to Blithfild. to see you. and my mother.
 which wil be shortly after candulmas: this with
 my humble duti to you. and my good mother. with
 the like from my sister: cravung your dely blesinges.
 and cravung pardin for my vntoward wryting: I
 humbly take my leaue: Broughton this. is. of ienuary

Your obedient daughter
 Letice Bagot

Figure 3 Letter side of L.a. 594 (Folger MS L.a.594)

Good Brother, you may think me very forgetfull that I have not writ
 unto you, neuer since I came hether: but I had thought be fore now, to
 haue sent you: and now heering by this bearer, that my father in
 law is gon to london, I haue know when we shall com into stafford
 shere: I thank you good brother, I am much bound unto you, for the
 greute paynes, and care you haue of me: and I hope I shall not linc
 to for gettit: y my husband told me, my father in law was about to take
 the possession of see, for him and me to dwell in: but by my good
 will, I will neuer kepe house, till I go to dwell at hether, for if I
 should, it wold but be a meanes to defenue vs of a better place: but
 my hope is, you will be carefull of me, as you ever haue bin: I thank
 my brother Trwe, he is willing we shall talle there: and my hus
 band is so determened: he and my neygh Robert went yeste day to
 cause castle: to hunt with m^r Thinn and are not yet com home: my
 brother Broughton I giue god thanks: wurdeth the very well, and desireth
 to be very kindly remembered to you, and my good sister: with the like
 from my sister Broughton, my sister Okemar, my nese Mary, and my
 selfe, to you both: desire in our duty may be remembered, in the best maner
 to my mother: I leave you to the providence, of the allmightye: Broughton
 this: 2: of february: J

Your most assured loving
 Leticia Kinnorsley J

Figure 4 Letter side of L.a. 595 (Folger MS L.a.595)

L.a. 596 (to Walter Bagot, 3.21.1605/06)

Leaf 1r. (Glossary p. 64)

1 Good brother this bearerer was sent vnto me. from my father. to bid me
2 send for my boy from loxley: wherefore good brother do so much for
3 me as send one of your men. to fetch him to blithfeild as soone as
4 you can. for I perseue I cannot send for him. so soone as he is will=
5 ing to be ridd of him: if it wold not be to troublesome to you. I
6 wold intreate you. that one of your men might bring him hether.
7 vpon wensday when you com. if not. I will send for him at the
8 wickes end: I pray you excuse me to my ?sister. that I sent her
9 no setes. it was be cause the time of yeare is past: I wold haue wry(t)
10 vn more vnto you. but ~~my~~ one of my ies is very sore: that it is
12 troblesome vnto me: this ?desiering you my dutie may be remembered
13 to my mother: with my kindest commend[atons] to your selfe. and my
14 good sister: with my prayres to god for your health: I leaue
15 you to his prouidence: your louing sister euer Letice Kinnersley

16 good brother let your man that
17 goes for him. axe for his siluer
18 can: and for his cloes:

20 Bagesore this
21 :21: of march

Good brother this barterer was sent unto me from my father to bid me
 send for my boy from Saxley: wherefore good brother do so much for
 me as send one of your men to fetch him to Blithfield as soon as
 you can. for I verily I cannot send for him. so soon as he is will-
 ing to be rid of him: if it would not be to troublesome to you, I
 would intreat you, that one of your men might bring him hither:
 you wishday when you come. if not, I will send for him at the
 wicker end: I pray you excuse me to my sister, that I sent her
 no news. it was because the time of year is past: I would have writ
 you more unto you, but my one of my ire is very sore: that it is
 troublesome to me: this answering you my duty may be remembered
 to my mother: with my kindest remembrance to your selfe, and my
 good sister: with my prayres to god for your health: I leave
 you to his providence: your loving sister ever Letice Kinnerley

good brother let your man that
 goes for him, see for his sister
 too: and for his elers:

therefore this
 21: of march

Figure 5 Letter side of L.a. 596 (Folger MS L.a.596)

L.a. 597 (to Walter Bagot, 5.20.1608[?])

Leaf 1r. (Glossary p. 64-65)

1 Good brother my husband doeth erenestley intreate you. to doo so much
2 for him: as send for my cosen Pettie. and pay him this :5[£]:
3 which you shall receue bie this bearer. and I pray you. will
4 him to make anote vnder his hand. what he hath receued: I
5 thank him he is willing to receue it bie :20[£]: at aday til :80[£]:
6 be run up: and so I hope my husband will be able to pay it.
7 the first payment of twenti pound. be geneth at sent Iamestite:
8 he had thought to haue com him selfe. but for his troblesome neight
9 bors: good brother will you do somuch for me. asbe earnest with
10 my father in law. that he wold be freinds with my husband
11 for if he had but his co[^]untenance: he might goe thorow with
12 them. a greate deale better: wee haue a ~~greate~~ much rounge of=
13 fored vs. and my husband goes indanger of his life: euery day
14 and I haue bin afrayde the wold pull doune the house ouer
15 my heade: for the haue nether the feare of god. nor of aney
16 lawes: ?I pray you remember my dutie to my good mother:
17 this with my kindest commend[atons] to you. and my good sister
18 wishing you all happines: I rest your louing sister euer
19 Letice Kinnersley
20 Bagesore this:
21 20: of may:

Good brother my husband doeth earnestly intreat you, to doe so much
 for him: as send for my rosen Pettie, and pay him this : 5:
 which you shall receive by this bearer, and I pray you, will
 him to make note under his hand, what he hath received: I
 thinke him he is willing to receive it by : 20: at nany til : 30:
 he run my: and so I hope my husband will be able to pay it.
 the first payment of twenty pound, he getteth at seat Fawcett:
 he had thought to have com him self, but for his troublesome neyde
 hers: good brother will you do somewhat for me, as be earnest with
 my father in law, that he wold be friends with my husband
 for if he had but his confidence: he might goe thovow with
 them, a grate deale better: we have ~~agreed~~ much wrong of-
 fered us, and my husband goes in danger of his life: every day
 and I have bin afrayde the wold pull downe the house over
 my head: for the have neither the feare of god, nor of any
 lawes: I pray you remember my dutie to my good mother:
 this with my kindest commend to you, and my good sister
 wishing you all happines: I rest your loving sister care

Leticia Kinnorsley

Dated this:
 20: of may:

Figure 6 Letter side of L.a. 597 (Folger MS L.a.597)

L.a. 598 (to Walter Bagot, 14.9.1608[?])

Leaf 1r. (Glossary p. 65)

1 Good brother upon satter day last my husband fel out with me. for not
2 haueing prouision of beare: I told him of my want of mault. abufe
3 three wickes agone. but he wold nether prouid it him selfe. nor a
4 low me money: I borrowed of my neightbores as much as I cold.
5 byet for all that. the falt was layd all upon me: with maney bitter
6 corsses. and the charge of the house takeun from me. and comma=
7 nded to medle with nothing: but keepe my chamber: my saruant?
8 dis charged. espeshallye she that lookes to my children: and is a
9 bout my selfe: he wold neuer be halfe so ile. but for his mother.
10 now her mayde useth ^to stand at my dore. to heare what I say. and
11 then tels my mother in law. and makes it more: but I know ??²
12 my husband will not looke to things loung. but she must haue
13 the over seete of all. and then shall not I be able to stay: good
14 brother. be good unto me: and ether wryte. or geate my brother
15 Anth^oney to com. and talke with him: ¶if I may but haue the
16 rule of my children: and sone what to mentayne them. and my
17 selfe. I wold desier nomore: good brother wryte unto me. what
18 weare my best corse. in this my distreses: as you loue me. let
19 not my mother know: this with my kindest commend[atons] to you.
20 and my good sister. and thanks for my tokeun: praying to
21 god for your health: I rest. your pore troublesome sister
22 Letice Kinnersley

23 bagesore this
24 14: of september:

² There are at least two graphs in this position that I was unable to decipher. The ink appears to be that of Lettice. The document is damaged, making the second graph completely unidentifiable; the first appears to be a modern majuscule 'E' with a diacritic, but the presence of such a graph seems highly unlikely. It is more likely the tear in the document obscures the full form of whatever was intended.

Good brother you better shoye last my husband fel out with me. for not
 having provision of beere: I told him of my want of want. about
 three weekes agoe. but he wold neither provide it him selfe. nor a
 low me money: I borrowed of my neighbours as much as I could.
 yet for all that. the fault was layd all upon me: with many bitter
 sayes. and the charge of the house taken from me. and comyn
 when to mendle with nothing: but keeps my chamber: my servant
 his charge. especially she that looks to my children: and is a
 want my selfe: he wold never be losse so ill. but for his mother.
 now her myghte wylle stand on my shere. to have what I say. and
 then tels my mother in law. and makes it more: but I knowe it
 my husband will not looke to things long. but she must have
 the ever parte of all. and then shall not I be able to stay: good
 brother. be good unto me: and either wryte. or sende my brother
 Anthony to com. and talke with him: wif I may but have the
 care of my children: and see what to maintayne them. and my
 selfe. I wold helpe none: good brother wryte unto me. what
 were my best course. in this my distress: as you love me. let
 not my mother know: this with my kindest remembrance to you.
 and my good sister. and thanks for my letters: praying to
 god for your health: I rest. your yere troublesome sister
 Letice Dinnersley

have seene this
 14: of September:

Figure 7 Letter side of L.a. 598 (Folger MS L.a.598)

L.a. 599 (to Walter Bagot, 5.9.1610[?])

Leaf 1r. (Glossary p. 65-66)

1 Good Brother I am afreade. there is some disagreement. betwene my husband. and his
2 father: that he makes no more hast home: haueing such earnest ocation. and his
3 day of apperance. so neare at hand: he hath set afew of these grounds: to good
4 man shepard: and the rest if he mene to bie him. out of his aleget: it were
5 time. he did Prouide atenand to helpe him. with money: if it please him. I
6 wile Ioyne with him. to set this house and liueing for: 10: or 12: years: so
7 that I may haue. one hundreth pound of the money: to put in to your
8 handes: for my to younger sonnes. wallter and Anthoney: if I had know
9 ligned a fine. acoring to the order: uaughan had bin sure. to haue had all
10 for ten years: for my husband must haue pay^{ed} him one: 100[£]: upon May
11 day: which I am sure he cold not: haue performed: my husband must be at
12 Bewdly upon satterday next. or else his bond is fortfedted: and I shall haue
13 them redie to pull me out of all: god of his great mercie helpe me. my menes
14 is so smale for house keepeing. that my husband is weary of taringing heare:
15 but it doeth not much trouble him. my wants and his poore children:
16 which was neuer greatter then now: and yet I feare. when my corne is
17 goene. it will be wors: which will not be lounge two: I am bound to pray
18 for you. and my good sister. for your goodnes to my daughtter: and I trust
19 in god. I shall neuer beunminde full of it: this with remembrance of my
20 dearest loue to you boeth: I take my leaue: remeneing euer your louing sister

21 Letice Kinnersley

22 Bagesore this:
23 :9: of may:

24 I pray you tel my husband.
25 what I haue wrytun to you: and good brother. let him haue your counsel: what
26 is best to be done: it weare better to let uaughan. and his wife. to haue the
27 house and lands: til there money be payed: then to com into fortfiture of bonds:

Good Brethery I am afrayde there is some disagreement betwixt my husband and his
 father: that he winks no more light home: havinge such trust oration, and his
 any of agreement. so never at length: he hath set new of these grounds: to good
 man sheweth: and the rest if he were to his kin. out of his neglect: it were
 time. he his French returned to help him. with money: if it please him. I
 will saynt with him. to set this house and livinge for: 10: or 12: years: so
 that I may have our hundredth year of the money: to put in to your
 hands: for my two younger sonnes. willer and Anthony: if I had know
 lished a fine. provinge to the order: unlesse he had him sure. to have had all
 for ten years: for my husband must have payd him out: 100: upon My
 day: which I am sure he shall not: have performed: my husband must be at
 home upon saturday next. or else his bond is forfeited: and I shall have
 them redit to pull me out of all: god of his great mercie help me. my wants
 is so small for house keeping. that my husband is wroth of havinge home:
 but it doth not much trouble him. my wants and his your children:
 which was never greater then now: and yet I fear. when my corn is
 gone. it will be worse: which will not be long two: I am bound to pray
 for you. and my good sister. for your recovery to my daughter: and I trust
 in god. I shall never be unkindly full of it: this with remembrance of my
 dearest love to you both: I take my leave: remaininge ever your lovinge sister

Engage this:
 :9: of may:

Letice Kinnersley

I pray you tel my husband.
 what I have writtun to you: and good brethery. let him have your counsel: what
 is best to be done: it were better to let unlesse. and his wife. to have the
 house and lands: til therr money be payd: then to come into forfeiture of bonds:

Figure 8 Letter side of L.a. 599 (Folger MS L.a.599)

L.a. 600 (to Elizabeth (Cave) Bagot, 5.20.1610[?])

Leaf 1r. (Glossary p. 66)

1 Good sister I thank my good Brother ~~for~~ and you for your kind
2 letter: I had no lesure to wryt to you. when I sent your oringes:
3 yester day my sister okeouer. did send her man francis norma=
4 nd to see how I did: and wryt unto me. and sent me my bor=
5 ther. and ring. with a diamand in hit: which for neede of money
6 I must sell: if it please you: ^{you} shall haue the refuse ing of them:
7 before aney one: my husband shall not know I haue them: til I
8 haue sold them. and payd the money where I owe it: all though
9 I did borow it. for his use: I haue sent you a small tokeun heare
10 in closed: ~~which~~ this commending my loue un to my good brother
11 and your selfe: not for ge^atting my sister Trew. my neece Lane.
12 and my neece Broughton: I take my leaue remeneing euer

13	Bagesore this	Your louing sister
14	:20: of May	Leticie Kinnersley

<In the left-hand margin>

15	Ila Ih
16	Illr? Has??h??1?1

Good sister I thank my good Brother for and you for your kind
 letter: I had no leisure to wryt to you, when I sent your rings:
 yester day my sister skinner, did send her man fransis norman
 to see how I did: and wryt unto me, and sent me my boy-
 ther, and ring, with a diamond in hit: which for neede of money
 I must sell: if it please you: shall have the refuseing of them:
 before any one: my husband shall not know I have them: til I
 have sold them, and payed the money where I owe it: all though
 I did borrow it, for his use: I have sent you a small token here
 in chesell; which this remembrance my love is to my good brother
 and your selfe: not for getting my sister Tru. my neice Lane,
 and my neice Broughton: I take my leave remaining ever

The original of
 this letter
 is in
 the
 MS
 L.a. 600

Done this
 : 20: of May

Your loving sister
 Letice Skinner

what would you had the use of
 my diamond to send it

Figure 9 Letter side of L.a. 600 (Folger MS L.a.600)

L.a. 601 (to Walter Bagot, 7.8.1610[?])

Leaf 1r. (Glossary p. 66-67)

1 Good Brother. will you beplested to do so much for me: as to wryte
2 your letter unto Iustys worberton: that bie his menes. I might
3 quietlye inioy those yerseles. of grounds. which the sherif in
4 his pertishun: hath allotted to my husband: the wryt being in
5 roled: uaughan doeth bie forse keepe :3: peeseses of the best
6 grounds. from me: and all the medeoweing: if I cause aney
7 gras to be moed. before the sises. I know. when it is redye
8 to cary. he will haue it: some of my neighbores. hard him
9 speake so much: and for the corne I know. if bie your good
10 menes it be not preuentted: he menes to haue it all: good
11 brother let me in treat you. to wryte your letter: and I will
12 send to you for it: the next wicke: and if you think fiting
13 I will deliuer it my selfe: or send Iohn betinson with it:
14 whether it please you: for those words. which uaughan
15 spake of you. my cosun dampport: and my cosun Asleys man:
16 will be sworne of it: that [^]*the hard him say* you did recete tretters. and
17 rebels in your house: and that he wold com. and pull it
18 downe ouer your heade: I pray you let my husband bring
19 you downe prosses for him: for maney think. if it weare
20 well followed. it wold bring him to a resoneable agreem=
21 ent: I am much bound unto you for your kindnes. to my
22 husband. and my poore gearle: I beech the lord reward you.
23 for all your goodnes shewed to me. in this my nessecitie:
24 this with remembrance of my loue to ~~my~~ your selfe. and
25 my good sister: with my hartye prayrs to god for ~~all~~
26 you and all yours: I take my leaue: your poore louing
27 sister Letice Kinnersley
28 Bagesore this:
29 :8: of Iuly:

<In the left-hand margin>

30 If my cosun Asleys man. if he deni. it: it Is bie the menes of
31 his master: for he hath spokeun them:

Good Brother, will you be pleased to do so much for me: as to wryte
 your letter unto Justys worderton: that he his wrytes, I might
 quietly enjoy these yerles, of grounds, which the sheriff in
 his yertishum: hath allotted to my husband: the wryt bring in
 roln: ununghen doeth he forse kerye: 3: yerles of the best
 grounds, from me: and all the wekhowring: if I cause any
 yens to be made, before the sises, I know, when it is ready
 to eny, he will have it: some of my neighbors, have him
 shenke so much: and for the covne I know, if he your good
 wrytes it be not prevented: he wrytes to have it all: good
 brother let me in trent you, to wryte your letter: and I will
 send to you for it: the next wicke: and if you think fitting
 I will deliver it my self: or send John betinson with it:
 whether it please you: for those words, which ununghen
 shaks of you, my cousin shawport: and my cousin Allys man:
 will be sworne of it: that ^{the hard shawport} you had writter tretters, and
 rebels in your house: and that he wold come, and pull it
 downe over your head: I pray you let my husband bring
 you shewe yerles for him: for many think, if it wery
 well followed, it wold bring him to a reasonable agreem-
 ent: I am much bound unto you for your kindness, to my
 husband, and my poore genytle: Forch the lord reward you,
 for all your goodnes shewd to me, in this my necessity:
 this with remembrance of my love to ~~my~~ your selfe, and
 my good sister: with my hartye prayers to god for ~~all~~
 you and all yours: I take my leave: your poore loving
 sister Lettie Kinnestley

If my cousin Allys man, if he shew it: it is he the wrytes of
 his wryter: for he hath spoken them:

Dated this:
 : 8: of July:

Figure 10 Letter side of L.a. 601 (Folger MS L.a.601)

L.a. 602 (to Walter Bagot, 9.14.1610[?])

Leaf 1r. (Glossary p. 67-68)

1 Good Brother
2 I wold haue wrytun unto you before now: but I cold not know how the truth
3 was: til yester night: the sherif hath sequestered the lands: at anexseeding
4 under rate. the erable land. which was held to be worth :18[£]: a yeare: is ualued
5 to :6^s: 8^d: and all the rest. accoring to the same: those that know the order. in
6 such corseses. thinke it is for my good: for if I can geate aney freind. that
7 will giue good securitie to the sherif: I may hold it stil. paying that rent:
8 uaughan hath anin tent. to bedge a lease of the kinge for :3: liues: and to haue
9 all the goodes: bie reson there is aryt of rebellion. out agaynst my husband:
10 be side that: there is :2: or :3: outclarys ^agaynst him: and no good corse. that
11 he will take in aney thing: I beseech you good brother. if you can bie aney
12 menes. pro cuer it for the mentenance of me: and my poore children: and
13 bedge it. of the king in your one name: what chardges so euer it lies you
14 in: bie the grace of god. I will pay it: and shall euer be bound to pray
15 for you: if you be not good unto me: in this my extremetie. the lord know=
16 eth what will be com of me. and them: my husband did giue my nephew
17 waring some cros words. when he was there: and since he is not willing
18 to doe aney thing for me: nor wold giue me no derecktions in aney:
19 thing: this day when he had bin at woruel cort: he came to see me. and told
20 me ^he ~~and~~ he wold do aney thing he cold for me: and profored me. if I wold to com
21 to him. and bring my children with me: but I trust in god. I shall neuer
22 be so chardgeable to aney freind I haue: I can not tel what to think: that I
23 heare nothing of my husband. for when he went he sayd for sertayne:
24 he wold be at home with in :10: dayes if matters framed well: if not he
25 wold neuer com agayne: the lord knowes what he will doe. for I doe
26 not: this with my prayrs to allmighttie god. for your health and my
27 good sister: with remembrance of my loue to you boeth: I take my leaue
28 remeneing euer your poore louing sister
29 Letice Kinnersley
30 Bagesore this
31 :14: of october:

<In the left-hand margin>

32 I wold fayne if I cold. haue some order takeun: the rye crop might be soed: the los will be
great if it be not:

Good Brother

I would have writtun unto you before now: but I could not know how the truth was: til yster night: the sheriff hath sequestrer the lands: at nure: serching under yntre. the ryndle land. which was held to be worth: 18: penynt: is valued to: 6: 8: and all the rest. according to the same: those that know the order, in such cases. think it is for my good: for if I can gette any friend. that will give good sequitir to the sheriff: I may hold it still. ynyng that evnt: noughtun hath nain trent. to brage nlyst of the kinge for: 3: liars: and to have all the goods: by reason therre is nuyt of rebellion. out agaynst my husband: by sith that: therre is: 2: or: 3: outslayrs: agaynst him: and no good case. that he will take in nuy thing: I beseech you good brother. if you can by any means. procure it for the maintenance of me: and my poor children: and brage it. of the king in your own name: what charges so ever it lies you in: by the grace of god. I will pay it: and shall never be bound to pay for you: if you be not good unto me: in this my extremite. the lord knoweth what will be com of me. and therr: my husband did give my nephew warning some few words. when he was therre: and since he is not willing to doe nuy thing for me: nor wold give me no libertacions in nuy thing: this day when he had bin at woruld cot: he came to see me. and told me ^{that} wold do nuy thing he wold for me: and preferred me. if I wold to come to him. and bring my children with me: but I trust in god. I shall never be so shurchable to nuy friend I have: I can not tel what to think: that I have nothing of my husband. for when he went he sayd for fretpaynt: he wold be at home with in: 10: dayes if matters favoured will: if not he wold never come agaynt: the lord knowes what he will doe. for I doe not: this with my prayrs to allmightie god. for your health and my good sister: with remembrance of my love to you both: I take my leave remembrance ever your poor loving sister

I would have writtun unto you before now: but I could not know how the truth was: til yster night: the sheriff hath sequestrer the lands: at nure: serching under yntre. the ryndle land. which was held to be worth: 18: penynt: is valued to: 6: 8: and all the rest. according to the same: those that know the order, in such cases. think it is for my good: for if I can gette any friend. that will give good sequitir to the sheriff: I may hold it still. ynyng that evnt: noughtun hath nain trent. to brage nlyst of the kinge for: 3: liars: and to have all the goods: by reason therre is nuyt of rebellion. out agaynst my husband: by sith that: therre is: 2: or: 3: outslayrs: agaynst him: and no good case. that he will take in nuy thing: I beseech you good brother. if you can by any means. procure it for the maintenance of me: and my poor children: and brage it. of the king in your own name: what charges so ever it lies you in: by the grace of god. I will pay it: and shall never be bound to pay for you: if you be not good unto me: in this my extremite. the lord knoweth what will be com of me. and therr: my husband did give my nephew warning some few words. when he was therre: and since he is not willing to doe nuy thing for me: nor wold give me no libertacions in nuy thing: this day when he had bin at woruld cot: he came to see me. and told me ^{that} wold do nuy thing he wold for me: and preferred me. if I wold to come to him. and bring my children with me: but I trust in god. I shall never be so shurchable to nuy friend I have: I can not tel what to think: that I have nothing of my husband. for when he went he sayd for fretpaynt: he wold be at home with in: 10: dayes if matters favoured will: if not he wold never come agaynt: the lord knowes what he will doe. for I doe not: this with my prayrs to allmightie god. for your health and my good sister: with remembrance of my love to you both: I take my leave remembrance ever your poor loving sister

Letice Kinnresley

Done here this
: 14: of october;

Figure 11 Letter side of L.a. 602 (Folger MS L.a.602)

Good Brethre

I sent John Drinson unto the sheryf. and when he came home: he sent
me this letter: yester day I sent unto the sheryf. unto the fyve: but
no coppies wold be had: he sent me word to send him: a. d. to morow.
and I should have the: 20: timber ters: I cold not put him in any
securitie: for I can hear nothing from my husband: if he cometh
in. and submit him selfe. all is gone: I protest unto you. I thinke he
will never doe it: if it utterly undoe me. and all my children.
I have sent you my nephew wavyngs letter: if it please you. to
be so good unto me. as send: to london what charges. it pertaineth ya.
will be willing to satisfie: the sheryfs returne is after. the
first day of november: be fore which time. my husband is to come
in: or it will be two late: this with my prayes to allmightie
god. for you: and my good sister: I leave you to his pious
providence: your poore troublesome sister

Letice Kinnorsley

Bagesfor this: 19:
of october:

Figure 12 Letter side of L.a. 603 (Folger MS L.a.603)

Good Brother my husband told me since he was last with you: that you did not
 doubt but my father in law would saye the same words, when she is tendered unto
 him, which if he do I shall be very well satisfied, and yet much bound unto
 you for it: but if he refuse good brother be so good unto me, if he saw you
 may, as com you him unto it, that my poor children may be sure of some
 what: but before you enter into law with my father in law, good brother
 if in your wisdom you shall thinke good: tel my husband this, that you
 have heard his wife, that I live a pure and discontented life: and it may be
 now he is friends with his mother, it will be worse: and require thus much
 at his hands, that he will enter into bond to you, if I dislike of living with
 with him, to allow me some thing to live what you shall thinke good: and leave
 him: ~~as she~~ and that he will be the surety of my children, that if I die, he
 cannot put it from them: which if he refuse to ^{the former} ~~do~~, yet good brother do what
 you can for my childrens good: and for my selfe I need be contented, with
 what it pleaseth god to bring upon me: I write not this that I am willing
 to leave my husband, for I protest it would be the greatest crosse that ever
 came unto me: but deare brother what his hartie nature might do, with
 ill persecutions I know not: I assure my selfe, you will do what you can
 for me: and for a recompense I will ever pray for you, and yours: this
 commending my best wishes to your selfe, and my good sister, with many
 thanks for my teares: I leave you to the mercifull providence of our good
 god: Done this: 8. of Aprill

Your pure loving sister ever
 Lettie Kinnerley

Figure 13 Letter side of L.a. 604 (Folger MS L.a.604)

Good brother on thers day last. I was with s^r Henry Townsend:
 whom I thank him. did promise me. to do the best he could for me.
 and did wryte his letter to s^r Thomas Chamberlaine: in my husbands
 behalfe: and wold have had him. to deliver it him self: but I
 perceave by his letter to me. he wold not do so: his wren must
 appeare in that court the: 2: day of June. and there is a process
 for my husband. to appeare the same day: but I wold not tel
 him of it: good brother let me know your counsell in hit: what
 I wene best to do: some think. I wene best to seek unto my
 lord yergerent. by petition: I have sent you herewith a shert.
 my nephew wryttings letter: if it wold not me two much
 trouble. to my nephew Bagot: I wold I could intreat him to
 take so much paynes for me. as to accompanie me to the court:
 this knower can tel you. in what necessitous case I am in: and
 much worse I had bin. but for him: I have at this time but
 4: servants: and 3: of them not valie to serve me: god
 in his mercie give me patience: I thank you. and my good
 sister. for my good prays: I am much bound unto you for
 her: this commending my never fayning love. to you both.
 with my harttie prays. to allmightie god for you: I take
 my leave: remembryng ever your good loving sister

Lettie Kinnorsley

Bays here this:
 :23: of may:

Figure 14 Letter side of L.a. 605 (Folger MS L.a.605)

L.a. 606 (to Walter Bagot, 3.23.1619/20)

Leaf 1r. (Glossary p. 69-70)

1 Good brother.
2 I vnderstand [that] m[aste]r kynn[er]sley hath not at yet obtained any order at the
3 counsaill for an ende of his busines. My lord President hath vsed -
4 him very honorably: vpon Saterdag [the] co[ur]te reformed [the] exa[m]i[n]acou[n] of the
5 matter to S[i]r. Frannc[s] Evers & m[aste]r overbury, who were eyther to
6 ende it if they could; or els to c[er]tefie [the] State thereof to [the] co[ur]te.
7 They Spent three afternoones therein, & were in [the] end resolued
8 [that] [the] suite at co[m]en lawe & before the counsel were for one & [the] same
9 thinge: and therefro thought fitt [that] m[aste]r kynn[er]sley should pay 400[£].
10 to vaughan in full satisfactou[n] of all demande[s]; w[hi]ch they earnestly
11 pressed. vaughan & his frende[s] were contnt therew[i]th; & m[aste]r kynn[er]sley
12 had some space given him to consider thereof & to delyu[er] them an
13 answ[er]. vpon tuesday night. he forthw[i]th gaue them knowledge that
14 ~~the~~ he would willingly imbrace their mocou[n], and submitt himself
15 to the ordr of the co[ur]te. wherevpon they reported to [the] co[ur]te vpon wednesday
16 morneinge last howe they founde [the] cause and how fare they
17 had p[er]vailed for an end: the co[ur]te seemed well satisfied therew[i]th
18 & appointed [that] wednesday in [the] afternoone, m[aste]r kynn[er]sley & vaughan
19 should agree amongst them selues vpon securitie, w[hi]ch was yelded
20 vnto in this sorte by both sides; [that] a lease of [the] house & demesne
21 of Bageso[er] should be made to vaughan for tenn yeares w[i]th proviso
22 vpon paym[ent]. of [the] 400[£]. three yeares³ hence to be voide. this
23 morneinge when [the] co[ur]te should finally haue ordred it; vaughan
24 refused to abide their ordr; w[hi]ch [the] co[ur]te seemed much to distaste
25 in him. & I hope will falle out for [the] best to m[aste]r kynn[er]sley. -
26 m[aste]r kynn[er]sley earnestly desries S[i]r John Pearsalls lo[rd]s[hip] again to
27 m[aste]r Iustice, who hitherto hath dealt very worthely w[i]th him -
28 &. he noe way doubt[s] [the] like contynuaunce when or howe he shall
29 come by an ende there ys as yet noe c[er]antye. I haue sent
30 yo[ur] horse by this bearer, w[hi]ch I thought not to haue done
31 but in regarde of ^yo[ur] p[er]sent employment for him: I had provided
32 hay & proveude for him, & must desrie you to spare him for
33 m[aste]r kynn[er]sley againe at his returne from Ludlow. yf S[i]r
34 Iohn would be pleased to write I could wish his lo[rd]s[hip] might
35 be here w[i]th what convenient speede may be: for vpon
36 monday or tuesday at the furthest m[aste]r kynn[er]sley expecte[s]
37 to heare from me. Soe w[i]th remembrance of my love to yo[ur]
38 self & my good sistre in hast I comitte you to god:
39 Bageso.[er] xxiiijth
40 of m[ar]ch 1619
41 your poore louing sister
42 Letice Kinnersley

<In the left-hand margin>

43 I should knolidge afine. if the agree: good brother will you wryte unto me: what you giue
44 me counsel to doe. I will be direckted bye you: but I haue no resone. to pas away aney of my
45 estate to pay him: for I haue bin used with all crueltie:

³ The passage *three yeares hence* has been underlined. The ink used for the underlining does not match that of the scribe, but could possibly be that of 'Richard', who wrote on the verso side of this document.

Good brother

I understand by Mr. Synners that not as yett obtained any order at the
 compass for an order of this business. Mr. Lord & President have wth
 him very honorable. upon Saturday the 10th of the month of August of this
 matter to Mr. Thomas Leas & Mr. Overbury w^{ch} were before to
 order it if they would, or else to Peter of that court to the
 of the Court the afternoon of the 11th & were in the end resolved
 to give him at every law & hope the compass were for me & of some
 money and therefore thought that Mr. Synners should pay 400
 to waugon in full satisfaction of all demands w^{ch} they earnestly
 pressed. waugon & his friends were content to receive the same
 and some spare money to consider the good & to draw from an
 order. w^{ch} they might have done with good reason & industry
 to the would willingly have done the more and submit himself
 to the order of the Court. w^{ch} they might have done with good reason
 morninge last for the same. w^{ch} they might have done with good reason
 said should do any order. w^{ch} they might have done with good reason
 & appointed to Wednesday in the afternoon. Mr. Synners & waugon
 should agree amongst them selves upon something w^{ch} was good
 but in this sort by the said Peter of a lease of the same & demand
 of waugon should be made to waugon for some years w^{ch} was good
 upon payment of 400^l. w^{ch} they might have done with good reason
 morninge w^{ch} they might have done with good reason
 careful to abide your order w^{ch} they might have done with good reason
 in this & of your will shall do for the best to Mr. Synners.
 Mr. Synners earnestly desired Mr. Joly of Darrells but againe to
 Mr. Justice w^{ch} he desired to have dealt very worthily w^{ch} he
 & he not way doubt of his contentment. w^{ch} they might have done with good reason
 some by an order w^{ch} they might have done with good reason
 to be by his hand w^{ch} they might have done with good reason
 but in regard of the said money for him of each provided
 day & provided for him & must desire you to spare him for
 Mr. Synners againe at his returne from Ludlow. w^{ch} they might have done with good reason
 they would be pleased to wait if would w^{ch} they might have done with good reason
 we are w^{ch} they might have done with good reason
 Monday or Tuesday at the furthest Mr. Synners expecte
 to spare from now. w^{ch} they might have done with good reason
 first & my good sister in faith I commit you to god.

I should knowe of you if the more: your brother will you write unto me: what you give
 me enough to do: I will be directed by you: but I have no power to give away any of my
 estate to any man: for I have bin with all my estate:

Waugon
 & others

your your loving sister
 Lettie Kinnysley

Figure 15 Letter side of L.a. 606 (Folger MS L.a.606)

L.a. 607 (to Walter Bagot, 3.10.1620[?])

Leaf 1r. (Glossary p. 70)

1 Good Brother. bye my cosen Thomas wolriche his menes: the baron Bromley is uery
2 willing to bring gorge uaughan. to as reasonable anend as he can: and to set
3 downe an agreement be twene my husband. and him: the baron will com home
4 the :25: day of march: and the :21: day my cosen wolriche wil meete me. at
5 the barons: my husband hath uery great somes of money to discharge:
6 which of nessecitie must be payd: and my desier is that my husband
7 wold be stow Tom Kinnersley in maryage and bye that menes: with
8 the sale of some woodes. he might dis charge the greatest part: there
9 is a mosune that Tom Kinnersley. should marye my cosen wolriche. his
10 second sister: she is :15: years of age: her father left her a thousand
11 pounds: for her porshun. what her mother will giue her more. I know
12 not: but when so euer he doeth marye. I wold not haue him goe all to
13 geather for money: but where he may haue good freinds: and one:
14 which is com of a good stock: good brother let my husband. and I haue
15 your aduise^{^in} this matter. which doeth so much con serune our estate: I haue
16 no freind to relie upon: but oneley your selfe: there fore I desier your
17 counsel in it: this commending my faythfull loue to ~~m~~ your selfe. and
18 my good sister: with my prayers to allmighttie god for your healt(h)
19 I take my leaue: remeneing euer your louing sister
20 Letice Kinnersley
21 Bagesore this:
22 :10: of march:

Good Brother, byr my selen Thomas welliche his wyffe that is dead by January
 willing to bringe George Wainham, to as reasonable purchace as he can: and to set
 shewe an agreement betwene my husband, and him: the same will com home
 the 25: day of march: and there: day my selen as a witness will write wth me, at
 the barons: my husband hath my great share of money to his charge:
 which of necessity must be paid: and my desire is, that my husband
 wold be shew Tom Kinnerly in my name, that he might: with
 the sale of some woodes, he might his charge be payed: yet: there
 is a purpose that Tom Kinnerly, should marrye my selen welliche, his
 second sister: she is: 15: yeres of age: her father left her a hundred
 pounds: for her persoun, what her mother will give her more, I know
 not: but when so ever he doth marrye, I wold not have him, nor all to
 synther for money: but where he may have some lands: and one
 which is some of a good stock: and brother be my husband, and I know
 your wissh in this matter, which dothe he wold he can bringe my selen to
 no feind to relye upon: but surely your selfe, there fore I shalbe your
 counsell in it: this commending my hartfull love to my selen, and
 my good sister: with my prayers to Almighty god, for your health
 I take my leave: remembryng mee your loving selen
 John Kinnerly

Donefore this:
 : 20: of march:

Figure 16 Letter side of L.a. 607 (Folger MS L.a.607)

Good Brother

Let me intreat you, to doe so much at my request: as to licence
 Thomas conyer to seee Mr. and he will geve my sone Robert
 Aston, to ioyne with you: my father in law wnt him downe:
 for no cause, but for furnishing him so ready to please, my
 husband and I, for I have bin much beholding unto him:
 this, with remembrance of my never sayling love to your
 selfe, and my good sister: my sister Trew, and my niece
 Broughton. With my dayly prayers to all mightie god
 for you: I take my leave remembryng ever your loving sister

Letice Kinnersley

Figure 17 Letter side of L.a. 608 (Folger MS L.a.608)

5.1 Verso sides and additional documents

L.a. 594 (to Richard Bagot, 18.1.1595[?])

Leaf 1v.

-

Leaf 2r.

1 Cybad father (m)my houmble

Leaf. 2v.

1 To the worshipful my
2 very good fther m[aste]r Bagot
3 at Blithfilde giue these

<In the right-hand margin>

4 Letice Bagot to her
5 father Rich[ar]d: Bagot

L.a. 595 (to Walter Bagot, 2.2.1602[?])

Leaf 1v.

-

Leaf 2r.

1 To the worshipfull my very good and
2 louing brother m[aste]r walter Bagot
3 at Blithfielde giue these

<In the right-hand margin>

4 Lettice Kinnersley
5 to her brother Wal[te]r. Bagot

Leaf 2v.

-

L.a. 596 (to Walter Bagot, 3.21.1605/06)

Leaf 1v.

-

Leaf 2r.

-

Leaf 2v.

1 To the wor[shipful] my very good
2 brother m[aste]r Bagot at
3 blithfeild giue
4 these

<In the left-hand margin>

5 my sister kynnersley for
6 Tomas.

<In the right-hand margin>

7 Letice Kinnersley to her
8 Brother Wal[te]r. Bagot

L.a. 597 (to Walter Bagot, 5.20.1608[?])

Leaf 1v.

-

L.a. 598 (to Walter Bagot, 14.9.1608[?])

Leaf 1v.

-

Leaf 2r.

-

Leaf 2v.

1 (To th)e worshipfull my uery
2 (good) brother m[aste]r Bagot at
3 (Blit)hfeild giue these

<In the right-hand margin>

4 Letice Kinnersley
5 to Walter Bagot her
6 Brother

L.a. 599 (to Walter Bagot, 5.9.1610[?])

Leaf 1v.

-

Leaf 2r.

-

Leaf 2v. (Glossary p. 66)

1 To the wor[shipful] my uery louing brother
2 wallter Bagot esquier ~~giue~~
3 at Blithfeild giue these

<In the right-hand margin>

4 Letice Kinnersley to her
5 Brother Wal[te]r. Bagot

L.a. 600 (to Elizabeth (Cave) Bagot, 5.20.1610[?])

Leaf 1v.

1 To my most kind and louing sister
2 m[ist]r[es]s Bagot at Blithfeild giue
3 these

<In the right-hand margin>

4 Letice Kinnersly
5 to M[ist]r[es]s. Bagot

L.a. 601 (to Walter Bagot, 7.8.1610[?])

Leaf 1v.

-

Leaf 2r.

-

Leaf 2v. (Glossary p. 67)

1 To the wor[shipful] my uery louing
2 brother wallter Bagot
3 esquier at Blithfeild
4 giue these

L.a. 602 (to Walter Bagot, 9.14.1610[?])

Leaf 1v.

-

Leaf 2r.

-

Leaf 2v.

1 To the wor[shipful] my most louing brother
2 wallter Bagot esquer at
3 Blithfeild giue these

<In the right-hand margin>

4 Lettce Kinnersly
5 to W[alte]r. Bagot

L.a. 603 (to Walter Bagot, 10.19.1610[?])

Leaf 1v.

1 Letice Kinnersly to her
2 Brother W[alte]r. Bagot

L.a. 604 (to Walter Bagot, 4.8.1618[?])

Leaf 1v.

<In the right-hand margin>

1 Letice Kinnersley to
2 her Brother Wal[te]r. Bagot

L.a. 605 (to Walter Bagot, 5.23.1618[?])

Leaf 1v.

-

Leaf 2r.

-

Leaf 2v.

1 To the wor[shipful] my most kind and
2 louing Brother wallter
3 Bagot esquier at blithfeild
4 giue these Si

5 Terra terram tegat Demon peccata resu[m]at
6 mundus res habeat spiritus alta petat⁴

<In the left-hand margin>

7 15-12-6
8 16-3-4

<In the right-hand margin>

9 litera scripta manet

L.a. 606 (to Walter Bagot, 3.23.1619/20)

Leaf 1v. (Glossary p. 70)

1 S[i]r. That yo[ur] sister should levy a Fine co??d ??o of this lande whereby
2 the enheritance might passe is somewhat perilous because the husband alone
3 may by this deed direct the vses of a Fine levied by himsele & his wife: &
4 although a deed should be sealed by him & his wife to lead the vses of the Fine
5 yet if the husband will after the sealing of this deede & before the Fine levi??
6 make another deed, this later deed should g??d the vses. I know not what Cause
7 of deabt may be made of what dealing. But the securest way wilbe to
8 levie a Fine s?? Conc??ssit for tenne yeres, w[hi]ch Can altr the estate for
9 no longr ???e then that terme only. I Remembr my love & serv??? to y[our]
10 self & y[our] good wife & am.
11 Y[our] euer loving Freind

⁴ The author of lines 5-6 and 9, written in Latin, has been identified by Wolfe as Walter Bagot (Wolfe 2014). She also provides a translation: “Let earth cover earth, let the Devil take back my sins, let the world have my goods, let my spirit seek high Heaven” (Wolfe 2014) and “the written word remains” (ibid.)

12

Rich[ard] T??ton

13

march 25

14

1619. 1620

Leaf 2r.

-

Leaf 2v.

1

To [the] wor[shipful] my very good brother

2

walter Bagott esq[er] at

3

Blithfield giue

4

these

L.a. 607 (to Walter Bagot, 3.10.1620[?])

Leaf 1v.

-

Leaf 2r.

-

Leaf 2v.

1

to the wor[shipful] my most louing

2

Brother wallter Bagot esquire

3

at blithfeild giue

4

these

L.a. 608 (to Walter Bagot ??1622[?])

Leaf 1v.

-

Leaf 2r.

-

Leaf 2v.

1

To the wor[shipful] my uery louing

2

Brother wallter Bagot esquier

3

at Blithfeild giue these

(12) table v.	table: “to eat habitually at a specified place or with a specified person”
[OED Online, s.v. table v.]	
(13) determened adj.	determined: decided
[OED Online, s.v. determined adj.]	
(15) mendethe v.	mendeth: heals, is healing
[OED Online, s.v. mend v.]	
(19) providence n. sg.	providence: “The foreknowing and protective care” (‘of the Almighty’)
[OED Online, s.v. providence n.]	

L.a. 596 (to Walter Bagot, 3.21.1605/06)

Leaf 1r.

(1) to bid v.	to offer
[OED Online s.v. bid v.]	
(2) wherefore adv.	for the aforementioned reason
[OED Online s.v. wherefore adv.]	
(6) intreate v.	intreat: beseech, request
[OED Online, s.v. entreat v.]	
(8) wickes n. sg.	week's
(9) setes n. pl.	seeds
(10) ies n. pl.	eyes
(17) axe v.	ask
(18) cloes n. pl.	clothes

L.a. 597 (to Walter Bagot, 5.20.1608[?])

Leaf 1r.

(3) bie adv.	by
(3) will v.	give order, demand
[OED Online s.v. will v.]	
(5) aday adv.	per day
[OED Online s.v. aday adv.]	
(7) sent Iamestite phr.	<i>Saint James' Day</i> (July 25 th), a Catholic celebration in the honor of the namesake disciple of Jesus
(11) co^untenance n. sg.	countenance: support
[OED Online s.v. countenance n.]	
(12) roung n. sg.	wrong

(14) **the** pron. pl. they

L.a. 598 (to Walter Bagot, 14.9.1608[?])

Leaf 1r.

(2) **prouiston** n. sg. the intended word here is most likely *provision*: a supply, a stock

[OED Online s.v. provision n.]

(2) **beare** n. sg. beer

(2) **mault** n. sg. malt: “Barley or other grain prepared for brewing, distilling, or vinegar-making”

[OED Online s.v. malt n.]

(2) **abufe** adv. above

[OED Online s.v. above adv.]

(3) **agone** adv. ago

[OED Online s.v. agone adv.]

(6) **corsses** n. pl. curses

(8) **espehallye** adv. especially

(9) **ile** adj. ill: here in the sense of vicious, cruel

[OED Online s.v. ill adv.]

(13) **seete** n. sg. sight

(14) **geate** v. get

(20) **tokeun** n. sg. token: here either money or a keepsake of somekind

[OED Online s.v. token n.]

L.a. 599 (to Walter Bagot, 5.9.1610[?])

Leaf 1r.

(2) **erdest** adj. earnest: serious

[OED Online s.v. earnest adj.]

(2) **ocasion** n. sg. occasion

(4) **aleget** n. sg. elegit – in full, *writ of elegit*: “A writ of execution by which a creditor is put in possession of all or some of the goods and lands of a debtor, until his or her claim is satisfied”

[OED Online s.v. elegit n.]

(5) **atenand** n. sg. tenant, with the indefinite article *a* attached to the word

(6) **set** v. A number of now obsolete usages are possible, the most likely one here being “to place (a person or thing) in one's possession or control, or in a condition to be used, dealt with, or occupied”

[OED Online s.v. set v.]

(6) **liueing** n. sg. living, referring to property such as estate and lands

[OED Online s.v. living n.]

(7) **hundreth** adj. hundred

(8) **to** adj. two

(14) **taringing** n. sg. tarrying (here: staying, living)

(16) **then** conj. than

(17) **two** adv. too

(19) **beunminde full** adj. unmindful: not mindful of something, with the verb be attached to the word

[OED Online, s.v. unmindful adj.]

(27) **there** pron. pl. their

Leaf 2v.

(2) **esquier** n. sg. esquire: can refer to various officers in the service of a king or nobleman

[OED Online s.v. esquire n.]

L.a. 600 (to Elizabeth (Cave) Bagot, 5.20.1610[?])

Leaf 1r.

(5) **hit** pron. sg. it

L.a. 601 (to Walter Bagot, 7.8.1610[?])

Leaf 1r.

(3) **yerseles** n. sg. While using the word *year* to refer to harvest is quite rare (albeit not unheard of), the context would imply the author to be referring to the proceeds from selling the harvest gathered from the grounds that she should now be entitled to, *year sales*.

[OED Online s.v. year n.]

(4) **pertishun** n. sg. partition

(4) **wryt** n. sg. writ: a written record

[OED Online s.v. writ. n]

(4-5) in roled adj.	The adjective derivative of the verb <i>enroll</i> : here indicating the author has sent the writ with the letter.
[OED Online s.v. enrolled adj.]	
(6) medeoweing n. sg.	meadowing: land used or suitable for the cultivation of grass
[OED Online s.v. meadowing n.]	
(7) sises n. pl.	size: all legal proceedings of the nature of inquests or recognitions, fiscal, civil, or criminal, here referring to the apparent feud between rights to land between Kinnersley's family and Vaughn
[OED Online s.v. size n.]	
(8) hard v.	heard
(16) recete v.	reset: receive, harbor, shelter
[OED Online s.v. reset v.]	
(16) tretters n. pl.	traitors
(19) prosses n. sg.	process: here, prosecution
[OED Online s.v. process n.]	
(22) beece n. sg.	beseech

L.a. 602 (to Walter Bagot, 9.14.1610[?])

Leaf 1r.

(2) anexseeding adj.	indefinite article an + exceeding: excessive
[OED Online s.v. exceeding adj.]	
(6) courses n. pl.	courses
(8) anin tent n. sg.	indefinite article an + intent
(8) to bedge v.	to badge: to mark with
[OED Online s.v. badge v.]	
(8) lease n. sg.	figurative usage, “with reference to the permanence of occupation guaranteed by a lease”
[OED Online s.v. lease n.]	
(9) aryt n. sg.	indefinite article a + writ (‘of rebellion’): a writ, or commission of rebellion is “a writ empowering a person to apprehend as a rebel someone who has not appeared before a court on being summoned”
[OED Online s.v. commission n.]	
(20) profored v.	proffered: suggested, proposed
[OED Online s.v. proffer v.]	

(22) **chardgeable** adj. chargeable: burdensome, troublesome
[OED Online s.v. chargeable adj.]

(24) **framed** v. “if things go well”
[OED Online s.v. frame v.]

(32) **fayne** v. fain: desire, wish
[OED Online s.v. fain. v.]

L.a. 603 (to Walter Bagot, 10.19.1610[?])

Leaf 1r.

(3) **feare** n. sg. fere: companion, partner, comrade
[OED Online s.v. fere n.]

(4) **coppies** n. sg. coppice: “a small wood or thicket consisting of
underwood and small trees grown for the purpose of
periodical cutting”
[OED Online s.v. coppice n.]

L.a. 604 (to Walter Bagot, 4.8.1618[?])

Leaf 1r.

(2) **sayle** v. seal: to mark with a seal so as to express approval
[OED Online s.v. seal v.]

(2) **couinantes** n. pl. covenants: agreements
[OED Online s.v. covenant n.]

(2) **tendered** adj. presented for acceptance
[OED Online s.v. tendered adj.]

(18) **perswtions** n. pl. persuasion: here, the state of being conditioned into
certain type of behaviour
[OED Online s.v. persuasion n.]

L.a. 605 (to Walter Bagot, 5.23.1618[?])

Leaf 1r.

(10) **lord presedent** phr. Lord President: here, the head of a court of justice
[OED Online s.v. president n.]

(10) **petishun** n. sg. petition

(10) **hearein closed** adj. (here) enclosed

(13) **asacumpany** v. conjunction as + accompany: go with

L.a. 606 (to Walter Bagot, 3.23.1619/20)

Leaf 1r.

- (3) **counsail** n. sg. council: “the local administrative body of a corporate town or city”
[OED Online s.v. council n.]
- (3) **lord President** phr. Lord President: here, the head of a court of justice
[OED Online s.v. president n.]
- (4) **reformed** v. Here: to either renew or change a previous decision by the court
[OED Online s.v. reform v.]
- (4) **exa[m]i[n]acou[n]** n. sg. examination: “Judicial inquiry into the guilt or innocence of an accused person”
[OED Online s.v. examination n.]
- (6) **c[er]tefie** v. certify
(6) **State** n. sg. Here, most likely used in the meaning of statement
[OED Online s.v. state n.]
- (7) **resolved** adj. resolved: decided
- (8) **suite** n. sg. suit: legal process, lawsuit
- (8) **co[m]en lawe** n. sg. common law: “The general law of a community, as opposed to local or personal customs”
[OED Online s.v. common law n.]
- (10) **earnestly** adv. Here: fully, with serious intent
[OED Online s.v. earnestly n.]
- (11) **pressed** v. “insisted on” (the course of action)
- (11) **contnt** adj. content
- (14) **mocou[n]** n. sg. motion
- (16) **fare** adv. far
- (17) **p[er]vailed** v. prevail: to succeed in attaining or achieving
[OED Online s.v. prevail v.]
- (18) **appointed** v. determined (authoritatively)
[OED Online s.v. appoint v.]
- (19) **securitie** n. sg. security: property “deposited or pledged by or on behalf of a person as a guarantee of the payment of a debt, and liable to forfeit in the event of default”
[OED Online s.v. security n.]
- (19) **yelded** v. yield: to pay, give
[OED Online s.v. yield v.]

(20) **demesne** n. sg. An estate held in demesne is “land possessed or occupied by the owner himself, and not held of him by any subordinate tenant”

[OED Online s.v. demesne n.]

(21) **proviso** n. sg. “A clause in a legal or formal document, making some condition, stipulation, exception, or limitation; a clause upon the observance of which the operation or validity of the instrument depends”

[OED Online s.v. proviso n.]

(22) **hence** adv. a given amount of time from now

[OED Online s.v. hence adv.]

(24) **to distaste** v. To find offensive or distasteful

[OED Online s.v. distaste v.]

(25) **fall out** v. fall out: to come to pass

[OED Online s.v. fall v.]

(27) **hitherto** adv. until now, so far

[OED Online s.v. hitherto]

(29) **c[er]antye** n. sg. Here: either guarantee or certainty

Leaf 1v.

(1) **levy** v. to impose something on someone: in this case, a fine

[OED Online s.v. levy v.]

L.a. 607 (to Walter Bagot, 3.10.1620[?])

Leaf 1r.

(2) **anend** n. sg. indefinite article an + end, here meaning agreement

(7) **be stow** v. bestow

(9) **mosune** n. sg. motion

(15) **con serune** v. concern

L.a. 608 (to Walter Bagot ???.1622[?])

Leaf 1r.

(6) **beholding** adj. beholden: indebted to

[OED Online s.v. beholden adj.]

6 Study of Elizabethan punctuation

Now, I shall move on to my punctuation study. In the introduction of this thesis I explained my aim to examine the punctuation of my materials. I decided to examine Lettice Kinnersley's punctuation because of an observation I made during the reading and transcribing of the letters. There appears to be a syntactic component to Lettice's punctuation, and I wished to investigate this further. Examining punctuation from this era requires a rather comprehensive prefacing due to the complex and variable systems of punctuation that were in use. In this chapter, I will explore previous attempts at studying Elizabethan punctuation. My analysis will be syntactic, and this approach has its controversies because it is a matter of debate whether it is reasonable to assume that punctuation from this period would adhere to rules that could be described as grammatical.

In this chapter, I will briefly explore the historical developments that brought punctuation to a point where it could be argued to have had a syntactic function. After this, I will examine previous attempts by scholars to establish what the rules governing punctuation were. Once this is done, I will move on to the objectives and methodology of my own study.

6.1 Historical background

Before getting more in-depth into the motivation behind my approach, it is useful to examine the central developments that brought Elizabethan punctuation to a point where it could be argued to have had a syntactic function for some writers. I will now briefly examine the historical background of punctuation, and focus on the state of punctuation in the 16th and 17th centuries. After this, studies examining punctuation from this era will be discussed.

Punctuation first developed as a tool to indicate to the reader when it is most appropriate to breathe when delivering the contents of text orally (Parkes 1992:1). Over time other factors, namely sense and syntax came to be regarded as the principles by which punctuation should be applied (Parkes 1992:1-2). The function of punctuation has evolved with the development of the written word. Punctuation has historically been a tool used to express factors of both the spoken and written mediums: at its earliest stages, the written word was but "a record of the spoken word" (Parkes 1992:1), and as such, the earliest conventions of punctuation

served the spoken medium rather than a developed, standardized writing system. In practical terms, this means that it was used to indicate factors such as breathing breaks and pauses. Eventually, the written word broke off from the spoken medium “as a separate manifestation of language with a status equivalent to, but independent of that of any spoken counterpart” (1992:1). As this separate manifestation developed, it was necessary to refine it and invent new ways of efficiently and accurately conveying information in writing. In the case of punctuation, this means that new punctuation marks were gradually introduced to meet the ever-increasing requirements that new generations of writers placed on the written medium, and the usage of these punctuation marks became more standardized (1992:2).

The earliest identifiable system of punctuation was one making use of marks called *distinctiones*. It was a system put forth by classical grammarians. Parkes describes it as a three-fold division of *sententiae*, where one of three pauses of different lengths was indicated by a single point, or *punctus*, “placed at different heights in an ascending order of importance” (Parkes 1992:13). While the early grammarians probably had some grammatical considerations in mind, Ong argues that grammar and syntax were always secondary to breathing in terms of importance. The relation to sense is recognized but the practical, temporal aspect is more important (1944:351). Punctuation may “in a rough way and sporadically follow the syntax” (ibid.), but this is coincidental: the *distinctiones* instructed the reader as to when to pause and take breath between units of sense rather than at random, as the latter practice would have an adverse rhetorical effect (ibid.).

The discussion of punctuation in the medieval era is largely limited to its manifestation in religious texts, and the changes that occurred in punctuation in this period are reflected by the needs of the time. The most important factor was the suitability of texts for oral delivery (Parkes 1992:35). Few Christians were literate and as such public “readings in the liturgy provided the only opportunity for them to hear the Word of God” (Parkes 1992:35). The standard of oral delivery, and consequently the standard of rhetorical punctuation was high (ibid.). These factors resulted in the development of a new system of punctuation marks, the *positurae*. By the tenth century, the *positurae* consisted of four symbols. The *punctus versus* indicates the end of a *sententia* containing a statement, the *punctus interrogativus* the end of a *sententia* containing a question, the *punctus elevatus* a major medial pause where the *sensus* is completely but the *sententia* is not, and the *punctus flexus* a minor medial pause where the *sensus* is incomplete (Parkes 1992:36). All but one of these symbols have since disappeared

from usage and are too elaborate to describe here: the one exception is the punctus versus, which is comparable to the modern semi-colon in its appearance ‘;’. The general observation has been made that medieval punctuation “appeared to indicate pause, and possibly in liturgical text, intonation patterns” (Salmon 2000:14), and the symbols of the system described above are clearly intended to function as rhetorical and intonation cues. On the basis of his review of medieval authors, Ong concludes that the Early Christian grammatical tradition with regard to punctuation was still the norm at this point (1944:351). Ong elaborates on this somewhat, however: he adds that medieval authors also show a leaning “toward a recognition of sense as a determinant of punctuation” (1944:353). The weight was starting to slightly shift towards a factor independent of spoken expression, one that is more comparable to syntax. Rhetorical factors and attention to sense formed a blended system where these two factors worked both in conjunction and against each other, but the function of punctuation can still not be viewed as a syntactic system (ibid.).

With regard to the Elizabethan era, “by the late 16th century there were all the marks now in use and a few others which disappeared in the 17th century” (Petti 1977:25). Like their predecessors, many Elizabethan grammarians continue to refer to breathing when they discuss punctuation. Their discussion of the subject reflects both the terminology and practice of classical grammatical theory (Ong 1944:355). Ong examined seven accounts by Elizabethan grammarians. Of these accounts, those of Mulcaster (1582), Heywood (1612), Daines (1640) and Jonson (1692) leave no doubt as to the fact that they viewed punctuation first and foremost as a device to indicate breathing and pauses (Rodriguez-Alvarez 2010:36-37). The writings of these grammarians demonstrate that the classical-medieval emphasis on breathing and speech pauses was still very much present in the punctuation theory of the era. A few marked developments in the 15th and 16th centuries had started to cause a shift in this trend, however. For one, both mainland European and English humanists had started developing an interest in a style of punctuation that had more syntactic qualities (Parkes 1992: 41-61, Salmon 1988:47-60). Secondly, it was now possible for these humanist views to spread more efficiently via the printing press. This development is summarized by Parkes:

The humanists' contributions to the general repertory of punctuation were important in themselves, but their attitude to usage which prompted such innovations was even more so. In their own writings, as well as in copies of other texts which they produced, the humanists demanded a more exact disambiguation of the constituent elements of a sentence, and their example transmitted through the printed page exerted a powerful influence on later generations of writers.

Parkes (2000:48)

Naturally, the humanist influence promoting syntactic punctuation would be more obvious in the writings of certain individuals than in those of others. Being privy to these new trends not only necessitated functional literacy, but also access to and interest in higher education. Therefore, punctuation continued to be used in the older fashion throughout the English Renaissance: in general terms, “the major pauses were generally observed, and some attempt was made to present the material according to manageable units of sense, inadequate though these were” (Petti 1977:25). Only now, there would also be the occasional penman whose punctuation was somewhat closer to the syntactic punctuation of modern written English. In addition to this, punctuation continued to vary in terms of the type of text being punctuated (Salmon 2000:43), with scholarly publications particularly starting to exhibit punctuation sensitive to syntax (Salmon 2000:43-44). Private writing continued to be ambiguous as to what punctuation 'rules' an individual writer was adhering to. On the whole, the average Elizabethan letter-writer was not concerned with “constructing syntactically 'correct' sentences” (Williams 2013b)⁵, and the application of punctuation in manuscripts overall was less consistent than in printed books (Petti 1977:25).

The punctuation of 16th century writers, then, poses a challenge to conducting research. The lack of an easily graspable or generally applicable system of punctuation in this period has perhaps dissuaded research into the subject, as it easily seems so random to modern readers. The perceived illiteracy in orthography and punctuation has even led to heavy editing of Elizabethan writing in later editions of texts. This is especially true of female writers (Williams 2013a:65). The attitude is also visible in Salmon's discussion of manuscript

⁵ This brief article by Williams is an introduction to utilizing speech acts as an aide to reading the letters of Bess of Hardwick: her punctuation is quite incoherent when it is present at all, and does not offer much in the way of helpful textual structuring for the purpose of reading.

punctuation of the era, and she expresses the sentiment thus:

It would be neither possible, nor particularly rewarding, to attempt a detailed analysis of the punctuation of individual writers in this period, since so much depended on education, on the writer's purpose and general predilections.

Salmon (2000:31)

Initially, this attitude is easy to understand. Punctuation is perhaps the most confusing aspect of Elizabethan manuscripts. The modern rules of punctuation are firmly associated with grammar – in the time the manuscripts edited in this thesis were written in, however, the rules of punctuation were governed by a variety of different factors and attitudes to punctuation that I have explored above, and in many practical cases of punctuation it has been a point of some contention if it was governed by any rules whatsoever. In general terms, manuscript punctuation of the period has been described as “lawless and haphazard” (Tannenbaum 1930:139) and “erratic” (Salmon 2000:43), among other similar descriptors. It is notable that Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton have in fact produced an incomplete transcription of letter l.a. 597 in this collection (1969:94), the punctuation of which they refer to as a “largely meaningless scattering of full stops and colons” (1969:18). While these descriptions may be accurate of some manuscripts, they are not a fair overall assessment of the punctuation of the era, nor of that of Lettice or her scribe. There must be a grounding of some kind in the punctuation practices of any writer, even if the logic behind it is initially difficult to perceive. Combating the notions of Elizabethan women's punctuation as non-sensical and haphazard, Williams writes:

However, all language, including that of early modern women, is necessarily rule-governed behavior. And as historical linguists know these rules change over time, it goes without saying that a lack of those features regarded as the marks of appropriately regulated written expression today does not support the conclusion that earlier texts were somehow unruled.

Williams (2013a:65)

In other words, it is difficult to imagine that the punctuation of these women was completely random. Like any other aspect of language usage, their punctuation was governed by some set of rules, however peculiar they might seem due to their distance from what is the current norm. The challenge then becomes finding a way of understanding and presenting the punctuation in a way that makes sense in the context it was written in. My punctuation

analysis will attempt to determine what the rules governing Lettice's punctuation are, and it will attempt to do this with reference to syntactic considerations. Finding a relatively consistently applied system of punctuation in my materials would be a quite significant finding in and of itself, given the propensity of earlier scholars to disregard women's punctuation as a non-fruitful subject of study. Identifying a grammatical component in Lettice's punctuation method would indicate not only that women's punctuation was more carefully applied than it is assumed to be, but also that they were privy to the shifting function of punctuation as early on as at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries. In the following chapter, I will review previous studies examining punctuation from this era.

6.2 The case for syntactic punctuation

The punctuation practices of the Renaissance have been the subject of a considerable amount of study and debate⁶. What the debate tends to boil down to is whether punctuation was a rhetorical aid that was intended to instruct the reader in delivering the written material orally, or a means of separating the text into syntactic units (Rodriguez-Alvarez 2010:35, Salmon 1988:47). The earlier studies of Renaissance punctuation have often examined the works of playwrights such as Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, and found correlation between punctuation and performance indicators (Rodriguez-Alvarez 2010:36). This cannot be taken as very representative of the practice in written materials overall, however, as "the analyses are, in a way, corpus-biased due to the oral nature of the works studied" (ibid.). It is reasonable to assume that the punctuation of a text written explicitly to be performed orally will function differently than texts written for other purposes. In an effort to understand Renaissance punctuation on a more generally applicable level, Ong (1944), Salmon (1988) and Rodriguez-Alvarez (2010) have examined the theoretical accounts of punctuation that contemporary scholars have offered. The examination of theoretical accounts has resulted in varying interpretations because of the conflicting views of contemporary grammarians, as some emphasize elocution, and others the division of syntactic structures. In addition, Williams (2013a) has attempted applying a pragmatic approach to punctuation to identify a pattern to the application of punctuation marks in practice. Williams' (2013a) examination of punctuation of the letters of Joan and Maria Thynne, written between 1575 and 1611,

⁶ Rodriguez-Alvarez (2010) provides a succinct overview on the development of the debate regarding the nature of Early Modern punctuation.

examined the degree to which textual utterances were marked with punctuation. His paradigm does not address the significance of syntax in the application of punctuation directly, but on the basis of his results, he concludes that grammatical considerations may have been a factor (2013a:112).

Ong has argued that an explicitly syntactic component had not yet been introduced as a generally accepted alternative in English punctuation in the Elizabethan era, and that punctuation at this point in time still adhered to the punctuation theory of late classical and medieval grammarians. This “older system of the early grammarians in its Renaissance developments [...] has more affinity with elocutionary punctuation than it does with syntactical” (Ong 1944:359). While Ong generally makes the concession that sense and syntactic elements can be perceived to have a presence, he asserts that this is a by-product of the fact that it benefits elocution and breathing. This view has been criticized by Salmon (1988) and Rodriguez-Alvarez (2010), who argue that a markedly syntactic system for the usage of punctuation marks was in place in England by the Renaissance: one that served the purposes of the written medium rather than oral delivery. Ong's assertion is based on an overview of seven scholarly accounts of the time. However, as Rodriguez-Alvarez points out, Ong's sample is rather limited (2010:36), and not all of the accounts “unmistakably and primarily relate signs of punctuation to breathing pauses” (2010:37). Rodriguez-Alvarez conducted a study that examined Renaissance textbooks written for the purpose of teaching reading and writing (2010). Her objectives were to identify a general repertory of punctuation marks and assess the functions and importance given by contemporaries to such schoolbooks. The sample of Rodriguez-Alvarez is broader than that of Ong, and she concludes that Renaissance textbook authors place emphasis on both syntax and pauses, and that a general repertory of punctuation marks with agreed-upon usage conventions existed by this point in time (2010:46). Salmon's 1988 study analyses the manuscript punctuation of an English Renaissance scholar within a grammatical framework, and compares it to the punctuation theory of “two grammarians who wrote important works on the vernacular” (1988:51) in the same period. Her analysis shows a clear correspondence with the punctuation in practice and the views of the Renaissance grammarians. Notably, the analysis stands in sharp contrast to Ong's (1944) conclusions. The punctuation in practice and punctuation theory in comparison examined by Salmon suggests that a syntactic function that was considered the 'correct' one was in existence.

6.3 Previous studies of punctuation in practice

Thus far, I have outlined the central developments that occurred in Elizabethan punctuation, and the views on the subject that modern scholars have put forth mostly on the basis of theoretical accounts of punctuation. My thesis will attempt an analysis of punctuation in practice, and as such a more detailed account of similar, in-depth analyses is in order. I will present here two quite different approaches that were already touched upon above: those of Salmon (1988) and Williams (2013a).

Salmon (1988) examined the punctuation of an author named Henoah Clapham. Clapham was a skilled linguist and writer who assisted the printer William White in applying a 'correct' punctuation method to a challenging scholarly text before final printing. The text in question was *The Olive Leafe* (1603) by Alexander Top, the subject of which was "the descent of all alphabets from the Hebrew" (1988:51). William White, "not knowing what to make of this esoteric subject, had passed it to Clapham for his advice and assistance, and Clapham had tidied it up as well as he could before returning it" (ibid.) First, Salmon tracked down a manuscript written in Clapham's own hand and compared its punctuation to Clapham's revised punctuation system for the *Olive Leafe* to establish that Clapham is using a consistent punctuation scheme, concluding that "it will appear that their punctuation systems are practically identical" (Salmon 1988:51). After this, she analysed *The Olive Leafe* for grammatical punctuation. The results of the analysis displayed specialized, syntactic functions for specific punctuation symbols. Clapham's punctuation method broke "a) the paragraph into semantically linked units and b) the sentence into structurally separated units" (1988:52). As for Clapham's individual punctuation marks, Salmon summarizes their basic functions as follows:

Section I: the 'sense of the individual sentence is clarified by marking off its units by commas.

Section II: special grammatical relationships within the sentence (eg. between relative and antecedent) are marked by heavier stops.

Section III: semantic relationships between co-ordinate clauses are marked by a variety of punctuation, ranging from commas for a close relationship to colons for a loose one.

Salmon (1988:58)

Furthermore, in order to establish Clapham's punctuation method as a generally known one, she made reference “to two grammarians who wrote important works on the vernacular within a few years of Clapham's (reputed) death: Alexander Gil, whose *Logonomia Anglica* first appeared in 1619, and Charles Butler, whose *English Grammar* was published in 1633” (Salmon 1988:51). A comparison of these grammarians’ punctuation in practice showed that their methods had some superficial differences, such as different marks of punctuation being used for the same purposes, but in general terms, they were abiding by the same principles. Therefore, Salmon found Clapham’s revised punctuation method to be “in accordance with recognized, though not always consistently applied grammatical principles” (1988:59).

Salmon’s (1988) study, then, shows that a punctuation method that can be interpreted as syntactic was used by Clapham, and that his system was familiar to other grammarians. While this shows that a syntactic application of punctuation was known and used, there are some aspects to Salmon’s (1988) analysis that make a direct application of similar methods to my materials problematic. *The Olive Leafe* was a written work much more complex and demanding than private writing. This is somewhat alleviated by the fact that the manuscript used by Salmon to verify the consistency of Clapham’s punctuation method was not a scholarly work: rather, it was “an appeal for royal assistance, sent from prison” (1988:51). While still not quite comparable to familiar letter-writing, the appeal is still much more comparable to letter-writing than *The Olive Leafe*. Williams’ (2013a) study that examined the familial writings of Joan and Maria Thynne is a much closer comparison, as their genre and the writers of the letters he examined are representative of a similar group of writers that Lettice belonged to.

Williams (2013a) conducted a study that examined the correlation between punctuation and textual utterance markers in the letters of Joan and Maria Thynne (2013a:65-112), which were penned between 1575 and 1611. Williams’ examination is concerned with the usage of punctuation and its correlation with pragmatic concepts, rather than his authors’ adherence to grammatical rules. In order to explain what kinds of results Williams’ study resulted in, it is necessary to outline here some terminology and his usage of it. Utterance has been defined as the “pairing of a sentence and a context, namely the context in which the sentence was uttered” (Levinson 1983:18-19 in Culpeper and Kytö 2010:8). “Sentence” is arguably a grammatical concept, but Williams notes that “utterance” does not equal “sentence” in his

treatment (2013a:67). As perhaps the most succinct elaboration on his usage of “utterance”, Williams provides the following:

As a general rule though, my definition demands that an utterance be able to stand alone in terms of sense. In other words, an utterance must be sentential, but need not conform to the grammatical criteria that restricts modern English writing. So, for example, this means that correlatively conjoined clauses are considered as one utterance.

Williams (2013a:69)

Williams lists the specific textual utterance markers as “punctuation, connectives, (e.g. *and* and *for*), relatives, adverbial connectors (e.g. *therefore*) and subordinators, discourse markers and interjections, present participles, and conventionalized opening/closing formulae” (2013a:66). While Williams’ analysis is not syntactic, his classification of utterances “is based on some basic sentential/syntactic criteria,” (2013a:69) but these criteria are supplemented by consideration of what kinds of means not directly translatable to syntax the Thynne women used to structure their letters. I will note here that by “correlatively conjoined clauses” he means structures that sometimes roughly correspond with what could in modern grammatical terms be described as “complex independent clauses” (a term which I will elaborate on later in chapter 7), although this comparison does not work in the cases of utterance-initial markers such as subordinators or closing formulae. In any case, Williams’ (2013a) methodology utilizes grammar to an extent, but his interpretation of utterances is also concerned with the Thynne women’s “‘way of expressing’ themselves, as early modern utterances are not reducible to present day sentences” (2013a:69).

Williams examined the connection between punctuation and utterances, and the usage of the specific utterance markers mentioned above. The authors he examined had differing practices, and Williams notes that “in Joan’s holograph letters, with the exception of a few texts, punctuation does not correspond positively with new utterances” (2013a:74), while in Maria’s case “there are only a few sections found in several letters where punctuation does not correlate positively with new utterances” (ibid.). The analysis of Joan’s holographs did not provide much in the way of serviceable results, and Williams points out that the variation between her letters as a whole, as well as in individual letters “makes it hard to distinguish some overall principle underpinning her practices of punctuation” (2013a:87). Her scribes, however, did utilize punctuation in more easily discernible patterns. In Joan’s scribal letters,

new utterances corresponded with punctuation 61 percent of the time (2013a:81). Maria's punctuation, however, is of most note here. In her case, 89 percent of the time her new utterances occurred with punctuation (2013a:85). This is a remarkably high rate of correspondence, and Williams notes that "Maria seems closer to present-day practice in terms of the placement of punctuation" (ibid.), although the similarities to present-day practice do not extend to her choice of punctuation marks (ibid.). The comma is frequently used to mark utterances, clauses and phrases (2013a:86). The virgule frequently appears at the ends of Maria's letters, as well as to indicate a change of topic or "moment of elocutionary force" (ibid.), or emphasis. The period is not used, and semi-colon and colon appear infrequently (2013a:85). On the underlying principles behind the punctuation of both Joan and Maria, Williams has this to say:

What the punctuation of both Joan and Maria's letters seem to demonstrate is that neither woman saw herself as constructing strict rhetorical formulae, nor were they writing sentences as we would today. Instead, they were putting their thoughts, which were quite often requests or demands, but also expressions of worry or disapproval, on paper in a comprehensible way where punctuation would have aided the task by emphasizing desires or feelings that one wanted to get across to their recipient.

Williams (2013a:87)

On the whole, Williams' (2013) pragmatic framework for his study worked well, which is reflective of his observation that "textual organization in the Thynne women's letters was dependent upon a range of linguistic features not always obvious to the modern reader accustomed to grammatically defined sentences" (2013:66), and shows that the concept of textual utterances manages to tap into the principles these women utilized punctuation for. On the significance of syntax, Williams also observes that the application of punctuation by Maria, as well as the scribes of some of Joan's letters, may be reflective of "the fact that punctuation was increasingly being used with a grammatical function" (2013:112), and notes that further research would be required to verify the hypothesis (ibid.).

Salmon (1988) managed to exhibit the usage of a consistent, syntactic punctuation method by Henoeh Clapham, as well as the fact that his method was a generally recognized one. Salmon's study by itself, however, would be a problematic point of comparison because Salmon's subjects were presumably more educated than Lettice, and the texts Salmon examined were scholarly publications rather than letters. William's (2013a) results regarding

syntactic punctuation were not as definitive, but he examined similar subjects writing letters. Williams examined the correlation between punctuation and textual utterances rather than syntactic structures, but syntactic criteria were an integral part of Williams' analysis. One of his subjects, Maria Thynne, was a close comparison to Lettice Kinnersley, being a female writer from the same time period, and she exhibited punctuation that may have been sensitive to syntax. In the following chapter, I will lay out the exact objectives of my study, and elaborate on my own methodology.

7 Present study

This study examines the punctuation system of Lettice Kinnersley. The purpose is to explain the principles governing her punctuation by utilizing a grammatical framework. The reason I have chosen a syntactic approach is that, on the basis of my reading of Lettice's letters, her motivation for using punctuation as she did may have been adherence to some kind of a grammatical set of principles. I do not expect the analysis to yield very precise results: rather, I expect that when her punctuation is examined as a whole, there would be a relatively consistent function for Lettice's punctuation marks. The questions I will attempt to answer are as follows:

- 1) What are the functions of Lettice's primary punctuation marks?
- 2) How consistently is punctuation applied?
- 3) Can the punctuation system applied in the letters be viewed as syntactic?

The previous chapter discussed the implications of suggesting that a syntactic set of rules for punctuation would be used, and the methodology and results of similar analyses. Salmon (1988) applied syntactic analysis to his materials, and compared his results to the punctuation practices of other individuals that exhibited sensitivity to syntax. I, too, will be applying a grammatical framework to explain Lettice's punctuation. The supposition is that, if grammatical terminology can be used to explain Lettice's punctuation, the punctuation can be described as syntactic. Also, much like Salmon (1988), I will compare the guidelines given for punctuation by two different grammarians from the same time period. This comparison will not be as thorough as that of Salmon (1988), who compared practice – once my analysis is complete, I will compare the punctuation in my materials to the descriptions

of the function of punctuation marks. The grammarians I will consider are Hart (1569) and Butler (1633). I will elaborate more on these grammarians in my discussion, but will point out here that they were chosen for their connection to the rising importance of syntax.

On the application of grammatical concepts, Williams reasonably points out that since “there is no available grammar of Early Modern English, there is no definitive, formalistically constrained way of going about analysing period letters on this level” (2013a:67). My approach will be quite faithful to modern grammar, but it will make some concessions to the ambiguity that analysing the letters in this manner will inevitably entail. I will elaborate on this later on in my methodology. Next, I will elaborate on the grammatical structures that I will use in my analysis. This will be followed by the analysis itself in chapter 8. In chapter 9, I will summarize my results and attempt to answer the three questions laid out above.

7.1 Methods of analysis

To explain what kinds of structures Lettice punctuates, it was necessary to choose an explicit focus in terms of the describable grammatical elements that can still account for the most observable predilections governing Lettice Kinnersley's punctuation. During my reading and transcription of the letters, I observed that her punctuation as a whole is remarkably consistent in marking off clause- and phrase-structures, the specific punctuation mark notwithstanding. My analysis will examine which punctuation mark is used for which purpose, and how strongly the usage of these marks can be interpreted as holding syntactic value.

The central grammatical concepts I will use are independent and dependent clauses, adverbial and noun phrases, as well as sentences. I will acknowledge here that implying Lettice had any knowledge of what a “grammatical sentence” is would be rather controversial. While the term “sentence” is used frequently in Renaissance grammar books, it appears that there was no consensus as to what a grammatically defined sentence exactly was (Robinson 1998:166-184). In fact, “full grammatical explicitness about sentences is not achieved in English until around the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Robinson 1998:184). When I use the term “sentence” it is used so as to provide a useful point of reference as to what the grammatical structure I am describing appears like, rather than implying that Lettice was utilizing grammatical sentences that adhered to the specific

rules for forming such structures. The same goes for clauses and phrases: any grammatical terminology referred to is an application of modern grammatical theory to the structures in the letters in order to describe the structures she punctuates. The usual term I use in my discussion when referring to punctuation usage is the “marking off” of structures: this practice I have adopted from Salmon (1988).

Below I will elaborate on the grammatical structures that I will refer to when discussing Lettice Kinnersley's punctuation. It should be noted that grammar is a field of linguistic study where terminology, and occasionally even interpretation, may vary depending on the source material. The grammatical framework utilized in this particular study draws on the grammar of Biber, Conrad & Leech (2002). When my interpretation of grammatical structures differs from theirs, I will specify how and explain the reasons for it. This type of grammatical analysis draws largely on modern grammar, but the historical context is not ignored, as it were. As I elaborate on the grammatical structures mentioned above, I will also note some special considerations that must be taken into account when analysing Early Modern letters. For one, while Early Modern English is fairly comprehensible to a modern English reader, the rules by which “sentences” could be formed were somewhat different. This will be elaborated on to the degree to which it is relevant for the purposes of my analysis. Additionally, the letters of Lettice are representative of conversational language. This means that they contain structures that are typical of spoken, rather than written language. The implications of this for the analysis will also be discussed. In other words, the modern grammatical framing that I apply in my analysis is supplemented by giving special consideration to aspects of Early Modern English, and also to aspects of spoken English.

7.2 Independent clauses

Clauses are the primary unit of syntax (Biber, Conrad & Leech 2002:46). Clauses are units that can in and of themselves convey a full thought (ibid.) A clause must contain a verb phrase (V), a subject (S), and either an object (O), predicative (P) or obligatory adverbial (A). Below are examples of a single clause forming a complete “thought” or “sentence”:

(1)

The chair is outside.

My example

(2)

she is :15: years of age:

L.a 607, line 10

In example 1, *the chair* is the subject (S), *is* is the verb (V) and *outside* is the adverbial (A). In example 2, *she* is the subject, *is* is the verb and *:15: years of age* is the adverbial (A). My own example abides by the modern rules of punctuation, as the clause ends in a period, but in the example taken from the materials a clause utilizing the same clause elements ends in a colon. Both are instances of an independent clause. Independent clauses are called such because they are not themselves a part of any larger clause structure (Biber, Conrad & Leech 2002:248). The punctuation of independent clauses is one of the central elements examined in my analysis. Independent clauses like the ones above are referred to as simple independent clauses, as they contain no subordinate elements. They simply contain one occurrence of the necessary clause units described above. Another term for an independent clause is the main clause: main clause refers to an independent clause that has a dependent clause embedded into it (Biber, Conrad & Leech 2002:458). Dependent clauses will be discussed below.

7.3 Dependent clauses

Dependent clauses are clauses that supplement independent clauses with additional information. Unlike independent clauses, dependent clauses cannot stand alone as sentences or express a complete thought. They either simply modify an independent clause by adding information that the clause does not necessarily require to make sense, or serve as critical components of it. As such, dependent clauses are embedded into their independent clause (Bieber, Conrad & Leech 2002:224). This is called subordination. Any independent clause that contains one or more dependent clauses is referred to as a complex independent clause, rather than a simple one (Bieber, Conrad & Leech 2002:248). Dependent clauses come in a variety of different types depending on their function, but for the purposes of my analysis, it suffices to explore dependent clauses on a relatively superficial level. The most important distinction to be made for my analysis is between finite and non-finite dependent clauses. Finite dependent clauses have a verb that shows tense, while non-finite dependent clauses do not. Finite dependent clauses add information about their independent clauses that could

usually be extracted without making the independent clause they are attached to non-sensical, even though the full thought expressed would be incomplete. They are typically, if not always, introduced by words called subordinators, such as *because* or *if*, or *wh*-words such as *when* or *which*.

(3)

if it please you: ^you shall haue the refuse ing of them: before aney one:

L.a. 600, lines 6-7

(4)

when the tearme is done. my brother. and my sister wil com to Blithfilde. to see you. and my mother. which wil be shortly after candulmas:

L.a. 594, lines 10-12

In the above examples, example 3 contains a single finite dependent clause *if it please you* – example 4 contains two finite dependent clauses, *when the tearme is done* and *which wil be shortly after candulmas*. Such constructions are common in the letters, and the examples above also display how “finite dependent clause” is a fitting means of describing structures marked off by punctuation in the letters. The most important characteristic to identify a finite dependent clause is that they typically have a subject and tensed verb of their own. The subordinators and *wh*-words they begin with are also a useful means of identifying them.

Non-finite dependent clauses “are more compact and less explicit than finite clauses” (Biber, Conrad & Leech 2002:259), and “they usually lack an explicit subject and subordinator” (ibid.). As such, they are usually easily distinguishable from finite dependent clauses that are at least somewhat similar to independent clauses, if still subordinate to a higher clause structure. They appear in constructions such as these:

(5)

his men must apeare in that cort the :2: day of Iune. and there is aprocesses for my husband. to apeare the same day:

L.a. 605, lines 5-7

(6)

if it please him. I wile Ioyne with him. to set this house and liueing for: 10: or 12: years:

L.a. 599, lines 5-6

(7)

Good Brother I am afreade. there is some disagreement. betwene my husband. and his father: that he makes no more hast home: haueing such ernest ocation. and his day of apperance. so neare at hand:

L.a. 599, lines 1-3

Each of these examples contains a single non-finite dependent clause, (5) and (6) being *to*-clauses and (7) an *ing*-clause. In modern punctuation it would seem peculiar to punctuate many instances of non-finite dependent clauses such as *to apeare the same day* and *to set this house and liueing for: 10: or 12: years*, but as can be seen, these structures appear punctuated in my materials – hence the elaboration here on the nature of non-finite dependent clauses.

7.4 Phrases

In the majority of cases in my analysis, it is possible to adequately explain the punctuation in my materials by making reference to independent and dependent clauses as they have been outlined above. There are, however, some instances in which it is necessary to make reference to the punctuation of specific kinds of phrases, rather than clauses. Here I will elaborate on adverbial and noun phrases and my treatment of them. The reason for these specific phrase types being elaborated on here is that, essentially, they can account for the remaining structures.

The four main classes of lexical words are nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs (Biber, Conrad & Leech 2002:20). These words can be “built” into groups of words that function as syntactic units. Common nouns “can be modified by many kinds of words both before and after them” to create a noun phrase (Biber, Conrad & Leech 2002:21). *The cup on the table* would be an example of a noun phrase. Adverbial phrases are groups of words that modify

other parts of a clause. They elaborate on time, place or manner, generally speaking elaborating on some condition. Biber, Conrad & Leech make a distinction between an obligatory adverbial, the clause element, and optional adverbials (2002:50-51); they do not use the term adverbial phrase. When I refer to an adverbial phrase, I mean any group of words that modifies another element adverbially. An example of an adverbial phrase would be *on the table*.

(8)

The cup on the table is empty.

My example

This example, then, contains both a noun phrase *the cup on the table*, and an adverbial phrase in *on the table*. To illustrate the purpose and necessity of including this kind of a phrase-level structure in my examination of Lettice's punctuation, I will provide two examples from the materials:

(9)

if I cause aney gras to be moed. before the sises. I know. when it is redye to cary.
he will haue it:

L.a. 601, lines 6-8

(10)

the sherifs retorne is after. the first day of nouember:

L.a. 603, lines 11-12

In example 9, there is an adverbial phrase, *before the sises*, that is marked off with periods. In example 10, there is also an adverbial phrase *after. the first day of nouember*, but *the first day of nouember* is marked off within it. In example 10, *the first day of nouember* represents a noun phrase marked off with a period. The particular structure I will be referring to in my punctuation analysis, naturally, is the one marked off with punctuation.

7.5 Sentences

It was briefly outlined earlier why the term *sentence* is a controversial and usually an insufficient means of describing punctuation in writings from the Early Modern period. During my initial reading of the letters, however, I discovered that there are instances in which there are no better descriptive or convenient terms for the structures that are punctuated. In other words, the structures punctuated in my materials require also an exploration of the concept of the sentence. The grammar of Biber, Conrad & Leech defines the sentence as “a complete structure found in written texts, bounded by sentence punctuation such as ‘!’, ‘!’, ‘?!.’” (2002:460). Their definition is wholly constrained by the prescriptions of modern punctuation, and therefore insufficient for the purposes of my analysis. Their definition does touch upon a central issue, however: if it appears that instances of punctuation in my materials are marking off a “sentence,” I would prefer to call it such because of the term's ability to convey what kind of a structure the punctuation mark is being used for, regardless of whether the specific punctuation mark applies to modern rules of punctuation. In this chapter, I will describe the “sentence” as it relates to the clause-level structures elaborated on above.

Sentences are not wholly synonymous with clauses. A “sentence” is essentially a term for a structure where one or several clauses are connected to each other and marked off as a sentence with punctuation. All the examples of independent clauses presented thus far qualify as clauses when they have been presented as such, but the ability to describe them as sentences is, essentially, limited by punctuation. Like clauses, sentences can also be divided into simple, compound and complex sentences. A simple sentence amounts to a similar structure as the ones in examples 1 and 2 – these examples are a single instance of the necessary elements of a clause that are marked off as a sentence with punctuation.

Compound sentences refer to two or more simple independent clauses that are marked off together as a single structure. Independent clauses connected with a coordinator can together form independent clauses in coordination (Biber, Conrad & Leech 2002:248). The three major coordinators in English are *and*, *or* and *but* (Biber, Conrad & Leech 2002:227), but in my clause-level analysis, all of the coordinating conjunctions – *and*, *or*, *but*, *nor*, *yet*, *so* and *for* – are all considered potential coordinators for beginning a new independent clause. This is a decision wholly on my part and many grammarians would quite likely take issue with it

– there is a degree of nuance to what kinds of words would indicate a clause as of equal value rather than subordinate. I decided on this more lenient classification of coordinating conjunctions because given the historical context and a lack of any “hard” grammatical rules on the subject in Early Modern English, it would seem counter-intuitive to disqualify clauses from being “independent” simply because they do not begin with one of the major coordinators, rather than any of the coordinating conjunctions. Attempting to apply modern grammatical theory in an analysis of historical English will create some ambiguous circumstances, so I will simply note this exception regarding coordinating conjunctions here. Below is a modern example of a compound sentence for discussion:

(11)

I am in the store, and I want ice cream.

my example

Due to its punctuation, the example above constitutes a compound sentence, as it contains two simple independent clauses. The historical context of my materials needs to be taken into account when discussing coordinators and independent clauses in coordination. The reason for this is that it is highly contentious to attempt interpreting coordination between independent clauses in the letter of Lettice, particularly if the presence of sentence-like structures is to be examined. The sentence in example 11 contains two independent clauses in coordination, and separating them within the confines of modern grammatical structure into clauses in coordination is simple and uncontroversial. Determining coordination in the letters of Lettice Kinnersley is usually much less so:

(12)

My good father. the last day I receued a² letter from you. and a fore christmas. I receued forti shilinges from you. ~~and~~ and ten from my mother:

L.a. 594 lines 1-3

(13)

I cold not put him in aney securitie: for I can heare nothing from my husband:

L.a. 603, lines 5-6

Examples 12 and 13 could both potentially be interpreted as containing two independent

clauses in coordination. Making such interpretations, however, is highly reliant on punctuation. In example 11, the first independent clause *I am in the store* was separated from the second by means of the coordinator *and* + comma, and a period marked the two independent clauses off as a sentence. Examples 12 and 13 demonstrate that determining coordination in my materials is not as simple. In example 13 there are two independent clauses, both of which are marked off with colons. This is notable because it could be argued that example 13 contains two independent clauses in coordination because the coordinator *for* clearly connects the two clauses. If reference were to be made to sentences, however, it could also be argued that example 13 contains two separate sentences because grammatically speaking, nothing prevents a writer from beginning a new sentence with a coordinator: while “there is a well-known prescription prohibiting the use of coordinators at the beginning of a sentence” in Modern English, adept native writers nonetheless frequently use them at the beginnings of their sentences (Biber, Conrad & Leech 2002:229). Like the grammatically defined and comprehensively accepted concept of *sentence*, in the Early Modern period, this prescription regarding connectors did not exist, and there is even less reason to assume Lettice would be aware of such a prescription, much less abiding to it. Presented together, examples 12 and 13 convey the difficulty of attempting to describe coordination in Lettice's independent clauses. Coordinators in themselves cannot be taken as indicative of implying coordination because they may as well be intended to begin a new “sentence.” Therefore, if I were to describe the function of the colon in examples 12 and 13, I could describe the function of the colon in example 12 as forming a sentence that has two independent clauses, and example 13 as containing two sentences that are formed with one independent clause each. As the purpose of historical punctuation marks cannot be established in as clear terms as the modern ones, my analysis will not take into consideration coordination between clauses.

Finally, complex sentences are formed by one or more independent clauses which have dependent clauses as subordinate elements, but are not separated from each other with a punctuation mark that could be construed as indicating sentence-like structures. Example 3 qualifies as a complex independent clause as it has an independent clause with a dependent clause in subordination to it; it can not be described as a sentence, however, because there is no punctuation mark in the example that marks it off as a single unit. Should a specific punctuation mark be used to mark off a structure such as example 3 in my analysis, on the sentence-level it would be referred to as marking off a complex sentence.

7.6 Ellipsis

This chapter will elaborate on some special conditions regarding my interpretation of the grammatical structures of my materials. Ellipsis refers to “the omission of elements which are recoverable from the linguistic context or the situation” (Biber, Conrad & Leech 2002:230). The easiest comparison to be made here is that, in conversational language in particular, people will often omit elements from clauses that can easily be interpreted from the context. Lettice frequently uses structures in her writing that could be described as conversational – as such, my interpretation of her grammatical structures will sometimes include ellipped elements that I filled in myself from the context. For instance, in example 12, the second independent clause *and a fore christmas. I receued forti shilinges from you. ~~and~~ and ten from my mother* it can be deduced that Lettice is referring to *ten* (shillings). Furthermore, ellipsis in relation to words linking clauses deserves some special consideration:

(14)

but I perceue bie his letter to me. he menes not to com:

L.a. 605 lines 4-5

This example has nothing connecting the clauses *but I perceue bie his letter to me* and *he menes not to com*, but in my analysis it is interpreted as *but I perceue bie his letter to me*. (that) *he menes not to com*; in this example the period is marking off the dependent clause (that) *he menes not to com*. This example could arguably also be classified as asyndetic coordination. Asyndetic coordination is simply coordination “with no overt linking word” (Rissanen 2000:280) – as opposed to linking with words like *and* or *but*. This is relevant because my analysis places emphasis on subordination of clauses. While interpreting subordination does not usually rely on the linking word alone, there may be cases in which the relationship between clauses is ambiguous due to a lack of a linking word. The assumed elements are usually fairly obvious and uncontroversial, but I should still note here that I will make my own interpretation clear in the analysis when it is necessary.

8 Analysis

This chapter contains the analysis of Lettice's punctuation. I will begin with discussing the numbers and general consistency of the punctuation in the materials, and then move on to more in-depth analysis. What follows is a discussion of the amount of punctuation in the materials and what can be inferred on that basis. After this, I will provide a sample of the thematic analysis that each letter in my materials underwent. The space allowed here is insufficient for displaying a thematic analysis of the punctuation of every single one of the letters in this edition, so as a means of compromise, my analysis will include the thematic analysis of the first two letters. After this, the function of individual punctuation marks will be discussed in separate chapters. The materials contain an interesting point of comparison to Lettice's punctuation in the form of the scribal letter, l.a. 606: the punctuation of this letter will be discussed separately from the holographs of Lettice, and on a more limited scale than the punctuation of Lettice.

This analysis does not treat punctuation marks that do not separate grammatical structures, but rather indicate additions to the text or serve other purposes not directly related to separating the text itself into units. As such, the punctuation marks completely excluded from this analysis are the caret and the double-oblique hyphen. The primary punctuation marks of Lettice, the period '.' and the colon ':' are excluded in a few specific circumstances. In the first letter of the collection, l.a.594, the period is used to isolate numerals from the rest of the text. In the rest of the collection, letters l.a. 595-608 the colon takes on this same function. This convention was discussed in chapter 3.4. The primary punctuation marks period and colon will not be taken into account in the analysis when they appear in this capacity. In addition, punctuation that appears in the dating information, separate from the main text of letters, will not be taken into account either. The total number of punctuation marks used to either isolate numerals or in the dating information will be included in the total number counts of punctuation marks within parentheses. In other words, if a letter were to contain a total of 30 uses of the colon, 5 of which are either used to isolate numerals or are in the dating information, the count of colons for this letter will be marked 25(+5). Making this kind of a special condition was necessary due to Lettice's frequent discussion of numbers in her letters – if such instances were to be included, it would considerably skew the numbers and give an inaccurate representation of Lettice's general primary punctuation. Such instances of punctuation are still included in the table for reference. Below are the word

counts and instances of punctuation for each of the letters penned by Lettice.

Table 2 – Punctuation and word counts of Lettice’s holographs

Letter Number	Colons	Periods	Overall	Word Count
594(c.1595)	8	20(+2)	28(+2)	163
595(c.1602)	17(+3)	25	42(+3)	273
596(.1605/1606)	12(+2)	15	27(+2)	216
597(c.1608)	12(+9)	13	25(+9)	227
598(c.1608)	17(+2)	26	43(+2)	274
599(c.1610)	33(+9)	27	60(+9)	355
600(c.1610)	14(+2)	9	23(+2)	165
601(c.1610)	32(+6)	25	57(+6)	331
602(c.1610)	41(+16)	25	66(+16)	439
603(c.1610)	18(+7)	15	33(+7)	190
604(c.1618)	17(+2)	24	41(+2)	336
605(c.1618)	22(+10)	20	42(+10)	262
607(c.1620)	23(+10)	13	36(+10)	260
608(c.1622)	6	10	16	107
Total	272(+89)	267(+2)	539(+91)	3598

This table conveys the reasons for the necessity of making some exceptions in the calculations of colons and periods in the materials quite well – the most pronounced example being letter l.a. 602, in which a total of 16 colons out of 57 were either isolating numerals or in the dating information. It is also notable that the punctuation mark Lettice employed for such purposes in the very first letter, l.a. 594 was the period, after which the colon took over this function. As the length of the letters varies considerably, a better means of representing the consistency with which Lettice actually punctuates is the normalized frequency of punctuation marks in a given amount of text. The following table represents Lettice's usage of punctuation for every 100 words, with the word count of individual letters as reference points. Secondary punctuation is excluded from this table:

Table 3 – Punctuation used for every 100 words in Lettice’s holographs

Letter number	Colons	Periods	Overall
594(c.1595)	4,9	12,3	17,2
595(c.1602)	6,2	9,2	15,4
596(.1605/1606)	5,6	6,9	12,5
597(c.1608)	5,3	5,7	11
598(c.1608)	6,2	9,5	15,7
599(c.1610)	9,3	7,6	16,9
600(c.1610)	8,5	5,5	13,9
601(c.1610)	9,7	7,6	17,2
602(c.1610)	9,3	5,7	15
603(c.1610)	9,5	7,9	17,4
604(c.1618)	5,1	7,1	12,2
605(c.1618)	8,4	7,6	16
607(c.1620)	8,8	5	13,8
608(c.1622)	5,6	9,3	15
Average	7,3	7,6	15

The amount of punctuation displayed for every 100 words shows that Lettice applied punctuation fairly consistently in quantitative terms. While the overall amount of punctuation per letter does vary, there are no “extreme” cases of variation, such as that encountered by Williams (2013a). In his examination of the letters of Joan Thynne, Williams remarks that her personal practice “ranges from a few texts that contain a large amount of punctuation, to others containing none at all” (2013a:76). The table above indicates that this situation does not apply to my materials. The numbers presented would suggest that the letters would establish some generally applicable rules to refer to when speaking of Lettice's punctuation.

As for Lettice’s scribe, he only penned a single letter in the collection, but it was the longest letter by word count and contains a fair amount of punctuation. For the sake of consistency, I will present here the numbers for the secretarial letter l.a. 606 in the same manner as I did in the case of Lettice.

Table 4 – Punctuation and word count of the secretarial letter

Letter Number	Colons	Periods	Semi-colons	Commas	Overall	Word count
606(1619/20)	6	12(+6)	6	8	32(+6)	450

The period is sometimes utilized for secondary punctuation by the scribe at the end of some abbreviations. This practice was discussed in chapter 3.4. Below is the normalized frequency of each punctuation mark:

Table 5 – Punctuation used for every 100 words in the secretarial letter

Letter Number	Colons	Periods	Semi-colons	commas	Overall
606(1619/20)	1,3	2,7	1,3	1,8	7,1

The scribe's punctuation is much lighter than Lettice's, but the secretarial letter is still suitable for analysis by itself, and capable of providing us with an idea of what specific punctuation marks were used for despite the limited text available.

8.1 Sample of thematic analysis

In this chapter, I will provide a sample of the thematic analysis that each letter in the collection was subject to. The examples here are not numbered because the entire main body of letters l.a. 594 and 595 is discussed.

L.a. 594

The first structure of this letter could be interpreted as comprising two independent clauses:

My good father. the last day I receued a² letter from you. and a fore christmas. I receued forti shilinges from you. ~~an~~ and ten from my mother:

The second independent clause makes use of ellipsis in which *shillings* is omitted after the last period because it is recoverable from what was mentioned earlier. The other elements separated with punctuation are the words of address *My good father*, and conjunction +

adverbial phrase structure *and a fore christmas*. The punctuation of all of these elements can be understood as normal of the prosody in present-day spoken English. The final punctuation mark in the excerpt is a colon. This is followed by a non-finite *ing*-clause that is very peculiarly punctuated:

giueing you Both houmble thankes: for the same.

In this clause, *giueing you Both houmble thankes* is isolated by colons, and the adverbial phrase *for the same* ends in a period. The punctuation of this clause does not seem sensible. Given that it is an *ing*-clause functioning as an adverbial to the previous main clauses, by modern grammatical rules it can be interpreted as a subordinate clause of the previous sentence. If the rarer colon is to be taken as indicative of a heavier stop than the period, however, it could also be interpreted as beginning a new sentence in which *I am* is ellipted from the beginning. Even in this case, however, the punctuation of the adverbial phrase defies explanation other than the colon being used in free variation with the period, because the final adverbial phrase still belongs to the previous clause.

The subjective limits of the next major “thought” are easy to identify. It consists of an independent clause and two dependent clauses.

my brother is nou at loudlo. whear theare was the greates christmas. that euer I sau.

In this excerpt, the independent clause *my brother is nou at loudlo* and subsequent dependent clauses *whear theare was the greates christmas* and *that euer I sau* are marked off by periods. The entire excerpt is isolated by periods rather than colons. The next sentence could be described as a “running” one:

my ladi made uery much of my sister. and desiered her. to com to her sum times. and she should haue her chamber in the house: and told h̄ my sister she should finde her redi to plesure her. or ani freand she had:

All in all, this contains four independent clauses and four dependent clauses. The first main clause, *my ladi made uery much of my sister* is marked off with a period. The second main clause contains an ellipted subject (my ladi/she) and a subordinate infinitive clause which is also separated from the second independent clause with a period: *and* (my ladi/she) *desiered*

her. to com to her sum times. The next independent clause *and she should haue her chamber in the house* ends in a colon. It is followed by an independent clause that has an ellipted subject (she). The last main clause *and told ~~h~~ my sister she should finde her redi to plesure her. or ani freand she had* contains three dependent clauses, none of which are marked off by punctuation. The first dependent clause utilizes a zero-link, most conveniently understood as replaceable by (that): *and told ~~h~~ my sister (that) she should finde her redi.* The second dependent clause is the infinitive clause *to plesure her. or ani freand.* The previous infinitive dependent clause was punctuated with a period, but this one is not marked off. The last dependent clause (that) *she had* also makes use of a zero-link. On the clause-level, it is notable that this excerpt is the only one in which main- and subordinate clauses in this letter are not marked off from each other with some punctuation mark. Rather, the full main clause is marked off together with its subordinate clauses. There is also the period used to separate the noun *her* and the conjunction + noun phrase structure *or ani freand.* This instance of the period seems reasonable as a lighter stop, comparable to how one would use a comma in present-day English. The next passage is much more reminiscent of a modern sentence in terms of its structure and punctuation.

when the tearme is done. my brother. and my sister wil com to Blithfilde. to see you. and my mother. which wil be shortly after candulmas:

The initial dependent clause *when the tearme is done* is marked off with the period. In the independent clause *my brother. and my sister wil com to Blithfilde* the noun phrase *my brother* is separated from *my sister* with a period. The infinitive dependent clause *to see you. and my mother,* functioning as the direct object of the main clause is also separated, with an additional period separating noun phrases. The last subordinate clause *which wil be shortly after candulmas* ends in a colon, meaning that here a structure that could be construed as a complex sentence is isolated by colons.

this with my houbul duti to you. and my good mother. with the like from my sister:

The nominal “sentence” is isolated by colons. Noun phrases *you* and *my good mother* are separated with a period preceding the conjunction *and.* The adverbial phrase *with the like from my sister* is also separated from the rest with a period.

craving your dely blesinges. and craving pardun for my vntoward wryting: I houmbly take my leaue:

This is most conveniently interpreted as two dependent clauses preceding an independent clause. *craving your dely blesinges. and craving pardun for my vntoward wryting* are successive non-finite dependent clauses, with a period + *and*-conjunction between the two. This section is isolated by colons. The independent clause *I houmbly take my leaue* follows, and is itself isolated by colons. In any case, the colon here isolates clauses rather than smaller structures.

L.a. 595

This letter was written some seven years after the first letter in the collection, and is punctuated with much less variation between the usage of the colon and the period. Since I allow sentence-initial coordinators to begin sentences, this letter is remarkably consistent in marking off structures that could be considered sentences with the colon. The first passage discussed contains one independent clause and two dependent clauses.

Good Brother. you may think me very forgetfull that I haue not wryt vnto you. neuer since i came hether:

The initial words of address are marked off with a period. The main clause and the first subordinate clause *you may think me very forgetfull that I haue not wryt vnto you* are grouped together and separated from the second subordinate clause *neuer since I came hether* with a period, and the structure ends in a colon. The passage that follows also appears to be punctuated in a sentence-like manner, if colons are considered to indicate a heavier stop:

but I had thought be fore now. to haue seene you:

Here, the independent clause and non-finite dependent clause are separated from each other with a period, and colons isolate the section. The next excerpt begins with the conjunction *and*:

and now heareing by this bearerer. that my fatherin=law is gon to london. I donot know when wee shall com into stafford=shere:

The independent clause in this excerpt is *I donot know*. The dependent clauses *and now heareing by this bearerer* and *that my fatherin=law is gon to london* are marked off with periods, but the dependent clause following the independent clause and functioning as its object, *when wee shall com into stafford=shere* is not separated by punctuation. Finite independent clauses not marked off with any punctuation, such as this one, are a rarity. Once again, however, this passage would reasonably pass as a sentence by modern standards if the colon was used in the same capacity as the modern period. This practice continues:

I thank you good brother. I am much bound vnto you. for the greate paynes. and care you haue of me:

The independent clauses in the excerpt above are *I thank you good brother* and *I am much bound vnto you. for the greate paynes. and care you haue of me*. The first independent clause is marked off with a period. The second contains a subordinate clause *you haue of me*. Like all subordinate clauses utilizing a zero-link so far, it is not marked off with punctuation. Another element separated in this excerpt is the adverbial phrase *for the greate paynes*, which is marked off with periods. The remaining period in the excerpt is most likely motivated by the conjunction *and* linking *paynes* and *care*, as the conjunction is nearly always preceded by punctuation of some kind.

and I hope I shall not liue to for gettit:

This passage is very straight-forward. It is an independent clause containing one finite dependent clause *I shall not liue* and a non-finite dependent clause *to for gettit*. In this case the non-finite clause is not marked off with a period, although *to*-clauses have frequently been marked off with a period previously. The finite dependent clause uses a zero-link, and like in previous instances of zero-link between independent and dependent clauses, there is no punctuation here. The entire passage is marked off with colons.

ꝛ my husband told me. my father in law was about to take the personneage of lee. for him and me to dwell in:

The next passage is so far the first instance in which a subordinate clause utilizing a zero-

link is marked off from its main clause with punctuation. It contains a single independent clause with two non-finite dependent clauses *to take the personage of lee. for him and me* and *to dwell in*. This entire structure is once again marked off with colons, and as such the colon is marking off a complex independent clause, or a complex sentence. There is a period separating the primary main clause *my husband told me* and the first dependent clause with a zero-link. There is also a period preceding *for*, so the period is marking off the adverbial phrase *for him and me and to dwell in*.

The next passage is a longer one. Seeing how the letter so far has abided by punctuation in which the colon marks off several clauses, and the period phrase-structures and dependent clauses within colons it is tempting to interpret it as a complex sentence:

but by my good will. I will never kepe house. till I go to dwell at badgger. for if I shoull. it wold
but be a meanes to defrawøde vs of abetter place:

This excerpt contains two independent clauses and various dependent clauses. *I will never kepe house . till I go to dwell at badgger* is the first complex independent clause. It has two dependent clauses, the second being a non-finite dependent clause embedded in the first finite one: *till I go* and *to dwell at badgger*. The finite dependent clause and its non-finite dependent clause are marked off together with the period. The second main clause is *for if I shoull. it wold but be a meanes to defrawøde vs of abetter place*. Here, the dependent clauses are *if I shoull* and *to defrawøde vs of abetter place*. Essentially, this excerpt contains two complex independent clauses – the structures marked off with the period are the finite dependent clauses, as the *to*-clauses are not punctuated with the period. The initial conjunction + adverbial phrase in the expression *but by my good will* in the beginning of the excerpt is also punctuated with a period. The entire excerpt ends in a colon. Taken together, this excerpt is punctuated in a remarkably modern manner if the colon were replaced by the period, and the period with the comma. The next passage is considerably simpler:

but my hope is. you will be carfull of me. as you euer haue bin:

This excerpt contains a complex independent clause and two finite dependent clauses. The main clause *but my hope is* and its finite dependent clauses *you will be carfull of me* and *as you euer haue bin* are both marked off with the period, and the excerpt ends in a colon.

I thank my brother Trwe. he is willing wee shall table theare: and my hus=band is so determened:

The consistent usage of the colon and period for clause structures continues. In this example, *I thank my brother Trwe. he is willing wee shall table theare* contains two independent clauses, *I thank my brother Trwe* and *he is willing*. The second contains a finite dependent clause using a zero link, *wee shall table theare*. This is marked off from the first independent clause with a period. These clauses are marked off together with colons, as is *and my hus=band is so determened*. The first structure marked off with colons could once again be interpreted as a complex sentence, and the second as a simple sentence.

he and my nephe Robart went yester day to cause castle: to hunt with m[aste]r Thinn and are not yet com home:

The first whole main clause here is *he and my nephe Robart went yester day to cause castle: to hunt with m[aste]r Thinn*. Two things are notable. Firstly, the colon here can be seen used for something it has not been used for previously: marking off a non-finite dependent clause *to hunt with m[aste]r Thinn* from its independent clause. Secondly, the end of this independent clause is not punctuated in any way. The second, ellipted independent clause and (they) *are not yet com home* ends in a colon. In any case, this example is punctuated strangely in comparison to the previous structures in the letter because the independent clauses are not punctuated at all, and the colon is used to separate a non-finite dependent clause from its independent clause.

The next example, too, contains some punctuation practice that is fairly strange in comparison to anything encountered previously in the analysis:

my brother Broughton I giue god thanks: mendethe very well. and desiereth to be very kindly remembered to you. and my good sister:

Here, the first main clause is arguably *my brother Broughton mendethe very well*. It contains another finite clause inserted between it, *I giue god thanks:*, which ends in a colon. This colon is no doubt motivated by the *I giue god thanks*, but the punctuation is peculiar because there is no punctuation between the subject *my brother Broughton* and this clause. This

results in a situation where the subject, and the verb *mendethe* are separated from each other with a colon. The rest of this example is punctuated more consistently with the punctuation practice of this letter as a whole, as the second independent clause *and (he) desiereth to be very kindly remembered to you. and my good sister* is marked off from the previous independent clause with a period, and ends in a colon. The non-finite dependent clause *to be very kindly remembered to you* is not marked off in this instance. Finally, a noun phrase, *and my good sister* is marked off with a period.

with the like from my sister Boughton. my sister okeouer. my neece Mary. and my selfe. to you both: desierin our duty may beremembered. in the best manor to my mother:

There are two structures marked off with colons here. The first is arguably a long adverbial phrase, within which many other phrase-level structures are marked off with the period, *with the like from my sister Boughton* and *to you both* being adverbial phrases, and *my sister okeouer. my neece Mary. and my selfe* being noun phrases. The second structure marked off with colon is the non-finite *ing*-clause *desierin our duty may beremembered. in the best manor to my mother*. Within this *ing*-clause, the adverbial phrase *in the best manor to my mother* is marked off with a period.

I leaue you to the prouidence. of the allmightye:

The last structure in the main body of the letter is a simple independent clause marked off with colons. The adverbial phrase *of the allmightye* is marked off within with a period.

8.2 The Colon

The purpose of this chapter is to detail the functions of the colon. I will do this by explaining the primary types of structures it marks off. This chapter will discuss the usage of the colon in the letters as a whole, rather than letter by letter – the previous chapter contained samples of thematic analysis of the letters that this presentation of the results is based on. The discussion will begin with larger structures, and progressively move on to smaller ones.

The colon is used in various capacities. The longest structures that colons are used for amount to what could be described as “sentences.” In these structures, the colon marks off

an entire “sentence” and periods are used within it to denote smaller structures. The requirement I make for classifying this kind of function for the colon is that the colon marks off a structure within which no grammatical elements that are clearly dependent on the main clause or clauses are marked off with additional colons. The complexity of these sentence-like structures in the letters varies, but in them, the colon is used to mark off what in modern terms would fall under “simple sentences”, containing a simple main clause, as well as “complex sentences” that contain at least one independent clause and various dependent clauses. Below are instances of these structures and their punctuation. From here on, the examples will once again be numbered, and excerpts that I discuss will be underlined. Furthermore, the examples will show what punctuation mark the entire passage is preceded by when it is relevant to the discussion:

(15)

: I take my leaue:

L.a. 601 line 26

(16)

: good brother let my husband. and I haue your aduise[^]in this matter. which doeth so much con serune our estate:

L.a 607 lines 14-15

(17)

: his men must apeare in that cort the :2: day of Iune. and there is aprosses for my husband. to apeare the same day:

L.a. 605 lines 6-7

(18)

: but by my good will. I will never kepe house. till I go to dwell at ba[^]dgger. for if I shoull. it wold but be a meanes to defrawøde vs of abetter place:

L.a. 595 lines 8-10

Example 15 shows Lettice using colons to punctuate what can be referred to as a simple independent clause, or a “simple sentence.” This particular expression appears a number of times in Lettice's closing formula and is fairly consistently punctuated in this manner. In the

excerpts shown in examples 16 through 18, the colon is used to isolate more complicated grammatical structures. In example 16, there is a single independent clause *good brother let my husband. and I haue your aduise^in this matter*, with a finite dependent clause *which doeth so much con serune our estate*. The finite dependent clause is marked off together with its independent clause within colons. Example 17 contains two independent clauses *his men must apeare in that cort the :2: day of Iune* and *and there is aprosses for my husband. to apeare the same day*. The second independent clause contains the non-finite dependent clause *to apeare the same day*. These independent- and dependent clauses are all separated from each other with periods, but the full “sentence” they form is marked off with colons. Example 18 is the most complicated of the examples. By my method of analysis, in which any coordinating conjunctions would be considered as potentially starting a new independent clause, it contains two independent clauses *but by my good will. I will never kepe house* and *for if I shoull. it wold but be a meanes to defrawode vs of abetter place*. The first independent clause contains no embedding, but the second contains one finite dependent clause *if I shoull* and one non-finite dependent clause *to defrawode vs of abetter place*. None of these subordinate structures are punctuated with anything but periods, and the entire passage of connected thoughts is marked off with colons. Examples 16 through 18 could all be construed as “complex sentences,” the colon's purpose being marking such structures off much in the same manner as the period is used in the present day.

Marking off complex independent clauses or “complex sentences” with the colon is not a consistent practice, however. Colons also frequently mark off dependent clause structures or even phrases. Given that punctuation from this period has often been observed to be rather erratic, particularly in the case of female writers, even a somewhat consistent practice of marking off structures that could be described as “sentences” would be rather significant. For this reason, I devised a means of estimating how often the colon marks off structures such as the ones in examples 16 through 18. In order to determine the approximate number of times Lettice punctuates structures that could be interpreted as either simple or complex sentences, I counted each instance in which she marks off such a structure with colon, and compared it to the number of colons in total in a given letter.

Table 6 – instances of the colon marking off sentences

Letter number	Colons	”Sentences”	%
594(c.1595)	8	3	37,5
595(c.1602)	17	11	64,7
596(.1605/1606)	12	5	41,7
597(c.1608)	12	3	25,0
598(c.1608)	17	5	29,4
599(c.1610)	33	8	24,2
600(c.1610)	14	3	21,4
601(c.1610)	32	5	15,6
602(c.1610)	41	8	19,5
603(c.1610)	18	3	16,7
604(c.1618)	17	7	41,2
605(c.1618)	22	14	63,6
607(c.1620)	23	7	30,4
608(c.1622)	6	0	0

Naturally, this table does not take into consideration the instances in which the colon is used to mark numerals. Attempting to count the exact frequency with which the colon is used in this capacity is somewhat problematic due to the nature of coordination and independent clauses. This issue was explored briefly in chapter 7.5, but for the sake of clarity I also specify here that if an independent clause begins with a coordinating conjunction and is marked off with the colon, it is considered a sentence of its own despite an apparent connection to another independent clause. The excerpt below, for instance, counts as two sentences in the table:

(19)

: yester day I sent unto the sherif. unto the feare: but no coppies wold be had:

L.a. 603, lines 3-4

Furthermore, for a colon to qualify as marking off a sentence for this table, it must have an independent clause and any embedded dependent clauses marked off as the same unit with the colon. If subordinate structures were marked off with a colon, the full independent clause

ended in anything but a colon, or a new independent clause structure was preceded by a period rather than a colon, the structure did not qualify. To illustrate my set of requirements in this part of my analysis, I will provide an example from one of the letters.

(20)

: I thank my brother Trwe. he is willing wee shall table theare: and my hus=band is so determened: he and my nephe Robart went yester day to cause castle: to hunt with m[aste]r Thinn and are not yet com home:

L.a. 595, lines 11-14

The full excerpt is preceded by a colon. In this excerpt, the colons following *I thank my brother Trwe. he is willing wee shall table theare:* and *and my hus=band is so determened:* were counted as marking off a “sentence.” The two clauses in *I thank my brother Trwe. he is willing wee shall table theare* are interpreted as containing ellipsis, as in *I thank my brother Trwe. (that/for/as) he is willing wee shall table theare*. Neither of the colons in the excerpt *he and my nephe Robart went yester day to cause castle: to hunt with m[aste]r Thinn and are not yet com home* qualified, as the embedded infinitive dependent clause *to hunt with m[aste]r Thinn* was preceded by a colon. While it is duly noted that this kind of interpretation is necessarily subjective to some degree, table 6 nonetheless represents my best estimation of the number of times that Lettice creates a “sentence” with her usage of the colon. While in letters 595 and 605 the colon is used to mark off “sentences” 64,7% and 63,6% of the time, there are also letters in which this percentage is as low as 0 in letter 608, in which no structures marked off with the colon qualified. While these numbers show that her punctuation of “sentences” as specific units marked by the colon is inconsistent, the frequency is high enough in some letters to imply she might have used the colon in this manner purposefully, if without a particularly strong adherence to the rule. The sample of thematic analysis may have given the impression that Lettice’s punctuation “evolved” to a more consistent practice since the sentence-like structures were much more frequent in letter l.a. 595 than they were in l.a. 594, but this table shows that there was no clear development in the frequency of colons punctuating “sentences” – the letters are arranged by date of writing, but the percentages are not diachronically establishing a pattern of any kind.

While these complex independent clauses or “complex sentences” marked off with colons appear in every single letter save for letter l.a. 608, it is more common in the letters as a

whole for the colon to mark off independent clauses and dependent clauses as their own units. As can be seen from table 6, in most of the letters the colon marks off these “complex sentences” only occasionally. In other words, structures that could be interpreted as “complex sentences” are instead punctuated with several colons. In the case of finite dependent clauses in particular, it is more common that the main clause and its finite dependent clause are marked off separately with the colon:

(21)

: it weare better to let uaughan. and his wife. to haue the house and lands: til there money be payed:

L.a. 599 lines 26-27

(22)

: my husband hath uery great somes of money to discharge: which of nessecitie must be payd:

L.a. 607 lines 5-6

(23)

: I wold haue wryvn more vnto you. but my one of my ies is very sore: that it is troblesome vnto me:

L.a. 596, lines 9-12

(24)

: if I had know lidge a fine. acoring to the order: uaughan had bin sure. to haue had all for then years:

L.a. 599, lines 8-11

In the letters as a whole, the practice presented in examples 21 through 24 is a more frequently occurring function for the colon, and different from the practice presented in examples 15 through 18. Despite some evidence that Lettice may have had the objective of punctuating “complex sentences”, she routinely punctuates finite dependent clauses as their own entities with the colon. In example 21, the finite dependent clause *til there money be payed* is marked off with colons separately from its main clause. The excerpt contains two non-finite, embedded dependent clauses *to let uaughan. and his wife* and *to haue the house*

and lands, neither of which is marked off with colons, however. Similarly, in example 22 the finite dependent clause specifically, *which of nessecitie must be payd* is marked off from its main clause *my husband hath uery great somes of money to discharge*. In example 23, there are two independent clauses that are marked off with colons together: *I wold haue wryvn more vnto you* and *but ~~my~~ one of my ies is very sore*, yet the finite dependent clause *that it is troblesome vnto me* is marked off with colons of its own despite an apparent connection to the previous independent clause. Example 24 also displays how finite dependent clauses are marked off colons, while non-finite ones are not. The independent clause in this excerpt is *uaughan had bin sure. to haue had all for then years*. It is marked off with colons. The non-finite dependent clause *to haue had all for then years* is marked off with a period. The finite dependent clause of the excerpt *if I had know lidedged a fine*, and another, non-finite dependent clause *acoring to the order* are separated from each other with a period, but marked off from their main clause with a colon. The examples I have chosen here also illustrate how Lettice's particular choice of the subordinator or *wh*-word with which the finite dependent clause begins does not appear to determine which punctuation mark is used. In example 18 the dependent clause *till I go to dwell at ba^dgger* is marked off with periods, yet in example 21 *til there money be payed* is marked off with colons. The same inconsistency applies to *which*, as can be seen between examples 16 and 22. Any finite dependent clause beginning with any subordinator or *wh*-word may be marked off with either a colon or a period, and there appears to be no clear rule as to when these finite dependent clauses are marked off with a particular punctuation mark. What can be established is that on the whole, finite dependent clauses are more frequently marked off with colons than not, rather than as a "sentence" together with their main clause. The same applies for independent clauses, which may or may not be marked off from each other with colons regardless of their apparent connection to each other.

Non-finite dependent clauses are subject to being marked off with the colon as well, but rather infrequently. Most of the examples I have provided so far have contained infinitive clauses, such as *to apeare the same day* in example 17, *to dwell at ba^dgger* in example 18, *to haue the house and lands* in example 21, as well as various others. When non-finite dependent clauses are punctuated, it is usually done with the period. It should be emphasized that non-finite dependent clauses being marked off with the colon are quite rare, but in the interest of thoroughness this should nonetheless be recorded as one of the colon's functions.

(25)

: if it please him. I wile Ioyne with him. to set this house and liueing for: 10: or
12: years: so that I may haue. one hundreth pound of the money: to put in to
your handes: for my to younger sonnes. wallter and Anthony:

L.a. 599, lines 5-8

(26)

: I receued forti shiliges from you. ~~and~~ and ten from my mother: giueing you
Both houmble thanks: for the same.

L.a. 594, lines 2-4

(27)

Good Brother I am afreade. there is some disagreement. betwene my husband.
and his father: that he makes no more hast home: haueing such earnest ocation.
and his day of apperance. so neare at hand:

L.a. 599, lines 1-3

Here, example 25 shows two non-finite *to*-clauses *to set this house and liueing for: 10: or 12: years* and *to put in to your handes*. The first non-finite clause is marked off with a period, but the second is marked off with a colon instead. The underlined excerpts in examples 26 and 27 are non-finite *ing*-clauses.

Finally, Lettice occasionally uses the colon for different types of phrases as well. This further adds to the general inconsistency that can be observed in her choice of punctuation marks. This usage for the colon is rare, as the function is typically reserved for the period. It does, however, occur frequently enough that it needs to be discussed as a further function. Punctuating phrases in this manner sometimes occurs in adverbial- and noun phrases such as the ones below:

(28)

: and I will send to you for it: the next wicke:

L.a. 601 lines 11-12

(29)

: and did wryte his letter to s[i]r Thomas Chamberlin: in my husban behalfe:

L.a. 605 lines 3-4

(30)

: uaghan doeth bie forse keepe :3: peeseses of the best grounds. from me: and all the medeoweing:

L.a. 601 lines 5-6

(31)

: whether it please you: for those words. which uaghan spake of you. my cosun damport: and my cosun Asleys man: will be sworne of it:

L.a. 601 lines 14-16

Examples 28 and 29 show how Lettice marks off adverbial phrases *the next wicke* and *in my husban behalfe* with colons; examples 30 and 31 are instances in which she does the same for noun phrases – *and all the medeoweing*, and *and my cosun Asleys man*. It is difficult to determine any clear explanations for her occasional choice to utilize the colon in these circumstances. Given that the colon appears to function as a heavier stop due to its usage in clauses, it is possible that Lettice wished to emphasize the content of the phrases. It could perhaps be argued that these rare instances of the colon marking off phrases could indicate a prosodic significance in the form of a longer pause, but there are no methods by which this could be verified.

The amount of variation in Lettice's usage of the colon makes it contentious to make any encompassing interpretations as to what her intent was, but there are a few types of structures present in Lettice's letters that might possibly allow for a type of controlled examination of Lettice's punctuation. Personal correspondence in the 16th and 17th centuries was subject to rhetorical norms that many writers generally adhered to in both professional and private correspondence (Nevalainen 2001:203). There were formulas for “various routinized expressions of respect and politeness” (ibid.) that writers utilised in their letters. These formulaic expressions, then, could be seen relatively unchanged in various different letters by the same writer. On the whole Lettice does not strictly adhere to any particular dictaminal formula in the sense that her “sentences” are structured in a particular manner that would be

of interest to my analysis, but her closing formula is so similar in her letters that a comparative examination of these structures might provide some insight into her “ideal” punctuation. Lettice's closing formula consists of a few specific structures that are repeated with little variation between them. In order to identify a particular purpose for specific punctuation marks, I examined Lettice's routinized closing formulae. The motivation for examining these structures is the assumption that there would be less variation in her punctuation of them, because they were written in a similar manner in each letter with only minor variation in content – for this reason, it is possible that they would be less subject to variation in terms of punctuation.

Lettice's closing formulae consist of a few types of clauses that occur regularly in each letter, with slight variation in content. Below are examples that account for the variation found in them:

(32)

: this with my houmbul duti to you. and my good mother. with the like from my sister: crauing your dely blesinges. and crauing pardun for my vntoward wryting: I houmbly take my leaue:

L.a. 594, lines 12-16

(33)

: this with remembrance of my loue to my your selfe. and my good sister: with my hartye prayrs to god for a~~ll~~ you and all yours: I take my leaue:

L.a. 601, lines 24-26

(34)

: this with my prayrs to allmighttie god. for you: and my good sister: I leaue you to his gracious prouidence:

L.a. 603, lines 13-15

(35)

: this ⁂desiering you my dutie may be remembered to my mother: with my kindest commend[atons] to your selfe. and my good sister: with my prayres to god for your health: I leaue you to his prouidence:

L.a. 596, lines 12-15

(36)

: this. with remembrance of my neuer fayling love to your selfe. and my good sister: my sister Trew. and my neece Broughton. I with my daylay prayrs to all mighttie god for you: I take my leaue remeneing euer your louing sister

L.a. 608, lines 6-10

The closing formulae can be separated into three different clause-structures for my analysis. The first contains the noun *this*, referring to the content of the letter, and various adverbial phrases utilizing *with* as post-modifiers. The second is a non-finite *ing*-clause, which also relays Lettice's "parting words," to the effect of *crauing your dely blesinges*, or some variation thereof. The *ing*-clause is usually written in reference to *this*, like the adverbial phrases utilizing *with*. The last is a simple independent clause, which is usually a variation of *I take my leaue* or *I leaue you to his prouidence*. There is also an occasionally occurring phrase to the effect of *remeneing euer your poore louing sister* – this was not taken into account in this part of my analysis, because it is arguably a part of her signature and is never punctuated in any way.

I examined the punctuation of Lettice's closing formulae with a focus on whether they as a whole abide by similar punctuation. The simple independent clauses utilizing the formula *I take my leaue* and variations of it are punctuated with colons in 8 of the 14 letters penned by Lettice. The structure is not present in two of the letters, and in the remaining four the structure is punctuated inconsistently. Examples 32 through 35 are examples of this structure being punctuated with colons: example 36 illustrates an instance in which the clause is not fully marked off with colons. As the instances in which the structure did not appear cannot be taken into account, it can be said that it is marked off with colons 8 out of 12 times, or in 66% of cases.

Analysis of the "verbless" *this*-clause is somewhat problematic, because it is contentious to

refer to it as a clause at all due to its lack of a verb. With this particular structure, I examined whether Lettice consistently punctuates *this* and the various iterations of different adverbial phrases utilizing *with*, or the non-finite *ing*-clauses in a similar way in each letter. The results were inconsistent. *This* is always preceded by a colon, but following it, the adverbial phrases and non-finite *ing*-clauses are punctuated in various ways. Example 32 illustrates *this* being grouped with two adverbial phrases with colons, after which two *ing*-clauses are marked off separately with the colon. 33 contains two *with*-adverbial phrases, yet this time the two are marked off separately. In example 34 there is one of the rare instances of the colon marking off a noun phrase, *and my good sister*. Example 36 also contains a rather peculiar instance of punctuation that seems non-sensical and is inconsistent with Lettice's own practice, in which *my sister Trew. and my neece Broughton. I with my daylay prayrs to all mighttie god for you* is marked off as a single structure with the colon – *my sister Trew. and my neece Broughton* seemingly belonging to the previous clause. To conclude the analysis of Lettice's closing formulae, their punctuation is similar to the rest of the letters in that there are some usages for the colon and period that occur fairly regularly, but there are enough occurrences of inconsistent punctuation that examining the closing formula does not offer anything in the way of standardized punctuation conventions for specific types of clause- or phrase structures.

8.3 The period

Although the period is sometimes used in similar contexts as the colon, its functions are discernibly different. While the colon usually indicates clause structures, be they independent or dependent, and occasionally marking off phrases, the period's preferred function appears to be the opposite. It is usually seen marking off phrases, less often dependent clauses, and more rarely still independent clauses. Like in my treatment of the colon, I will discuss larger structures first and progressively move on to smaller ones.

My examination of the colon showed that the period was used in complex independent clauses to mark off structures smaller than the primary independent clause, or consecutive independent clauses. In the cases in which the colon marks off several consecutive independent clauses or complex independent clauses, the period can be seen separating several independent clauses, or dependent clauses, within the colons – much like commas in present-day English mark off dependent clauses in independent clauses. My treatment of the

colon already displayed this function, but I will present some fresh examples here for discussion:

(37)

god of his great mercie helpe me. my menes is so smale for house keepeing.
that my husband is weary of taringing heare:

L.a. 599, lines 13-14

(38)

I told him of my want of mault. abufe three wickes agone. but he wold nether
prouid it him selfe. nor a low me money:

L.a. 598, lines 1-4

Here, (37) and (38) are fairly straight-forward examples of the period marking off independent and dependent clauses in “sentences.” The first example can be likened to a complex sentence, containing the independent clauses *god of his great mercie helpe me* and *my menes is so smale for house keepeing*, as well as a finite dependent clause *that my husband is weary of taringing heare*. Example 38 consists of similar divisions of structures with the period and offers little new information pertaining to the usage of the period, but I chose to show it here because it displays Lettice using the *neither-nor* pair of conjunctions, marking off the independent clauses *but he wold nether prouid it him selfe* and *nor a low me money* with the period.

Example 38 also displays Lettice's habit of marking off phrases with the period, as the clause has *abufe three wickes agone* marked off with it. The period can be established as by far the more common punctuation mark used for marking off adverbial and noun phrases:

(39)

I am much bound unto you for your kindnes. to my husband. and my poore gearle:
I beech the lord reward you. for all your goodnes shewed to me. in this my
nessecitie:

L.a 601, lines 601, 21-23

(40)

what chardges so euer it lies you in: bie the grace of god. I will pay it: and shall euer be bound to pray for you:

L.a. 602, lines 13-14

(41)

Good Brother. bye my cosen Thomas wolriche his menes: the baron Bromley is uery willing to bring gorge uaughan. to as reasonable anend as he can:

L.a. 607, lines 1-2

Here, 39 shows exclusively the phrase-level function of the period. It contains a simple independent clause *I am much bound unto you for your kindnes. to my husband. and my poore gearle* and a complex independent clause *I beech the lord reward you. for all your goodnes shewed to me. in this my nessecitie*, both which are marked off as units of their own with the colon, yet the phrase-level units *to my husband, and my poore gearle, for all your goodnes shewed to me* and *in this my nessecitie* are punctuated with the period. The excerpt in example 40 shows Lettice punctuating with the period the expression *bie the grace of god*, which falls under the category of adverbial phrase. Finally, the excerpt in example 41 shows Lettice marking off the words of address *Good Brother*. The phrase is used in the letters frequently, and in clause analysis these kinds of expressions usually fall under what would be classified as extra-clausal material as they serve no distinct purpose in the clause. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that the words of address *Good Brother* are usually not marked off in this manner. On the odd occasion the words of address are marked off, it is done with the period, and never with the colon. Given the frequency with which adverbial clauses are marked off in this manner, it is also possible that this structure was punctuated in this particular case so as to mark off *bye my cosen Thomas wolriche his menes*, rather than *Good Brother*. The wording of the adverbial phrase in this excerpt is peculiar, so I will elaborate here that Lettice is using what is called the *his genitive*: it was a form of the English genitive that was marked with the pronoun *his*, used in the 16th and 17th centuries in particular (Lass 2000:145-146). The excerpt in example 41 marks off *to as reasonable anend as he can*: while this excerpt contains a verb, it should probably be viewed as an adverbial phrase in this instance.

One of the more striking functions of the period is to mark off infinitive clauses. This was

noted in passing in my analysis of the colon, but as this is the chapter dedicated to the period, I will discuss the matter at more length here. Lettice has the habit of marking off infinitive *to*-clauses within complex independent clauses with the period:

(42)

Good brother my husband doeth erenestley intreate you. to doo so much for him:
as send for my cosen Pettie. and pay him this :5[℥]: which you shall receue bie this
bearer

L.a. 597, lines 1-3

(43)

if I had know lided a fine. acoring to the order: uaughan had bin sure. to haue
had all for then years:

L.a. 599, lines 8-10

(44)

now her mayde useth [^]*to* stand at my dore. to heare what I say. and then tels my
mother in law

L.a. 598, lines 10-11

In each of these examples, the period is used to mark off an infinitive dependent clause. It is difficult to determine the rationale for this function, as it is so specific to *to*-clauses. The frequency with which adverbial phrases utilizing *to* are marked off with the period could suggest some connection with punctuation and the preposition *to*, but the examination of the significance of prepositions in this capacity is beyond the methodology of this study.

8.4 The scribal letter

The punctuation of the scribal letter in the collection, l.a. 606, was also analysed. This is the chapter where I will present my findings regarding this particular letter. Initially, it is necessary to point out that while my methodology and the grammatical framework I have utilized works quite well in explaining Lettice's punctuation, it is not as well suited for discussing the scribe's punctuation. This is because the grammatical framework that I have used to explain what kinds of structures Lettice punctuates can not account for the scribe's

practice quite as well. The scribe uses a wider variety of punctuation marks and has different motivations for his usage of punctuation. As this part of the analysis only applies to a single letter in my materials, it should also be discussed in a relatively concise manner. This analysis will not be as in-depth as that of the letters, but I will make my best attempt here to record and explain the basic purposes of the scribe's marks. The punctuation analysis will focus exclusively on the primary punctuation of the secretarial letter. If the passages I use in this chapter contain punctuation marks used in abbreviations and similar instances that do not represent primary punctuation, I will note this in the analysis. Like in the previous chapters, I will begin from larger structures and move on to shorter ones. The scribe's primary punctuation marks are the colon, semi-colon, comma and period.

It is easy to ascertain very quickly that the scribe's punctuation is very different from that of Lettice. Firstly, he makes different kinds of distinctions with his marks than Lettice: apart from the initial words of address, *Good Brother.*, which are written above the standard lineation, there are no structures marked off with punctuation that are phrasal, rather than clause structures. Furthermore, the scribe uses a larger repertoire of punctuation marks and their functions appear to be more finely refined than the functions of Lettice's colon and period. The period marks off the longest structures in the secretarial letter, and has a resemblance to the modern period in terms of its usage, although it is not interchangeable with it. The closest point of comparison for the scribe's structures marked off with the period is the sentence. The structures marked off by the period are rather long, and usually amount to several consecutive complex independent clauses. The colon, semi-colon and period arguably serve as intermediate stops within the structures marked off with periods. Below I will present a few more examples to discuss the usage of these marks. The period following *answ[er]* in example 45 is used with abbreviation. The same applies for *S[i]r* in example 47. These punctuation marks are not considered in the analysis, as they are by my estimation not intended as primary punctuation.

(45)

. vaughan & his frende[s] were contnt therew[i]th; & m[aste]r kynn[er]sley had
some space given him to consider thereof & to delyu[er] them an answ[er].
vpon tuesday night.

L.a. 606, lines 11-13

(46)

I haue sent yo[ur] horse by this bearer, w[hi]ch I thought not to haue done but in regarde of ^yo[ur] p[er]sent imploym[ent] for him: I had provided hay & proveude for him, & must desrie you to spare him for m[aste]r kynn[er]sley againe at his returne from Ludlow.

L.a. 606, lines 29-33

(47)

. My lord President hath vsed him very honorably: vpon Saterdag [the] co[ur]te reformed [the] exa[m]i[n]acou[n] of the matter to S[i]r. Frannc[s] Evers & m[aste]r overbury, who were eyther to ende it if they could; or els to c[er]tefie [the] State thereof to [the] co[ur]te.

L.a. 606, lines 3-6

These examples show the period being used for marking off “complex sentences” of varying, but generally considerable lengths. To enhance the cohesion of these long passages, the colon, semi-colon and comma mark off smaller structures. The functions of these three punctuation marks appear to be more specific than what my methodology can adequately explain, but I will relay here their central functions as I see them.

Similarly to the period, the colon’s usage is also very reminiscent of its modern equivalent. The grammatical framework I have used thus far is not specific enough to convey the circumstances it is used in here, but both examples 46 and 47 show the colon being used to link an independent clause to another. Its usage is significant contextually: the clauses that follow a colon expound upon a statement in the previous clause, with no linking word. The similarity to modern usage is most visible in example 47, where the colon is followed by a description of why “*lord President hath vsed him very honourably*”.

The semi-colon and comma function in approximately the same way to each other, and can be seen marking off both independent and dependent clauses. The semi-colon is used in example 45 to mark off the simple independent clause *vaughan & his frende[s] were contnt therew[i]th*, and the following complex independent clause *& m[aste]r kynn[er]sley had some space given him to consider thereof & to delyu[er] them an answ[er]. vpon twesday night*. In example 47, the dependent clause *or els to c[er]tefie [the] State thereof to [the]*

co[ur]te is marked off with it. The comma is used to mark off the finite dependent clauses *w[hi]ch I thought not to haue done but in regarde of ^yo[ur] p[er]sent employm[ent] for him* in example 46 and *who were eyther to ende it if they could* in example 47, but can also be seen marking off the independent clause *& must desrie you to spare him for m[aste]r kynn[er]sley againe at his retorne from Ludlow*. Despite looking into some potential factors that are beyond the general framework of my grammatical analysis thus far, I was unable to find any specific circumstances in which the scribe would favour the semi-colon over the comma, or vice versa. The examples I have chosen would by themselves imply that there might be a connection between relative clauses and the comma, for example, but the secretarial letter does contain relative clauses that are marked off with the semi-colon rather than the comma.

9 Discussion

My analysis set out to ascertain what the function of Lettice's punctuation marks was, how consistently she applied her punctuation system, and whether or not it is reasonable to assume that she was motivated by adherence to some kind of a grammatical system. In this chapter I will address these questions on the basis of my results. I will also discuss the same issues with regard to the secretarial letter. I will begin with the analysis of Lettice's holographs.

Lettice's primary punctuation is limited to the colon and the period, and the analysis attempted to identify a distinct function for these marks. The marks have their preferred functions, though they are used in similar circumstances rather frequently. The colon was examined first. The most accurate and concise way to describe its function is that it is used primarily as a clause marker. It is fairly frequently seen marking off structures reminiscent of what could in Present Day English be described as sentences, with a function similar to that of the modern period. The frequency with which the colon was used to mark off lengthy passages of text which contained, variably, multiple independent and dependent clauses together as a single structure led me to further investigate how often exactly it was used in this manner. The usage of these structures was inconsistent in the letters as a whole. Some letters would abide by this principle of not marking off subordinate clause structures as separate units more than 60% of the time, but in the short 107-word letter l.a. 608 the colon

was not used in this manner at all. The short length of l.a. 608 may explain why sentential structures were not marked off in it. If this letter is not taken into account, the usage of these structures evens out to 33,1% in Lettice's letters. In my effort to determine whether the colon could be interpreted as being used for sentence-like syntactic structures, I allowed for a fair amount of flexibility in my interpretation of what constitutes a sentence, and examined her closing formulae that could reasonably be assumed to have become somewhat "automated" because of their rehearsed nature. Despite this, the fact remains that assuming Lettice's motivation to have been punctuating "sentences" is quite contentious. Whatever the colon's intended function may be in relation to these sentential structures, the colon is also frequently seen marking off subordinate clause structures, particularly the finite dependent clauses of independent clauses. The most obvious explanation for the latter practice is that the colon was intended to mark off clauses that have their own subject and verb, regardless of whether they are independent or dependent. Either way it means that the colon has two prominent, distinctly different functions. The first function is to mark off a higher-level structure in which dependent clause elements are marked off together with their independent clauses, and the second is to simply mark off finite clause structures.

The period is used in a wider variety of circumstances than the colon. It is used in clause structures in a similar manner as the colon, but this appears to be somewhat of a by-product of the fact that the usage of colon varies. In complex independent clauses where the colon is used to mark off such subordinate structures together with the independent clauses, the period will mark off smaller clause structures that would often utilize the colon. I establish the period as a lighter stop because of its usage as a modern comma-like stop in the passages marked off with colons, as well as because of its usage in phrase-level structures, such as lists of items. Finally, there is the peculiar usage of the period in non-finite dependent clauses, particularly *to*-clauses. I call this usage peculiar because punctuating infinitive clauses like Lettice does is difficult to explain in any other but grammatical terms. My analysis did not examine how often dependent *to*-clauses were marked off numerically, but the period's function for this stood out in the materials as much as the practice of marking off phrase-structures.

Despite the variation of Lettice's usage of the two marks, her punctuation method resonates with the punctuation theory of her contemporaries to a degree. I examined the punctuation descriptions of a few Renaissance grammarians, and will present here the thoughts of John

Hart and Charles Butler on the correct usage of colon for discussion. I wanted to examine theoretical accounts that have previously been noted as being concerned with syntax with regard to punctuation, and these grammarians have been identified as some of the early advocates of a syntactic punctuation theory. Salmon has examined Hart's writings on punctuation, and notes that he "discusses the function of comma, colon and period in terms which are both rhetorical, marking pause, and syntactic, marking off word groups" (2000:22). I will refer to the punctuation practice advocated by Hart in *Orthographie* (1569). Butler is one of the grammarians whose punctuation method Salmon (1988) compared to the punctuation of Henoeh Clapham. Ong (1944) also discussed Butler's views on punctuation, and concluded that Butler has "an unmistakably syntactic punctuation theory" (1944:359). He can be quite definitively stated as being one of the early proponents of syntactic punctuation. His work that I refer to here is *The English Grammar* (1633).

"[...] and so (ac=comping a full sentence, as a complete bodie) there two prickes may well signifie a great part therof,: as of the body, may be taken from the ancle ioynt to the knee, and from the knee to the huckle or buttock ioynt: and knowing thereby that there is more to come, whereas the other first rest or comma, doth but in maner deuide the small parts (betwixt the ioynts) of the hands and feete. "

Hart (1569:41)

"Colon is a point of perfect sens, but not of perfect sen-tence: wich falleth the Tone of the voice, with a shorter paus. Colon beeing a point of imperfect sentence, thee part following soomtime dooth perfect the same: as Rom. II. 36. Of him, and through him, and to him, ar all things: to whome bee glori for ever. Soomtime it onely makes perfect sens; (as the former part) but dooth not perfect sentence: so that there may bee many Colons in one Period"

Butler (1633:58)

First, I will point out here that these descriptions are rather opaque by modern standards, no doubt owing to the lack of a precise grammatical theory at the time. Hart (1569) draws the comparison between the body and the sentence, in which the "two prickes" or colon amounts to the length between the ankle and the knee, or the knee and the waist. The comma signifies a shorter length between the joints "of the hands and feete", and the period "the ende of a full and per=perfite[sic] sentence" (Hart 1569:41). It does not seem unreasonable to assume that there is a connection here between Hart's comma and the phrase-structures in the letters, and his colon that lets readers know "that there is more to come" and the punctuation of

independent and dependent clause structures by Lettice. Similarly, Butler (1633), by saying the colon implies “imperfect sentence” or “onely perfect sense” implies it is intended for finite clause structures. Furthermore, in the quote I provided above, he uses the colon to mark off dependent and co-ordinate clause structures. It could be that Lettice was utilizing the colon sometimes as a sentential marker, and sometimes as a clause marker. Given that the colon marks off independent clauses and their subordinate clauses as a single unit so often in some letters, it could simply imply she was utilizing two slightly different systems.

The fact that Lettice frequently punctuates independent clauses and finite dependent clauses both with the colon could arguably have some connection to the colon’s purported function as a kind of intermediate stop by her contemporaries, but this should not be taken as indicative of Lettice having explicit knowledge of these kinds of descriptions of punctuation. After all, if one were to suggest that Lettice sometimes utilized the colon in this manner because of the influence of grammarians like Hart and Butler, why would she utilize the period as her lighter stop? The same grammarians whose thoughts on the colon I just presented describe the period as “the ende of a full and per=perfite[sic] sentence, as the head and feete are the extreeme endes of a body” (Hart 1569:41) and “a point of perfect sens, and perfect sentence” (Butler 1633:58). She uses the colon sometimes in a manner as the grammarians instruct their readers to use the period, and sometimes like the colon. Her usage of the period can be likened to the practice the grammarians suggest for the comma. Hart’s likening the comma to joints between the hands and feet was shown above, and Butler informs his readers that “Many single woords, of the same sort, cooming together, ar distinguished by Commas: as Gal. 5. 19. How the woorks of the flesh ar manyfest: wich ar these: adulteri, fornication, uncleannes, lasciviousnes, [...]” (1633:59). This also shows a similar practice that Lettice utilized for non-finite dependent clauses and phrase-structures, although she used the period, rather than the comma.

There are some relatively clear lines to be drawn between Lettice’s usage of punctuation and the views of these arguably syntax-sensitive grammarians, but her practice is inconsistent, and her choice of marks does not on the whole correlate with their suggested usage. The failure to use the exact same punctuation marks as these grammarians is not especially damning in terms of grammaticality, though, as individual choice of punctuation marks is relatively meaningless when there is no clear standard – Petti (1977) remarks that in manuscript punctuation in particular, the meaning of specific marks varied greatly, and the

most popular marks were simply used “as general factota” (1977:25). What matters here is the kind of structure a given writer’s marks are used for. In her study of Clapham’s punctuation method, Salmon (1988) notes that the different choices of marks between the compositors whose punctuation he compared to each other are not indications of the fact that their systems were different or ungrammatical, but that they simply utilized different marks for similar purposes (1988:59). It is also perhaps notable that the colon was introduced as early on as the 14th century and was initially used as a full stop and an intermediate pause (Petti 1977:26) – Lettice’s usage applies to both of these descriptions. Furthermore, while the period had by the 15th century become a “major pause used on the line with rough equivalence to a full stop” (1977:25), it was also used “as a type of comma until the early 17th century” (ibid.). Curiously, then, Lettice’s usage of punctuation seems to resonate with the grammatical theory of the time in terms of the structures it was used for, but her choice of marks is oddly archaic for the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries.

There is a more implicit factor that needs to be addressed with regard to whether or not it is reasonable to suggest that this kind of punctuation may have been informed by some kind of syntactic rules. Namely, I will discuss here the significance of the structures Lettice punctuates, regardless of the mark used. The variation in Lettice’s usage of her marks makes it clear that at the very least, there is no obvious individual function for her marks, and that there are a few possibilities to what her intention was. The failure to apply a particular punctuation mark to specific structures more consistently is not outright indicative that Lettice did not intend to mark such structures off, however, or that her method is not grammatical. Williams (2013a) concluded that Maria Thynne’s punctuation may have been affected loosely by grammatical concepts (2013a:112). The punctuation marks of Lettice and Maria are of interest in this context: Williams’ assessment appears to have been at least partly, if not largely based on Maria’s usage of the comma. In Maria’s letters, which were written around the same time as Lettice’s letters, the comma was by far the most common mark of punctuation (2013a:85). In the examples provided by Williams, it serves in similar contexts as both the colon and period in my materials, marking off both clausal and phrase-structures (2013a:86-106). If a comparison were to be drawn to my analysis, I could have examined the occurrence of any punctuation mark at clausal limits, rather than attempting to differentiate between the functions of the colon and the period. The reason I did not do this is that such an examination would have been almost entirely moot, because some mark of punctuation not occurring at clausal limits in Lettice’s letters was extremely rare. For this

reason, the question whether some punctuation occurs at clausal limits did not come up, and the analysis focused on whether the given mark was the colon or the period. While this did not explicitly come up due to the focus and structuring of my analysis, it is worth stating. In any case, Lettice's distinction between the colon and the period is certainly a finer one than that of the comma for Maria Thynne. For example, the question whether Lettice was attempting to create some kind of "proto-sentential" units of text with the colon ultimately remains unknown due to the variation seen in her usage, but grammatically definable structures are certainly marked off by her by some punctuation mark the vast majority of the time. This kind of a usage appears to have been sufficient for Williams (2013a) to suggest a grammatical function may have been a factor in his materials, and reasonably so. Given the lack of solid rules for punctuation at the time, it seems sensible that loose adherence to grammatical rules might mean the writer knows what kinds of structures they should be punctuating (Salmon 1988:60), but that there is no clear disambiguation between the marks they utilize for it, or that they simply do not care enough to apply their marks consistently. The function of Lettice's marks varies, but the structures she chooses to punctuate are very consistent and explainable in grammatical terms.

It is necessary here to also address the points to be made for the presence of elocutionary or rhetorical punctuation. Above I have discussed why variation between the usage of the marks does not necessarily imply a lack of grammaticality. It should also be noted that the presence of different punctuation marks in several contexts could potentially be an indication of her punctuation serving the spoken, rather than the written medium. For instance, it is an enticing interpretation that Lettice's punctuation of adverbial phrases such as *:the next wicke: in and I will send to you for it: the next wicke:* (l.a. 601 lines 11-12) might be an indication of the fact that her heavier stop, the colon, is used here to emphasize the part she deemed particularly important. Perhaps the primary criticism of a syntactic explanation here is that it is difficult to establish adherence to syntax as the motivation for punctuation when no precise grammatical framework exists. In chapters 6.1 and 6.2 I discussed how punctuation developed from a tool to imitate the qualities of spoken language into its own medium, and how punctuation initially attempted to reproduce factors such as breathing pauses or emphasis. I made the case for syntax being a factor in 16th and 17th century punctuation, but the fact remains that breathing pauses and emphasis were still an integral part of the understanding of punctuation's application at this point in time. Rodriguez-Alvarez points out that most authors who discussed punctuation are "not consistent in the use of a single

criterion when they get to define and explain punctuation” (2010:44). This is visible in Butler’s discussion of the colon above, in which he also makes reference to “the Tone of the voice” (1633:58). The central point here is that since there is no definitive grammatical framework, and since the rules given for punctuation make reference to factors other than syntax, Lettice’s punctuation could also be explained in terms of pauses in speech or emphasis because they coincide with syntactic structures. The occasional usage of a heavier stop in my materials for specific noun- and adverbial phrases, for instance, seems explainable as emphasis. This is very difficult to investigate further, however. I will conclude on this point that the colon’s usage in structures such as phrases was relatively rare.

My analysis did not set out to establish syntax as the definitive framework by which Lettice punctuated; rather, the objective was to examine whether adherence to syntactic rules can reasonably be interpreted as a factor in her application of punctuation. Therefore, it is useful here to consider the arguments for and against this assertion. The arguments for syntax as a factor in Lettice’s punctuation are 1) Lettice punctuates specific kinds of structures that are explainable in grammatical terms in a consistent manner, and 2) while the functions of Lettice’s marks overlap with each other, they have preferred functions that are explainable in grammatical terms. Furthermore, these functions make similar distinctions between structures in her text that contemporary proponents of syntactic punctuation encouraged their readers to make.

The primary issue with the assertion that Lettice’s punctuation method is syntactic is that the inconsistency in practice seen in the materials may be a manifestation of factors other than syntax: in particular, the occasional choice to utilize a heavier stop in circumstances where lighter punctuation is usually used may be an indication of emphasis. While my analysis shows that Dawson & Kennedy-Skipton’s assessment of Lettice’s punctuation as a “largely meaningless scattering of full stops and colons” (1969:94) that I referred to in chapter 6 is unfair, the exact underlying principle she punctuated by still remains unknown. I believe, however, that the observations I have made here make a fair case that Lettice’s application of punctuation marks may have been informed by a set of grammatical principles.

The application of punctuation in the scribal letter is still to be discussed – despite the analysis relying on only a single letter, it was possible to assess the central functions of the scribe’s marks. The punctuation of Lettice’s scribe in l.a. 606 appears to be more nuanced

and consistent. The scribe uses a wider variety of punctuation marks, and their usage is more standardized in that the individual punctuation marks are not used in each other's place to the same degree. The period is used sparingly. It is used to mark off lengthy passages that could be construed as complex sentences, and the period never marks off subordinate clause structures. These passages are quite long, however, and the colon, semi-colon and comma are used to mark off smaller structures within the passages marked off with periods. Indeed, referring to the passages marked off with periods as sentences would be an oversimplification because the structures are so complex that they require the marks making finer distinctions within them for the text to be easily readable. The colon is used much in the same manner as its modern equivalent – the framework making use of independent and dependent clauses is not very useful for describing what kinds of structures it marks off, because it seemingly fails to account for the circumstances in which the colon is used. The semi-colon and comma appear to be used almost interchangeably, and can mark off either independent or finite dependent clauses. Unlike Lettice, the scribe is not in the habit of marking off non-finite dependent clauses at all.

Like Lettice, the scribe is very consistent in his practice of marking off specific types of structures. His punctuation method is concerned with marking off clausal structures, and he appears to have a higher-level structure that he marks off with periods that could be described as sentential. His usage of specific marks is much more precise than that of Lettice, although his motivation for choosing among these marks is not always clear. I will elaborate on this below, where I will make reference again to Hart (1569) and Butler (1633).

The accounts of the grammarians on the topic of punctuation marks and their usage resonate quite clearly with the scribe's punctuation. One period may mark off a number of independent and dependent clauses, but subordinate structures are never marked off with the period, and as such its usage is quite in line with Hart (1569) and Butler (1633), and their descriptions of the period as a marker of "perfect sentences". The grammarians provide no 'limit' to how many clauses are permitted in one period. This is quite effectively the limit to which I can compare the scribe's application of the period to the grammarians' suggested usage. I examined what the functions of the colon, semi-colon and comma were in these structures, and determined that the colon slightly differs from the semi-colon and the comma. The colon is often used between clauses with no linking word, although linking words after a colon also do occur. This can be seen in examples 46 and 47 in my analysis, and I pointed

the same examples out as reminiscent of how the colon is used in Present Day English. In their descriptions of the colon Hart and Butler do not state this condition, but Hart does say that the colon informs the reader that “there is more to come” (1569:41) and Butler says that what follows the colon perfects the sentence (1633:58).

I was unable to find a distinction between the usage of the semi-colon and comma in my analysis, but I compared them to the grammarians’ guidelines for ideal practice. The purpose was to examine if they could account for some kind of a difference between the two marks that simply was not evident on the basis of my analysis. Hart (1569) does not discuss the semi-colon, but Butler (1633) does, and he also differentiates between the functions of semi-colon and comma. I will provide here his description of the semi-colon:

Semicolon is a point of imperfect sens, in the middle of a Colon, or Period: commonly, when it is a compound axiom; whose parts are joyned together, by a double, and sometime by a single, conjunction: [...] and it continueth the tenour or tone of the voice to the last word, with a Colon-paus: as Rom.II, 16. If the first fruit be holy; the lump is holy: and if the roote be holy; so are the branches.
Butler (1633:59)

Butler states the importance of distinguishing between the semi-colon and comma in instances of antithesis in his discussion of the comma. After providing examples of “Many single words, of the same sort, coming together” (1633:41), marked off with the comma, he warns the reader:

But if they be antitheta answering one another; every second, for distinction of the parts, is fitly pointed with Semicolon: as Rom. 8, 38. I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life; nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers; nor things present, nor things to come; nor high, nor depth; nor any other creature; shall be able to separate us from the love of God, &c.
Butler (1633:41)

Since Butler is quite specific here, I reviewed the secretarial letter for instances of antithesis, and found that the scribe makes no such distinctions between the semi-colon and comma. The semi-colon is used for antithesis, but it is also used for structures such as dependent clauses utilizing *wh*-words – just like the comma is. In general terms, the semi-colon and comma are both used to mark off finite dependent clauses and new independent clauses in the letters. His practice for these marks then is very similar to Hart’s description of the

function of either the colon, shown above, or his description of the comma:

“[...] is in reading the shortest rest, neare the time of a Crachet in musicke, alwayes signifying the sentence unfini=shed which we commonly nowe marke thus , for that the use thereof is so often to be seene, I forbear to giue you any o=ther example therof.”

Hart (1569:41)

The scribe’s practice is quite comparable to that of the grammarians, but it is not as precise as Butler’s. In terms of grammaticality, a special treatment of antithesis is perhaps not very relevant either way: Salmon (1988) discusses this issue with regard to Butler’s punctuation method, and points out that “it is designed to call attention to a figure of rhetoric” (1988:58). In any case, the structures the scribe punctuates and the structures the grammarians suggest their readers should punctuate are similar. If this is to be said, however, it should also be noted that the scribe makes little use of punctuation for the shortest structures, such as non-finite dependent clauses or phrases, as seen in Butler’s discussion of the comma. This could simply be because the text sample is rather limited, and opportunities for this kind of punctuation in the scribal letter are scarce. I would conclude that the scribe utilizes an apparently consistent, syntactic method of punctuation that is very close to the method suggested by the grammarians, even though the distinction made by Butler (1633) between the semi-colon and comma is not a part of the scribe’s system. I see no reason to assume the scribe’s system of punctuation could be imitating factors of the spoken medium: his marks do not appear to be concerned with factors such as breathing pauses, at least above that of marking off syntactic structures. Furthermore, there is nothing in particular about his punctuation that appears to indicate emphasis either.

10 Conclusion

It is now time to summarize my results. The purpose of examining Lettice’s punctuation was to establish whether it is reasonable to describe Lettice’s punctuation method as syntactic. Her usage of specific punctuation marks was somewhat imprecise when described in grammatical terms. There appeared to be two distinguishable functions for the colon, which functioned as the heavier stop, intended for structures reminiscent of sentences, as well as independent and finite dependent clause-structures. The period can be established as the lighter stop because of its preferred usage in smaller structures – namely, non-finite

dependent clauses and phrase-structures. Lettice's practice has similarities with the usage advocated by contemporary writers Hart (1569) and Butler (1633), who were arguably describing the function of punctuation in grammatical terms, but her choice of punctuation marks and their imprecise application made it contentious to suggest that she had knowledge of these kinds of prescriptions for the usage of punctuation. If the structures she punctuated were to be viewed with no reference to the specific punctuation mark she used, it can be discerned that she is very consistent in marking off structures that are readily describable with grammatical terminology. Finally, the primary argument against the hypothesis that Lettice attempted to punctuate according to a grammatical method is the variation found in the usage of her marks, which may mean that she intended punctuation to indicate emphasis.

The scribe utilized a different, more precise punctuation method. The scribe used a wider variety of punctuation marks, of which the period and colon appeared to have a relatively clear function that can be compared to the function of the same marks in Present Day English. There is a less clear distinction between his remaining marks, the semi-colon and the comma. The usage of these marks appeared to be quite identical, and their function was to mark off similar structures that Lettice utilized the colon for: independent clauses, as well as finite dependent clauses. The scribe's practice seemed similar to that of the grammarians, although he applied somewhat lighter punctuation.

The variation in punctuation practice that my analysis and discussion outlined made it clear that there was no precise grammatical method present in Lettice's structuring of her text. That being said, my findings still suggest that there may well be an underlying sensitivity to factors unrelated to spoken expression that governed the way she punctuated. I pointed out early on in my methodology that it would not be reasonable to assume a precise grammatical function would be visible in the application of punctuation due to the concept of syntax still being in its infancy. Rather, the assumption was that a loosely applied system that can reasonably be viewed as grammatical may be present. Salmon (1988) makes the point that a given author utilizing a seemingly grammatical punctuation method was probably not "consciously aware of what he was doing when he marked off the structural units of the sentence" (1988:60), but rather, "he was doing so unconsciously in accordance with a linguistic 'feeling'" (ibid.). If a degree of variation in practice is forgiven, this kind of a loosely applied grammatical system can account for the practices in Lettice's holographs as well. The scribe's punctuation method is not directly comparable to modern punctuation

norms, but his method appears to be quite unequivocally grammatical. Given that the scribe was probably a professional writer, this is in keeping with the assumption that the scribe would be more educated on the subject than Lettice.

My study primarily served to add to the literature that examines the effects of syntax becoming a more common means of structuring writing. Williams (2013a) noted that the punctuation of Joan Thynne's scribes, as well as that of Maria Thynne "may reflect the way in which standards of English were greatly influenced by legal language and the fact that punctuation was increasingly being used with a grammatical function" (2013a:112). He also noted that further research would be required to examine the issue further (*ibid.*), which this study has contributed to. The value of a syntactic approach to examining the punctuation of familial writing certainly yielded more serviceable results here than one would expect on the basis of descriptions of manuscript punctuation previous scholars have offered. Salmon has examined the punctuation of highly learned writers (1988, 2000) because it is reasonable to assume that they would transcend the general ambiguity that manuscript punctuation still exhibited, and Williams has utilized approaches that take into account factors of spoken expression and concepts of pragmatics (2013a, 2013b) to make sense of the punctuation of less learned writers. Based on my grammatical analysis of the letters of Lettice Kinnersley, I would conclude that a grammatical approach may yield some interesting insights into the punctuation practices of letter writers, despite the understandable aversion that previous studies have exhibited towards examining Elizabethan letters in this manner.

This concludes my thesis. The edition of Lettice Kinnersley's letters provides a collection of transcriptions that can in the future be used to study a variety of linguistic phenomena. Furthermore, my punctuation study shows that the punctuation of Early Modern women's familial writing has been described as disorganized too hastily. Women exhibited a wide range of literary capability (Daybell 2006:91), but in general terms their punctuation has been deemed as quite idiosyncratic (Williams 2013a:65). While female writers like Maria Thynne and Lettice Kinnersley may be an anomaly in terms of their sensitivity to factors such as syntax in their punctuation, in the case of capable female writers it may be worth further investigation as to whether they were aware of a syntactic punctuation method as early on as at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries.

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Appendix

Finnish summary

Tutkielmallani on kaksi pääasiallista tavoitetta. Ensimmäinen näistä tavoitteista on luoda editio Lettice Kinnersleyn (1573-?) kirjeistä. Kirjeet on kirjoitettu noin vuosina 1595-1622. Kokoelma kuuluu Folger Shakespeare Librarylle (vastedes Folger). Editioni sisältää transkriptiot ja sanastot neljälletoista Lettice Kinnersleyn kirjoittamalle kirjeelle sekä yhdelle kirjeelle, joka on oletettavasti hänen sanelemansa. Folger ylläpitää tietokantaa, joka sisältää korkealaatuisia kuvia heidän kirjekokoelmistaan: käytin tätä tietokantaa transkriptioideni tekemiseen. Materiaalini on kirjoitettu aikana, jolloin käsin kirjoitettu teksti erosi huomattavasti nykypäivän kirjoittamisesta, ja niiden käsialat sisältävät monia ominaisuuksia jotka tekevät niistä vaikealukuisia. Tästä syystä olen sisällyttänyt tutkielmaani ennen transkriptioiden esittämistä myös taustalukuja, jotka avaavat kirjeissä esiintyviä kirjoittamisen konventioita. Käsittelen näissä taustaluvuissa Letticen ja hänen kirjurinsa käsialoja sekä lyhenteiden ja erikoisvälimerkkien merkitystä.

Tutkielmani toinen tavoite on arvioida, onko Letticen välimerkkien käyttö kieliopillisten periaatteiden ohjaamaa. Välimerkkien käytön motiivit saattoivat 1500- ja 1600-luvuilla perustua monenlaisiin periaatteisiin, ja tekstien välimerkit saattoivat edustaa hengitystaukoja, taukoja puheessa, retorisia keinoja kuten korostusta, tai syntaktisten rakenteiden erottelua. Kieliopillinen välimerkkien käyttö oli noussut aiempien, puhuttua kieltä jäljittelevien välimerkkijärjestelmien kilpailijaksi vasta 1400-luvulla, ja tämän uuden järjestelmän vaikutukset alkoivat näkyä Englannissa 1500- ja 1600-luvuilla. Valitsin Letticen välimerkkien tutkimisen tutkielmani toiseksi tavoitteeksi, koska hänen välimerkkijärjestelmällään on monia ominaisuuksia jotka viittaavat syntaktisuuteen. Naisten kirjoitustaitoa renessanssin aikana on monesti kuvailtu epäjärjestelmälliseksi, ja tämä arvio pätee myös välimerkkien käyttöön. Näitä arvioita on kuitenkin kritisoitu, ja Letticen välimerkkijärjestelmä on esimerkki siitä, miten kyseiset arviot ovat olleet liian yleistäviä ja jopa virheellisiä. Tutkielmani analyysi soveltaa kieliopillisia rakenteita Letticen välimerkkien käyttötarkoitusten ilmaisemiseen.

Materiaalini on valittu laajemmasta Folgerin *Papers of the Bagot family of Blithfield, Staffordshire* -kirjekokoelmasta. Letticen kirjeitä kyseisestä kokoelmasta on luettu aiemmin rajoitetusti, ja erinäisiä katkelmia hänen kirjeistään on käytetty aiemmassa kirjallisuudessa. Kirjeistä ei kuitenkaan aiemmin ole luotu yhtenäisiä transkriptioita. Tämän tutkielman yhteydessä tehdyt transkriptiot lähetetään Folgerin *Early Modern Manuscripts Online* (EMMO) tietokantaan. EMMO on projekti, jolla Folger pyrkii luomaan suuren tietokannan transkriptioita varhaismodernina aikana kirjoitetuista teksteistä. EMMO-projektilla on oma ohjeistuksensa transkriptioiden tekemiseen, jota ei sovellettu tässä tutkielmassa: tästä syystä tutkielmani transkriptioita on muokattu ennen niiden lähettämistä.

Taustaluvut 3-3.4 selittävät tulkintani materiaaleista, ja huomioivat ominaisuuksia jotka tekivät kirjeet osittain vaikealukuisiksi. Lettice ja hänen kirjurinsa käyttävät keskenään erilaisia käsialoja. Letticen käsiala on melko lähellä nykyajan kursiiivia, mutta hänen käsialallaan on myös piirteitä joita ei modernissa kirjoituksessa enää käytetä. Tämän lisäksi muutamat hänen kirjaimistaan saattavat olla vaikeita tulkita, koska niiden ulkoasu on hyvin samanlainen. Letticen kirjuri soveltaa vanhempaa käsialaa, joka poikkeaa huomattavasti nykyaikaisesta kirjoituksesta. Hänellä on myös taipumus kirjoittaa jotkin kirjaimet hyvin samankaltaisina.

Letticen lyhenteiden käyttö on varsin rajallista, ja hänen käyttämänsä erilliset symbolit voivat lyhentää useanlaisia eri sanoja. Hänen symbolinsa eivät siis itsessään kykene ilmaisemaan, mitä ne merkitsevät. Kirjurin lyhenteiden käyttö on monimutkaisempaa. Hän käyttää huomattavasti laajempaa lyhennejärjestelmää, mutta järjestelmä on varsin johdonmukainen koska tietynlaisten symbolien voi odottaa lyhentävän tietynlaisia kirjaimia tai kirjainyhdistelmiä. Taustalukuni välimerkeistä kertoo, millaisia välimerkkejä materiaaleissani on käytetty. Tämän lisäksi taustalukuni välimerkeistä selvittää erikoisvälimerkkien funktiota; sekä Lettice että hänen kirjurinsa käyttävät erikoisvälimerkkejä, jotka ilmaisevat esimerkiksi korjauksia ja lisäyksiä, ja näitä merkkejä ei nykyaikana käytetä samalla tavalla.

Transkriptioni pyrkivät olemaan melko uskollisia dokumenttien alkuperäisille merkeille. Muutamia merkintöjä on kuitenkin muokattu, jotta transkriptiot ovat ymmärrettäviä. Olen säilyttänyt alkuperäisen ortografian, sanavälit ja välimerkit. Sanat jotka sisältävät lyhenteitä on kirjoitettu kokonaisuudessaan. Rivien väliin, yläindeksiin kirjoitettu teksti on

transkriptioissa siirretty alkuperäisrivin tasolle. Käytän muutamia merkkejä jotka eivät esiinny alkuperäisissä teksteissä: näiden merkintöjen tarkoitus on joko jäljitellä jonkinlaista piirrettä alkuperäisessä tekstissä, jota en kykene tuottamaan transkriptioissa, tai lisätä lyhenteiden tai vahingoittuneen dokumentin vuoksi puuttuvia merkkejä. Yliviivattu teksti tarkoittaa alkuperäisten kirjoittajien tarkoituksellisesti poistamaa tekstiä, ja kysymysmerkit ilmaisevat symboleita joita en kyennyt tulkitsemaan. Hakasulkeisiin kirjoitetut merkit ilmaisevat lyhenteiden vuoksi puuttuvia merkkejä, ja kaarisulkeet edustavat merkkejä jotka puuttuvat esimerkiksi siksi, että dokumentti on vahingoittunut. Nämä lisäykset ovat siis kontekstin perusteella tehtyjä arvioita siitä, mitä vahingoittunut osuus dokumentista olisi luultavasti sisältänyt. Transkriptioillani on myös omat sanastonsa. Sanastoon on valittu sanoja joiden kirjoitusasu saattaa olla harhaanjohtavaa ja aiheuttaa virheellisen tulkinnan, sanoja joita ei enää käytetä ja sanoja joiden merkitys on muuttunut vuosisatojen saatossa. Sanaston tarkoitus on siis avustaa tekstien sisällön tulkinnassa

Kun transkriptiot ja sanastot on esitetty, siirryn varsinaiseen tutkimukseeni. Olen jakanut teorian käsittelyni lukuihin 6.1, 6.2 ja 6.3. Luvussa 6.1 on johdatus välimerkkien käytön historiaan, jossa keskityn välimerkkien käyttötarkoituksiin erityisesti 1500- ja 1600-luvuilla. Historiallinen johdatus on tarpeellinen, koska välimerkkien käyttöön vaikutti hyvin vanha traditio, joka pyrki jäljittelemään välimerkeillä puhutun kielen ominaisuuksia. Tällä traditiolla oli vielä vahva kannatus oppineiden kirjoittajien keskuudessa renessanssin aikana, ja puhutun kielen ominaisuuksia jäljitteleviä välimerkkijärjestelmiä käytettiin yleisesti. 1500-luvulla tälle traditiolle oli kuitenkin noussut kilpailijaksi uusi välimerkkijärjestelmä. Kirjoitettua kieltä ei enää pidetty pelkkänä puhutun kielen jäljitelmänä, vaan tapana ilmaista ajatuksia, joka on itsenäinen puhutusta kielestä. Kirjoitettuun kieleen sovellettavat konventiot alkoivat erkaantua puhutun kielen ominaisuuksista, ja tämän muutoksen ohella käyttöön tuli välimerkkijärjestelmä, jonka tarkoitus oli organisoida teksti kieliopillisesti merkittäviin rakenteisiin.

Luku 6.2 käsittelee sitä, miten pitkälle tämä muutos välimerkkien käytössä oli edennyt renessanssiin mennessä. Monet aiemmat tutkimukset ovat pyrkineet selvittämään, mikä välimerkkien käytön yleinen tila tässä vaiheessa oli. Asenteita välimerkkien käyttöön on tutkittu tarkastelemalla kirjailijoiden, kasvattajien ja muiden oppineiden kirjoituksia välimerkkien 'oikeasta' käytöstä. Pyrin vastaamaan siihen, miten johdonmukaista on olettaa materiaalieni välimerkkijärjestelmän olevan syntaktinen. Luku 6.3 tarkastelee Salmonin

(1988) ja Williamsin (2013a) tutkimuksia, joissa analysoitiin 1500- ja 1600-luvuilla kirjoitettujen tekstien välimerkkijärjestelmiä käytännössä. Sovelsin vaihtelevissa määrin näiden tutkimusten metodologiaa omassa analyysissäni.

Luvussa 7 käsittelen kieliopillisia rakenteita joita sovellan materiaalien välimerkkien käytön selittämiseen: päälauseita, sivulauseita, substantiivilausekkeita, adverbiaalilausekkeita ja virkkeitä. Päälauseet ovat rakenteita, jotka sisältävät oman subjektin, verbin sekä vaihtelevasti joko objektin, predikatiivin tai pakollisen adverbiaalin. Päälauseet ovat itsenäisiä: ne eivät tarvitse muita lauserakenteita ollakseen virkkeitä. Sivulauseita nimitetään sivulauseiksi, koska ne eivät voi esiintyä itsenäisinä rakenteina. Sivulauseet täydentävät päälauseita. Sivulauseet voi jakaa monenlaisiin alatyyppeihin, mutta tässä tutkielmassa tarkastelen eroja vain finiittisten ja ei-finiittisten sivulauseiden välillä. Finiittisillä sivulauseilla on persoonamuotoa käyttävä verbi, mutta ei-finiittiset sivulauseet käyttävät vain verbin perusmuotoa.

Lausekkeet ovat rakenteita jotka koostuvat yhdestä tai useammasta sanasta. Ne voidaan jakaa eri alatyyppeihin riippuen siitä, mitä pääsanana ne käyttävät. Analyysissäni tarkastelen substantiivi- ja adverbiaalilausekkeita, eli lausekkeita joiden pääsanana on joko substantiivi tai adverbiaali. Virkkeet määritellään nykypäivänä lauserakenteiksi, jotka päättyvät lopetusvälimerkkiin. Koska virkkeellä ei renessanssin aikana ollut tarkkaa määritelmää, oma tulkintani ”virkeistä” tässä tutkielmassa on hieman monimutkaisempi. Nykyaikaisen virkkeen määritelmää ei voi soveltaa suoranaisesti materiaalien analysointiin. Sanaa käytetään usein renessanssin aikana kirjoitetuissa kieliopissa, mutta sen merkityksestä ei vielä ollut minkäänlaista yksimielisyyttä. Käyttäessäni sanaa ”virke” en siis viittaa käsitteeseen jolla oli minkäänlainen oma, tarkka aikalaismääritelmänsä. Sen sijaan analyysini soveltaa termiä ”virke” kuvaavana sanana joka kykenee selittämään millaisia rakenteita Lettice erottelee välimerkeillään. Käytännössä virkkeet viittaavat analyysissäni erilaisiin pää- ja sivulauseiden yhdistelmiin jotka päättyvät kaksoispisteeseen.

Lettice käyttää tekstinsä jäsentelemiseen kaksoispistettä ja pistettä. Hänen kirjurinsa käyttää tähän tarkoitukseen pistettä, kaksoispistettä, puolipistettä ja pilkkua. Analyysini luvussa 8 pyrkii vastaamaan kolmeen kysymykseen: 1) minkälaisen syntaktisten rakenteiden erotteluun Lettice käyttää kaksoispistettä ja pistettä; 2) miten paljon näitä kyseisiä merkkejä käytetään samoihin käyttötarkoituksiin toistensa kanssa; ja 3) miten johdonmukaista on

tulkita merkkien käyttöä syntaktisten sääntöjen määräämäksi. Tarkastelen myös kirjurin välimerkkijärjestelmää, mutta pinnallisemmin kuin Letticen koska hänen tekstiään on materiaaleissani vain yhden kirjeen verran. Analyysini lopuksi keskustelen luvussa 9 tuloksieni merkityksestä ja vertaan Letticen ja hänen kirjurinsa välimerkkien käyttöä Hartin (1569) ja Butlerin (1633) kielioppeihin, jotka keskustelevat välimerkkien käytöstä. Nämä kieliopit edustivat uutta, syntaktista lähestymistapaa välimerkkien käyttöön.

Kaksoispisteellä on Letticen välimerkkijärjestelmässä kaksi pääasiallista käyttötarkoitusta. Sitä käytetään muun muassa virkkeitä muistuttavien, useista pää- ja sivulauseista koostuvien rakenteiden merkitsemiseen. Nämä rakenteet on siis merkitty yhdeksi kokonaiseksi rakenteeksi kaksoispisteen avulla. Tämä käyttötarkoitus on merkittävän lähellä pisteen nykyaikaista funktiota. Kaksoispisteen käyttö virkemäisten rakenteiden merkitsemiseen on kuitenkin epäsäännöllistä. Kaksoispisteen toinen ja yleisempi käyttötarkoitus on erottaa päälauseet ja niiden finiittiset sivulauseet omiksi rakenteikseen. Tämän lisäksi kaksoispistettä käytetään joskus lausekkeiden merkitsemiseen. Lettice käyttää pistettä kevyemmissä syntaktisissa rakenteissa. Pistettä käytetään yleisesti substantiivi- ja adverbiaalilausekkeiden erotteluun. Tämän lisäksi piste erottelee pää- ja sivulauseita toisistaan tapauksissa, joissa kaksoispiste erottelee virkerakenteita. Pisteen käyttötarkoitukset ovat siis hieman laajemmat kuin kaksoispisteen.

Letticen kirjurin välimerkkijärjestelmä on varsin erilainen. Hänen järjestelmänsä on vivahteikkaampi, koska hän käyttää useampia erilaisia välimerkkejä ja näiden välimerkkien funktioilla on tarkemmat erot. Hänen välimerkkiensä funktiot eivät myöskään vaihtele keskenään samassa määrin kuin Letticen kaksoispiste ja piste. Kirjurin piste merkitsee pitkiä virkerakenteita. Muita merkkejä käytetään näiden virkerakenteiden sisällä erottelemaan lyhyempiä rakenteita. Yleisellä tasolla niitä käytetään erilaisten pää- ja sivulauseiden erotteluun. Kirjurin välimerkkien funktiot ovat hyvin samankaltaisia kuin niiden nykyaikaiset vastineet.

Kirjurin välimerkkijärjestelmä on varsin helposti tulkittavissa syntaktiseksi. Kirjurin välimerkkien käyttö ei varsinaisesti sulje pois mahdollisuutta, että sillä yritettiin ilmaista jotakin muuta kuin syntaktisia rakenteita, mutta syntaktisten rakenteiden erottelu on kaikkein itsestäänselvin tulkinta kirjurin välimerkkien käyttötarkoituksesta.

Letticen periaatetta välimerkkien käytölle on hieman vaikeampi analysoida. Hänen valintansa käyttää kaksoispistettä pidempiin rakenteisiin ja pistettä lyhyempiin rakenteisiin alkoi olla vanhahtava käytäntö jo 1500-luvulla, mutta yksittäisten välimerkkien käyttötarkoitukset vaihtelivat kirjoittajakohtaisesti vielä huomattavasti. Oleellisempaa on tarkastella, millaisia rakenteita merkeillä eroteltiin. Kirjekohtaisesti virkerakenteet olivat yleisiä muutamassa kirjeessä, mutta kaikkiaan kaksoispistettä käytetään yleensä merkitsemään finiittisiä lauseita. Pistettä käytetään samankaltaisten rakenteiden erottelemiseen kuin nykyajan pilkkua. Letticen välimerkkijärjestelmän funktio on arvioitavissa syntaktiseksi, mikäli joitakin epäsäännöllisyyksiä ei katsota syntaktisuuden puutteeksi. Aiemmissä tutkimuksissa on huomioitu, että epäsäännöllisyyttä välimerkkien käytössä on uuden ajan alkupuolen teksteissä syytä sietää: kieliopillisia käsitteitä ei käytännössä ollut vielä olemassa, ja kirjoitettu kieli ei aina ollut täysin säännöllistä edes sellaisten kirjoittajien keskuudessa, jotka olivat tietoisia kieliopillisista periaatteista.

Tutkielmani on edistänyt englannin kielen tutkimusta kahdella eri tavalla. Transkriptioitani voi soveltaa kielen tutkimukseen koska ne säilyttävät suurimman osan kirjeissä käytetyn kielen piirteistä. Välimerkkitutkimukseni puolestaan laajensi ymmärrystä siitä, miten syntaktinen välimerkkien käyttö alkoi jo näkyä sellaistenkin kirjoittajien teksteissä, joiden välimerkkien käyttöä on yleensä pidetty hyvin epäjärjestelmällisenä. Tutkimukseni tulokset viittaavat siihen, että naispuoliset kirjeiden kirjoittajat saattoivat olla tietoisia kieliopillisesta välimerkkijärjestelmästä aiemmin kuin on oletettu.