

KIRSTEN INGLIS AND BOYDA JOHNSTONE

'The Pen lookes to be canoniz'd': John Newdigate III, Author and Scribe

In act 1 of a recently discovered Caroline-era play, *The Humorous Magistrate*, the courtier Spruce sympathizes with his lover Constance for her unfortunate kinship with Justice Thrifty, the pompous and comical central character: 'how miserablye plagued is my deare / *Constance*, to haue such a thing to her father, as canot / read English but in his clerks hand, nor euer / wrote suþscription, but to the Constable, or his deputye, / & that vpon cap paper'.¹ Spruce targets Thrifty's illiteracy as a source for his degeneracy; because Thrifty can only read a single scribal hand and is unable to compose a respectable letter, he does not possess the skills required to properly govern the county, or even his own daughter. Elsewhere in the play Constance's dry-nurse Jenet demands that her husband Peter Parchment, the scrivener, 'not scribble scrangle' with his pen, 'like a boy that runs crooked / though his paper be ruled wth two lines'.² Other references to such items as Peter's 'buckram bag' demonstrate an awareness of the materials associated with composition and bookishness.³ A persistent discourse around writing and manuscript production haunts this seventeenth-century drama, suggesting an author familiar with the terms of both scribal and authorial practices. As this article will contend, the author of *The Humorous Magistrate* was a man of varied and extensive literate abilities who acknowledged the linguistic trends of the day and attempted to cultivate a sophisticated practice of composition, both through creative authorship and trained script. He was, that is, the direct antithesis of the bumbling Justice Thrifty, and an exemplary case of one who would 'not scribble scrangle', continually updating the form of his script while at the same time working to 'canonize his pen' by revising his original works.

Specifically we will argue that the country gentleman John Newdigate III (1600–1642) of Arbury Hall was the author of both extant manuscript versions of *The Humorous Magistrate* — one early version included in the A414

miscellany at the Arbury Hall library in Nuneaton, Warwickshire, and one late version housed in the University of Calgary Osborne Collection — and that he wrote these plays with his own hand.⁴ Although scholars have been reluctant to definitively ascribe authorship of the Arbury and Osborne versions of the play to Newdigate,⁵ the collaborative work of Osborne Project researchers has led to the discovery of a wealth of documentary evidence which points overwhelmingly to Newdigate's hand as that which composed, revised, and copied both versions of *The Humorous Magistrate*, as well as the three other A414 plays and various other previously unasccribed or inconclusively attributed documents. In “‘You see the times are dangerous’: The Political and Theatrical Situation of *The Humorous Magistrate* (1637)”, Mary Polito describes the desire to set aside questions of authorship and attribution in favour of a close reading of the play itself,⁶ and it is only after the careful gathering and analysis of a great deal of manuscript evidence that we return to the question of authorship in *The Humorous Magistrate*. As we will argue below, paleographic comparison in the form of Digital Hand Comparison Charts coupled with circumstantial and biographical details of Newdigate's interest in the theatre and in play and masque texts (both print and manuscript) allow us to offer a confident assertion of Newdigate's authorship of these plays.

Although it may be surprising that Newdigate was both author and scribe of his works, the reasons as to why he would write in his own hand are many. According to Harold Love, in 1640s Yorkshire many country landowners wrote in their own hands, possessing ‘an almost fetishistic delight in manuscripts and a passion for transcribing that exceeded any immediate practical need’, and John Newdigate III may have shared such a puritanical passion for handwriting.⁷ He may also have been indebted to certain seventeenth-century ‘fayre writing’ manuals which establish handwriting as an elevated art, one which could advent perfect meaning if employed properly.⁸ David Browne's *The New Invention, Intituled Calligraphia* (1622), for example, states that the ‘Sacred Mouth’ of God may be communicated through ‘Holie Scriptures’, and that ‘the Grammar of fayre Writing is the Key of all Learning.’⁹ In a later treatise, *Arts Glory, or, The Pen-man's Treasurie* (1657), Edward Cocker positions the function of handwriting as ‘the Parent and Original’ of ‘Mechanical’ and ‘Liberal’ arts, the ‘Way to all Sciences’, and the ‘Dispenser and Herald of Virtues’, suggesting a continued understanding in the seventeenth century of handwriting as morally advantageous.¹⁰ As we posit below, John Newdigate's scribal hand demonstrates the influence of writing

manuals of this kind; he may have adopted their ideology of fair writing and cultivated his script accordingly. That Thrifty is ridiculed for his inability to compose superscription properly suggests that *The Humorous Magistrate* itself promotes the view that fair handwriting is the ‘Dispenser and Herald of Virtues’. Peter Parchment, a master of inscription, certainly manages country business more efficiently than his superior, even adopting the title ‘clerk of the *quorum*’ though his ‘M^r be not [of the quorum]’.¹¹ Newdigate, unlike his ridiculed main character Thrifty, maintained personal control over his writing career, composing drama in his own hand rather than relying upon a scribe.¹²

Despite the admitted difficulty in distinguishing authorial revision from scribal revision,¹³ we will argue, with Trevor Howard-Hill and Margaret Jane Kidnie, that the degree of revision evident in the miscellany plays far exceeds the kind of license scribes would generally take with another writer’s work. Not only are there revisions at the level of individual words, including substitution, addition, and deletion, there are revisions, additions, substitutions, and deletions at the level of passage and scene as well,¹⁴ and the manuscript lacks those ‘virtuosic displays of penmanship’, such as calligraphic decoration or catchwords, which were common amongst professional scribes.¹⁵ According to Kidnie, the Arbury manuscript of *The Humorous Magistrate* ‘shows an author in the process of composition’, although the existence of copying errors suggests to her that the author of this play also ‘function[s] as his or her own copyist’.¹⁶ That is, the manuscript seems to be a working copy controlled and expanded upon by the author himself, even if the process of composition was communal, undertaken in a group setting with various more or less successful attempts at performance. Kidnie further posits the possible former existence of multiple versions of the play — even as many as four — including one which may have appeared prior to the Arbury; her hypothesis relies on the scale of the changes undertaken between Arbury and Osborne (see note 14), including major revisions at the level of speech and a small correction which appears in both extant manuscripts.¹⁷ All such evidence suggests that this playwright was assiduously invested in his own practice of composition and compositional revision, aiming for a final, polished product. Thus to identify the hand of the Arbury version of *HM* is to identify with probability the person primarily responsible for the play as a whole.

The hands which we have attributed to John Newdigate III show a diversity that scholars have remarked upon and which have proven difficult to reconcile with a single scribe.¹⁸ Kidnie, for example, in her initial discussion

of the two play manuscripts and related documents, suggests that the multiplicity of letter forms in the surviving texts is 'more likely to suggest two writers whose habits were perhaps shaped by a common exemplar' than a single authorial hand.¹⁹ A detailed consideration of the timeline for these documents and of evidence for an evolving but matching authorial hand, however, have led us to reformulate Kidnie's hypothesis. The Comparison Charts which we offer as evidence for our conclusions display exemplary letter forms which characterize a certain script, arranging the characters side-by-side with the same respective characters deriving from many different manuscripts. These charts support our contention that these plays were written not by multiple hands shaped by a common exemplar, but by a single hand shaped by multiple exemplars and adapted for various writing contexts.

John Newdigate III and His Circle

The attribution of *The Humorous Magistrate* to John Newdigate III was first made by Trevor Howard-Hill in his 1988 article 'Another Warwickshire Playwright: John Newdigate of Arbury'. Howard-Hill provides titles for the three previously nameless plays bound together in the A414 Arbury miscellany and considers paleographic and historical evidence in order to propose that Newdigate was their author. Though Howard-Hill deems the paleographic details 'too many and too complex to be described', he does provide a wealth of supporting biographical evidence for Newdigate's authorship based largely on Vivienne Larminie's work on the seventeenth-century Newdigate family.²⁰ As Larminie observes in her comprehensive history, John Newdigate had been interested in the drama from at least his late teens, when he saw a comedy at the Coventry school of his brother, Richard, and he attended a steady stream of plays at various theatres during his time at Oxford and the inns of court. Newdigate's 'interest in drama and horseracing survived his marriage' to Susanna Lulls in 1621, and Lulls herself 'seems to have been in attendance in February 1634 either for Shirley's *The Triumph of Peace* or Carew's *Coleum Britannium*'.²¹ The Newdigate account books detail purchases of printed play texts and the presence in library catalogues of both manuscript and printed dramatic works reveals Newdigate's encompassing interest in the theatre.²² Indeed, the properties of the manuscript plays in Newdigate's hand are consistent with the tendencies of a passionate amateur: the plays evince a writer conversant with theatrical manuscript conventions

such as italicizing entrances, exits, act divisions, and with the general formatting conventions of play books, but who also displays markers of amateurism, such as the tendency to include very specific and detailed stage directions at odds with the practice of most professional playwrights.²³ Larminie's discussion amply attests to John's passion for seeing and reading drama. She argues that 'John III's interest in contemporary drama was enduring, his tastes eclectic and frequently indulged, and his access to overt moral discussion or covert political opinion rapid'.²⁴ While Larminie does not ascribe authorship of the Arbury plays to John Newdigate, her work does much to situate him within a community of literary-minded Midlands gentry families.

John Newdigate's only printed poem reveals his intimate connection with the literary circle of Lady Jane Burdett, a Derbyshire literary patron who inspired a vibrant group of 'scholars, literati and politicians'.²⁵ Newdigate's funerary tribute to Burdett was printed posthumously in 1650's *The Wearie Souls Wish: OR, The Doves Wings*. Newdigate styles Jane Burdett 'the Muse herself'; her circle of influence included the Gresley family, close friends of the Newdigates, as well as the Warwickshire antiquaries William Dugdale and Sir Simon Archer. Another of Newdigate's influential contacts was Gilbert Sheldon, a close friend from John's Oxford days who Larminie notes 'proffered to John the latest news and literature from Oxford and London and access to his very extensive north midland gentry connections'.²⁶ Larminie further argues that although Newdigate's early circle of acquaintances was wide-ranging, nurtured by the 'carefully calculated' choice of Trinity College, Oxford and residence at the inns of court, John tended in his later years to cultivate those friends 'who shared his particular interests'.²⁷ In particular, 'Derbyshire/Warwickshire contacts with the Burdetts, Gresleys, and Willoughbys were sustained by poetry; literary interests also linked him with inns acquaintances Richard Fallowfield and Edward Stapleton'.²⁸ Indeed, John's commonplace book contains a poem entitled 'Vpon a ioynted ring', which is attributed to Francellina Stapleton, a member of the Warwickshire family 'with whom [Newdigate] had legal and other contacts'.²⁹ The web of connections (familial, friendly, and literary) between these Midlands gentry families provides striking evidence for the existence of a local literary community amongst whom dramatic and other literary manuscripts circulated.³⁰

The Documentary Evidence

Somewhat surprisingly given the scarcity of extant dramatic manuscripts from the period in question, the Arbury plays and Howard-Hill's attribution of them to John Newdigate III have garnered relatively little critical attention. While Howard-Hill forbore to include details of his paleographic analysis in support of the attribution, we would maintain that such details are necessary in order to establish an attribution that is based on more than circumstantial evidence. First, however, a review of the documents under scrutiny in this article seems warranted, as scholars to date have considered some but not all of the pieces that we will argue were written by Newdigate. This overview should give a sense of the timeline associated with Newdigate's copying, composing, and correspondence activities.

Newdigate's first extant dramatic effort, *Glausamond and Fidelity*,³¹ is a dramatic rendering of the *Decameron* 4.1, in which the playwright has changed the names of Boccaccio's heroine and her lover. The play is short and heavily worked-over, with deletions, additions, and revisions appearing in the hand of the author. It is the earliest document we will consider in Newdigate's hand and is datable to 1618–20. Trevor Howard-Hill argued in 1980 that the play had been written before 1620, based partly on its lack of textual affinity with the 1620 English *Decameron* (a copy of which Newdigate purchased in 1620).³²

John Newdigate's commonplace book,³³ which appears to have been copied over a number of years from the late 1620s through the 1630s, contains items such as Francis Hubert's *Life of Edward II* (f 1–73v); an epitaph on Sir Walter Raleigh (f 78v); excerpts from John Earle's *Characters* (f 82–102) 'bestowed vpon me by Mr G. S. April: 1627. in Mr. Erles own copie'³⁴ (f 102); Donne's *Paradoxes & Problems* (f103–8v); and the verses 'On the Death of Mrs Fallowfield' (f 108v–9v) and 'Mr. Clifton to my cosen An Willoughby' (f 110–111v). The book provides 'evidence both of the breadth of [Newdigate's] taste and the process of authorship'³⁵ as well as a wide and representative sample of John Newdigate's handwriting in the late 1620s and thirties.

The Arbury miscellany, bound in the early eighteenth century, contains four plays in the hand of John Newdigate III. *Ghismonda and Guiscardo*³⁶ is a heavily revised version of the wCRO *Glausamond and Fidelity* that, based on internal allusions and textual affinities, Howard-Hill argues was altered after the author had accessed the 1620 English translation of *The Decameron*

and the 1623 first folio of Shakespeare’s plays.³⁷ An early date for the Arbury *Ghismonda* seems consistent with the hand evidence of the manuscript, as we will argue that an evolution is discernible within the play that moves from the dominance of secretary forms toward the more mixed hand of the later plays, and with codicological evidence, as the Arbury *Ghismonda* is separated from the other three plays in the miscellany by a folio which reads ‘Plays’.³⁸ *The Twice Chang’d Friar*,³⁹ the only one of the plays furnished with a title in its manuscript, is also a dramatic rendering of a *Decameron* tale, this time of 4.2, the tale directly following the *Ghismonda* story. This play, deemed too crude even for a Red Bull audience by its first anonymous commentator,⁴⁰ has attracted no scholarly attention, and an early date is indicated in part by its source in *The Decameron* common to the *Ghismonda* plays and by paleographical evidence. *The Emperor’s Favourite*⁴¹ is a Roman tragedy rife with topical allusions to the role of court favourites in general and to George Villiers, first duke of Buckingham (1592–1628), in particular. Siobhan Keenan convincingly argues for a date of composition in the late 1620s⁴² and while she feels the paleographic evidence for Newdigate’s authorship is inconclusive, she does note that he ‘would have been especially well-placed to write a play which glanced at the story of the Duke of Buckingham ... having participated as MP for Liverpool in the 1628 parliament which drew up a remonstrance against the king’s favourite’.⁴³ A date in the late twenties would place *The Emperor’s Favourite* after the *Decameron* plays but before the Arbury version of *The Humorous Magistrate*,⁴⁴ which was likely written between 1625 and 1637, the latter, Kidnie argues, being an outer limit based on the manuscript’s hands and watermarks.⁴⁵ Internal allusions place the play securely in the Caroline period⁴⁶ and make it the latest of the Arbury plays.

Occurring chronologically probably between the composition of *The Emperor’s Favourite* and *The Humorous Magistrate*, John Newdigate’s 1628 Parliamentary Diary⁴⁷ is at once the most dateable and identifiable document in our survey and the most difficult to reconcile with other samples of Newdigate’s hand, despite Howard-Hill’s contention that it supplies ‘the clearest paleographical evidence for his hand in the dramatic manuscripts’.⁴⁸ Praised by the editors of *Commons Debates 1628* as ‘the most complete of all the known private diaries’ relative to the number of days it covers, the Diary provides a record of parliamentary addresses in 1628.⁴⁹ It is written in a distinctive hand that resembles modern printed letter forms more than it does a secretary hand, but this apparent discrepancy will be addressed below.

Some shorter documents that have not previously been considered in relation to Newdigate and his authorship of the plays include a 1626 letter from Newdigate to the Attorney General Robert Heath. The letter explains Newdigate's failure to collect as much money from the goods of 'conuicted recusants' as demanded by the attorney general, and displays a distinct 'printed' appearance similar to the Parliamentary Diary.⁵⁰ The account books kept by John Newdigate during the period spanning 1634–1639, while he was resident at Croydon,⁵¹ provide not only a fascinating glimpse into such daily activities as 'mending my lute' or buying 'two paire of wolsted stockings for my wife', but also suggest an intense interest in drama and entertainment of various kinds.⁵² Two items from 1634 reveal Newdigate's distinctive Italic hand (see discussion in this essay, 46–9). The Warwickshire Newdigate collection contains a list of food served at the 1634 entertainment given for King Charles I by William Cavendish at Bolsover Castle.⁵³ This was the event at which Jonson's masque, *Love's Welcome at Bolsover*, was staged, and this document, rendered in John Newdigate's hand, provides an intriguing, if obscure, link between the Cavendish and Newdigate families.⁵⁴ Perhaps the Newdigates had even been present at the event — there is certainly ample evidence of their interest in masques and drama. The other datable item from 1634 occurs in a book given to John Newdigate by his brother-in-law Richard Skeffington. The inscription reads 'My brother Skef / fingtons gift. / Croydon.1634'.⁵⁵ John Newdigate had resided at Croydon since the spring of 1633 and the terms with which he habitually addressed Richard Skeffington are consistent with the tone of this inscription.⁵⁶ A letter from John Newdigate to William Dell, dated 1637 and concerning John's desire to appoint the next incumbent to a church living,⁵⁷ provides an important link in the evolution of Newdigate's hand in the thirties. The letter, although unsigned, is certainly attributable to John based on his residence at Croydon during the period in question and on the verso endorsement in Richard Newdigate's distinctive scrawl that reads '28 Nov 37 my brothers answer'.

Two poems, one in the Arbury Miscellany and one in the WCRO Newdigate collection, provide evidence for Newdigate's interest in composing poetry as well as drama. Kidnie noted soon after the discovery of the Osborne version of *The Humorous Magistrate* and its 'near neighbour' the Arbury manuscript, that a good match for the hand of the Osborne version is present in the Arbury miscellany in a poem entitled 'To a Poet whose *mistris* was painted'.⁵⁸ This poem, Kidnie notes, 'exhibits the same distinctive scribal characteristics one finds in the Osborne manuscript' and indeed shares a 'pillars

and grapes’ watermark with two leaves of the Arbury play.⁵⁹ This discovery allowed Kidnie to refine the dating of the play and provided yet another link between the as-yet-anonymous scribe of the Osborne play and the Newdigates of Arbury Hall. Further, an untitled poem in the Newdigate collection that begins ‘Rome with the precious blood of *Saints* is [gor’d] gored’⁶⁰ provides a good match to John Newdigate’s hand in the Croydon letter, ‘To a Poet whose *mistris* was painted’, and the Osborne manuscript. These verses are undated and there is little contextual evidence to connect them with Newdigate. The hand evidence is compelling,⁶¹ however, and would suggest a later date of composition; the verses, like the Arbury plays, show a great deal of *currente calamo* revision by their author.

Finally, the Osborne manuscript of *The Humorous Magistrate* (titled *Marriage Upon Marriage, Or, As I Told You Before* by University of Calgary researchers before Howard-Hill’s 1988 title came to light) provides the latest example of Newdigate’s hand. This manuscript, as Polito and Windle successfully demonstrate, was revised after May 1640 and likely before November of that year,⁶² probably from a lost manuscript representing an intermediate stage of revision after the Arbury version of the play.⁶³ The Osborne manuscript, according to a note in Edgar Osborne’s hand on its flyleaf, had been purchased by the antiquarian and librarian at a ‘Watnall Hall sale’ in 1947. The Watnall Hall provenance of this version of the play, which has yet to be satisfactorily confirmed, complicates Howard-Hill’s attribution of Arbury plays to John Newdigate, since the Arbury provenance of the manuscripts initially gave Howard-Hill his ‘obvious starting-point’⁶⁴ in seeking the author of the plays; serious consideration had never been given to other candidates.⁶⁵ That said, the Newdigate family’s close ties with the Willoughbys of Wollaton Hall in Derbyshire may have put John Newdigate into contact with the Rollestons, the family who owned Watnall Hall in the seventeenth century. The Watnall Hall provenance of the Osborne manuscript in Newdigate’s hand supports the assertion that a vibrant community of readers and writers flourished in these Midlands counties.

Digital Hand Comparison Charts as Paleographic Evidence

This wide assortment of disparate documents may be traced to a single author, John of Arbury, through detailed paleographic comparison between scripts. It is important to note at the outset that the methodology of this article depends upon advancements in reprographic technology and changing

regulations at the various archives at which the associated documents are held: many archives now either allow researchers to take digital photographs under carefully controlled conditions or will provide digital images produced by conservationists, policies which allow paleographic examination to continue after researchers no longer have direct access to the documents. Personally acquiring high quality digital images of manuscript sources thus enabled us to devise the Digital Hand Comparison Chart, an analytical method of comparing scripts between different manuscripts in order to help determine or disprove their shared authorship. Such a method, of course, relies upon plausible connections between two handwritten documents. In part, the success of the Comparison Chart is due to its ability to unearth the differences between two hands: for example, because some of the lines by Justice Thrifty in *The Humorous Magistrate* are very close to those of Justice Clack in Richard Brome's *A Jovial Crew* — the last play to be staged publically before the closing of the theatres in 1642 — we needed to compare Brome's authorial hand with the hand in both versions of *The Humorous Magistrate*. Lichfield Cathedral ms Lichfield 68, *The English Moore*, is the only handwritten version of any of Brome's plays, and Sara Jayne Steen has maintained that it is likely a holograph;⁶⁶ the figures arranged on a Comparison Chart, electronic and therefore readily distributable between individuals, allowed our team to collectively determine that the Arbury and Osborne plays are not in Brome's hand.

Comparison Charts are also valuable resources for identifying similarities between scripts, however, and the remainder of this section will consider the hands and documents associated with John Newdigate III.

The Late Comparison Chart — Figure 1

While the ostensibly disparate scripts in the Osborne and Arbury manuscripts of *The Humorous Magistrate* initially complicated the attribution of the plays to John Newdigate, a recent examination of the Croydon letter from Newdigate to William Dell (1637) reveals the precise scribal hand which appears in the Osborne version of *The Humorous Magistrate*, as illustrated in 'John Newdigate III's Late Hand' chart (fig. 1). Column A presents characters found in the Osborne manuscript; Column B presents characters from the short original poem 'To a Poet whose *mistris* was painted', which Kidnie identifies as written in the same hand as Osborne;⁶⁷ Column C presents characters from Newdigate's Croydon letter; and Column D presents characters from the untitled 'Rome *with* the *precious* blood' verses.

Digital Hand Comparison Chart: John Newdigate III's Late Hand				
	A. Osborne version of <i>The Humorous Magistrate</i> (1640)	B. 'To a poet whose mistress was painted' poem (1637)	C. Newdigate's Croydon letter (1637)	D. Untitled Verses - 'Rome with the precious blood of Saints' (n.d.)
Characters				
1. 'B'				
2. 'd'				
3. 'h'				
4. 'I'				
5. 'L'				
6. 's'				
7. 'y'				
8. 'W'				
Words				
1. 'knowledge/ knows/ knowne'				
2. 'humbye/'emptye'		N/A		
3. 'selfe'				n/a
4. 'ignoble'				

Fig. 1. Newdigate's late hand. The Osborne ms thumbnails are taken from the following folios: 1r, 1v, 2r, 3r, 3v, 4v, 5v, 6v, 9v, 10r, 14r, and 17v.

Composed within the span of three or four years, these items possess undeniable similarities of script and even of orthography: this chart illustrates the similarities, with some minor differences, between majuscule letters, minuscule letters, and whole words. Particularly, in all samples the ascender of minuscule *d* expresses a sharp lean to the left; minuscule *h* assumes a recognizably rounded form; majuscule *I* is often formed with one single stroke which completes the crossbar; majuscule *L* also consists of a single stroke which twice crosses the shaft and connects with a ligature to the following

letter; minuscule *y* is formed either with a descender which loops to the left, or three quick strokes which give it a characteristically slashing appearance; and majuscule *W* is terminated with a looping stroke to the right. The comparisons of four words at the bottom of the chart demonstrate the more general similarities between the scripts, including vertical orientation of the characters and shared orthography, like the spelling of ‘humbly’ (or other *y*-final words such as ‘empty’) with a terminal *e*. Indeed, while the construction of some individual letter forms does vary, a natural enough occurrence, most comparisons exhibit the same pen-strokes, emphases, and height and width of characters.⁶⁸

The Early Comparison Chart — Figure 2

If Newdigate’s hand is responsible for the Osborne play, as the above chart suggests, what of the other holograph documents by John Newdigate III which had previously led scholars to believe otherwise, such as the commonplace book and the Arbury miscellany? Although the forms in the commonplace book do not immediately present matches for the later Osborne hand, we have discovered that *Glausamond and Fidelia* exhibits a virtually identical script as appears in the first item of the commonplace book, Hubert’s *The Life of Edward II* (f 1–73v). Kidnie argues that both early and later versions of the Ghismonda play possess a similar script, and we have confirmed that they are, in fact, the same hand with slight variations;⁶⁹ as such, an examination of *Glausamond and Fidelia* with John Newdigate’s hand in the commonplace book should suffice to demonstrate the striking similarities between the commonplace book and both versions of the Ghismonda play. The chart ‘John Newdigate III’s Early Hand’ (fig. 2) supplies such a comparison, containing compelling evidence of the similarities between many of the forms, particularly in the case of the notoriously variable majuscule letters. For example, majuscule *B* contains a distinctive vertical bar through its base; majuscule *D* is formed with an unfinished concave curve attached to a looped bowl, often lacking a vertical base; majuscule *H* is formed with a series of loops which resemble the Late Chart *L* followed by a diving backwards *S* form; and minuscule *x* consists of a single dramatic knot which curves to the left. Both forms of minuscule *e* and majuscule *G* appear in the two items. We find the knotted *x*, as well as the double-looped *k*, in the later samples of Newdigate’s hand, as with many other forms.

That Newdigate’s own commonplace book shares hands with both versions of the Ghismonda play — versions which themselves contain significant,

Digital Hand Comparison Chart: John Newdigate III's Early Hand		
	E. <i>Glausamond and Fidelia</i> (c. 1618-21)	F. Newdigate's Commonplace Book (c.1620s)
Characters		
9. 'B'		
10. 'D'		
11. 'e'		
12. 'G'		
13. 'H'		
14. 'k'		
15. 'N'		
16. 'T'		
17. 'w th '		
18. 'x'		
Words		
5. 'wise'		
6. 'And'		
7. "bound"		

Fig. 2. Newdigate's early hand. The thumbnails in this chart are taken from the following folios: *Glausamond and Fidelia* 1v, 2v, 3v, 4v, 5r, 6r, 8r, 8v, 9v, and 17v; and Newdigate's *Commonplace Book* 1r, 1v, 40v, 72r, 78r, 79v, and 103r.

authorial alterations — already suggests that John of Arbury was heavily involved in producing and reshaping plays. But what of the other plays in the Arbury miscellany? Kidnie ascertains that ‘although the hands in the two ‘Ghismonda’ plays found among the Newdigate papers are quite similar to each other, they are noticeably different from the hands used to write *The Humorous Magistrate*, *The Emperor’s Favorite*, and *The Twice Chang’d Friar*’.⁷⁰ She attributes this distinction to the prevalence of slashing long ‘s’ and secretary ‘h’ in the Arbury *Ghismonda*, forms which do not appear in the other plays. The undeniable similarities between most other letter forms, such as majuscules *B* and *N* and minuscules *k* and *d*, present convincing evidence to the contrary, however, and we will argue that exceptional cases such as *s* and *h* can be attributed to a disposition in Newdigate’s earlier hand toward a pointed style which gradually evolves into the more rounded script of the Osborne play, as discussed in the next section. The case of minuscule *h* in *Ghismonda* visually illustrates the evolution from a rigid secretary hand to a more curvy, mixed italic style. In particular, secretary *h*, which contains a long descender as well as a looped ligature at the top linking to the previous character, appears seventy-four times on f 78b of the Arbury *Ghismonda*, the second page of the play, while a more recognizable, italic-influenced *h* (hereafter referred to as ‘rounded’) appears only three times.⁷¹ About half-way through the manuscript however, on f 91, secretary *h* appears forty-three times and rounded *h* appears thirty-nine times, a much more equitable distribution of both forms. Then, near the end of the manuscript on f 101, secretary *h* appears twenty-four times and rounded *h* appears ninety-four times (including in the superscript portion of ‘*with*’ and ‘*which*’, an appearance which rarely, if ever, happens in the first folios of the play). In one instance on f 101, the author has corrected secretary *h* to rounded *h* in the word ‘*shall*’, clarifying the form he wished the letter to assume in this late folio. The example of the letter *h* in the Arbury *Ghismonda* demonstrates that even at this early stage, Newdigate was invested in his writing style, shaping it toward a certain ideal. In terms of *s*, it is important to note that the slashing *s* of the Arbury *Ghismonda* does appear in the Bodleian commonplace book, representative of Newdigate’s early hand. Due in part to the case of the Arbury *Ghismonda*’s evolving *h*, we can imagine that the rounded *s* which appears frequently before *t* or *h* in the other Arbury plays may have evolved from the slashing version, as it simply contains curved rather than sharp edges at the top and bottom of the lengthened shaft.⁷² While we recognize that there are certain differences between the *Ghismonda* plays and the other

plays bound in the Arbury miscellany, then, we can resolve the problems of *h* and *s* by envisaging a personal evolution of style which is more fully attributed in the following section. It is our contention, then, that all plays in the Arbury miscellany, including *The Humorous Magistrate*, are inscribed by one hand.

A Hand in Transition: Early and Late Hand Comparisons — Figure 3

To summarize, our evidence has shown that the hand in the Osborne manuscript is a match for the late hand of John Newdigate III in the Croydon letter; furthermore, the early hand of the Ghismonda play, and by extension the hand of all four Arbury plays, matches Newdigate’s early hand in his commonplace book. It seems, then, that Newdigate’s pen is responsible for both versions of *The Humorous Magistrate*. What remains is to reconcile these different scripts with the notion of a single authorial hand, and the ‘Early and Late Hand Comparisons’ chart (fig. 3) attempts to do so. This chart reveals surprising and compelling similarities between the two hands, such as the characteristic appearance of majuscules *B*, *D*, *E*, *H*, and *V*, and minuscule *s*. In terms of the differences between the hands, we have already demonstrated a small-scale evolution of the letter *h* in the Arbury *Ghismonda*, and we would thus point to a more large-scale evolution of Newdigate’s hand, one which occurs along two parallel trajectories, discussed in this section. Firstly, Newdigate was demonstrably influenced in his early hand by writing manuals and in his late hand by the general scribal trend towards more mixed and Italic forms;⁷³ secondly, as he continued to practice and adapt his hand throughout his adult years, Newdigate’s script developed an individual and idiosyncratic style.

The sheer number of printed seventeenth-century ‘faire writing’ manuals suggests that their circulation was fairly popular amongst those who wished to learn ‘calligraphotechnia’, the sophisticated art of writing.⁷⁴ Only one of these manuals has been linked with the Newdigate library,⁷⁵ but the similarity between Newdigate’s characters and their models strongly suggests some degree of influence from the manuals, if only as they established common pedagogic programs to which members of well-to-do families would have adhered. For example, an alphabetized chart of secretary characters in Comley’s *A New Copy-Booke of All the Most Vsual English Hands* (fig. 4) closely resembles the early and late forms of Newdigate’s hand, especially in regard to the notoriously variable majuscule forms: the base of majuscule *B* contains a sharp curvature to the left of the vertical bar struck through the middle;

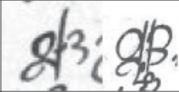
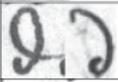
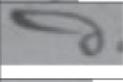
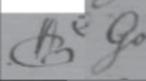
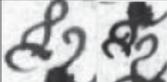
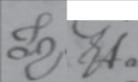
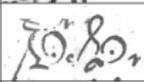
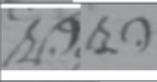
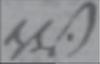
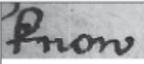
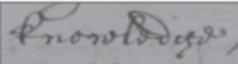
Digital Hand Comparison Chart: John Newdigate III's Early and Late Hands		
	G. Newdigate's Commonplace Book (c.1620s)	H. Osborne version of <i>The Humorous Magistrate</i> (1640)
Characters		
19. 'B'		
20. 'D'		
21. 'd'		
22. 'E'		
23. 'G'		
24. 'H'		
25. medial 's'		
26. 'V'		
27. 'W'		
28. 'y'		
29. 'x'		
Words		
1. 'know/ knowes/ knowledge		

Fig. 3. Newdigate's early and late hands. The thumbnails in this chart are taken from the following folios: Newdigate's Commonplace Book 1r, 1v, 76r, 76v, 80r, 83r, 102r, and 103r; Osborne ms 1r, 1v, 2r, 3v, 5v, 6r, 6v, 9v, and 10r.

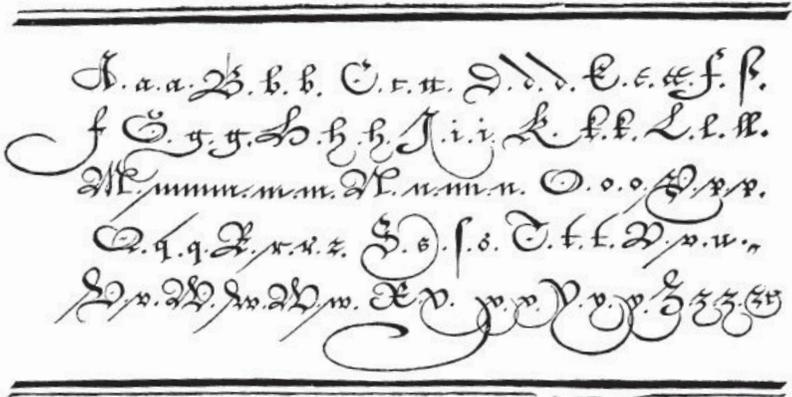


Fig. 4. William Comley's *A New Copy-Booke of All the Most Vsual English Hands*, image 4 (n.p.). Detail.

majuscule *D* is open and consists of a single stroke, a concave curve followed by a rounded bowl; majuscule 'H' resembles a loopy majuscule 'L' with a loop attached to the right (though this loop does not quite form a backwards *S*, as in fig. 2); majuscule *T* is formed with two successive, connected half-circles; and the initial and terminal ascenders of majuscule *W* bend to the left, a choice which is strongly favoured in Newdigate's earlier, rather than later, hand. Furthermore the typical presence of a series of dots throughout Comley's models, as well as others, may evince a source for the dots in the bowls of majuscules *O*, *B*, *P*, and *V* which occur in both Arbury and Osborne versions of *The Humorous Magistrate* — these dots appear in Comley's *A New Copy-Booke*, as well as in his *A New Alphabet of the Capitall Romane Knotted Letters*.⁷⁶ Learners were meant to practice these letter forms, and even to 'go over them with a dry pen, to acquaint their hand with their shape',⁷⁷ an example of which is evident in Plate 1, a draft letter in which Newdigate practices both individual Italic letter forms (such as *p*) and entire phrases in the margins of the letter. This letter suggests that Newdigate was interested in perfecting his scribal hand, writing and rewriting forms to his satisfaction.⁷⁸ Newdigate may have used a manual such as Comley's to practice his writing, adopting the detailed conventions established therein and even incorporating the dots into his figures.

In his later years, Newdigate's handwriting evolved quickly, in part aided by the shifting scribal trends of mid-seventeenth-century culture: after the 1640s and assisted by the influence of italic, secretary was replaced with the

rounded, smooth, and more legible script of the mixed hand.⁷⁹ Newdigate's 'late' hand in the late 1630s and early 1640s seems to anticipate this mixed style, and it is thus conceivable that such a shift was traceable earlier than 1650, perhaps even led by such prolific copyists as Newdigate, or by other members of his extensive Warwickshire coterie whose handwriting would inevitably have influenced his own. His later plays and texts exhibit this mixed — rounded and more facile — hand: for example, as demonstrated in fig. 4, in the late hand majuscule *B* no longer has the vertical bar, but is formed rather with a single stroke; majuscule *H* occasionally assumes a simplified, italic form, employing fewer loops; majuscule *W* sweeps its terminal ascender to the right (as does *V* occasionally as well), which would easily lead to the next letter; and minuscule *y* more often tends to loop the descender to the left, rather than the right, thus readily generating the looped ligature. As indicated by the more general 'mise-en-page', the manuals tend to evoke a sharply vertical style of writing with short minuscule characters,⁸⁰ which is reflected in Newdigate's early hand (especially the first half of the commonplace book), while Newdigate's later hand is more curved and angled, increasing the height and visibility of his minuscule letters and spacing them evenly.⁸¹ This later hand avoids straight-edged forms such as the pointy medial *s* of the commonplace book, and slopes its characters slightly to the right.⁸² As mentioned, it seems that popular textual culture played a part in Newdigate's evolving hand, but it is also likely that he cultivated his own scribal preferences after no longer requiring the tutelage of writing manuals. His decision to round his later forms was a choice, partially influenced by changing handwriting conventions of mid-seventeenth century, and partially by the more general maturation of his individual style.

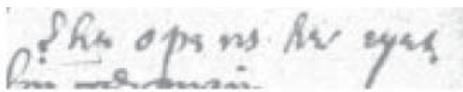
Additionally, context informed Newdigate's aesthetic choices. Throughout the Caroline era the secretary hand in particular allowed authors to accommodate 'aesthetics to function' in handwritten documents, to develop and even expressly adopt different writing styles according to context;⁸³ that is, the tidiness or soberness of one's hand would determine the degree to which a document was suited to impress, or, in epistles, to signify a certain hierarchical social relation.⁸⁴ Thus, while the chronological evolution of Newdigate's hand from secretary which befits a learner to a sophisticated, rounded hand is evident through our samples, so too is the adaptation of context to script — from the characteristically untidy state of the Arbury plays-in-process, as well as the functional, memorial context of the commonplace book, to the polished and carefully executed state of the Osborne

Humorous Magistrate, and the formal petition context for the Croydon letter. Love therefore quite rightly identifies the secretary category as a 'broad family' rather than a 'single model',⁸⁵ and John Newdigate's hand, responsible for a number of play manuscripts and copied texts over the course of almost twenty years, certainly exemplifies this spectrum.

The Problem of the Parliamentary Diary

In fact, there is an additional hand attributable to Newdigate which broadens further the scope of forms of which he was evidently capable. Upon initial comparison with other noted examples, John of Arbury's 1628 Parliamentary Diary seems dissimilar, employing 'printed' forms which depart from the secretary script in other items. These notes, which chronicle the speeches of members of Parliament, are furtively and hurriedly written, indicative of the general state of parliamentary diaries.⁸⁶ Still, the Diary is more legible than other items such as the Arbury miscellany, and its forms evince a transparency of writing which may have been desirable when transcribing parliamentary proceedings with accuracy and clarity. Because John had to accommodate the immediate and demanding context of recording speeches in succession, he would have wanted to practice the most efficient hand possible. Such a hand is described in John Davies's *The Writing Schoolemaster*, c 1620, reprinted throughout the seventeenth century: the author explains how to write a 'Clark-like fast hand (which is the queen of hands in respect of generall use)', useful for 'Dictates or Transcripts of pleadings'.⁸⁷ Davies devises a schema by which fast-writers should maintain a 'light, nimble, and ready pulse' in opposition to writing 'leisurely and heavily' with a 'slow set [hand]'.⁸⁸ His revision of the traditional secretary hand into one which incorporates abbreviations and italic forms comes at a time when the secretary hand was in flux, as Davies inveighs against those school-masters who complained that it was 'a kinde of Sacriledge, to violate our old form of letter and writing'.⁸⁹ Fast hands are functional, governed by different regulations than slow secretary hands, for which it is the 'beauty and perfection, not the time and helpes wherewith it is written, [that] is respected'.⁹⁰ Although the printed exemplars he offers in his manual do not precisely compare with Newdigate's forms in the Parliamentary Diary, his description of a secretary hand which maintains a steady pulse and incorporates some components of italic is yet consonant with the printed, italicized forms found in the 1628 Diary.

The Diary, then, as supported by John Davies's description of fast writing, is comprised of a variation of secretary which was especially efficacious for the rapid chronicling of parliamentary speeches. Significantly, this hand also appears in a signed 1626 letter from Newdigate addressed to the Attorney General Sir Robert Heath, suggesting that John of Arbury recognized the printed forms as appropriate for correspondence, perhaps due to their legibility and expeditious qualities.⁹¹ Newdigate also employed this hand in stage directions in the Arbury plays, demonstrated through many majuscule and minuscule letters such as *E*, *G*, *P*, *d*, *w*, and *b*. To illustrate this similarity, we parsed the characteristic letter forms from the Parliamentary Diary and reconstructed them alongside the italic stage direction 'She opens her eyes' on f 10r of the Arbury *Ghismonda*, which revealed a virtually identical match (fig. 5). Newdigate may have chosen this informal, legible hand simply because he was unconcerned with the final appearance of this version of his play. The idiosyncratic hand of the Parliamentary Diary provides another example of the possible influence of writing manuals on Newdigate's diverse script; more assuredly, it again exemplifies Newdigate's proficiency in a range of hands, all with shared key forms but otherwise adapted for varying contexts, and all of which appear concurrently in the set of play manuscripts we have associated with his name.



Ghismonda and Guiscardo fol. 102



Newdigate's 1628 Parliamentary Diary

Fig. 5. 'She opens her eyes' reconstruction.

The Italic Hand — Figure 6

We have seen that Newdigate's script is both unified and diverse according to context and level of training. To build on this tendency the early 'printed' hand of the Parliamentary Diary and Arbury stage directions, a kind of borderline secretary script, employs the same pen-strokes as does Newdigate's later italic hand, though the later hand is decidedly more sophisticated, with some decoration and more rounded figures.⁹² These later samples

of Newdigate’s italic hand illustrate further his evolving, yet chronologically consistent, script. While it is important to remember that italic script is known to be more uniform in general,⁹³ this final comparison of forms secures the relationships within our circle of documents.

We consistently find John’s italic hand (fig. 6) in documents that, unlike the A414 plays, would not have been likely to undergo immediate revision. In two instances at least (the Markham’s *Farrier* inscription and the Bolsover list) the italic hand is used in a memorial context, recording events of significance to Newdigate, and in the Osborne play the italics function in the context of a manuscript probably prepared as a reading copy destined for some kind of circulation. Our paleographical analysis confirms Keenan’s speculation that some of the italic samples in Newdigate’s commonplace book may be in his hand as well as her conclusion that ‘If Newdigate was the scribe of all the texts found in Bodleian Library Eng. poet. ms e. 112, it would afford further proof of the diversity of hands he used during his lifetime.’⁹⁴ While we would not argue that John’s hand is responsible for all of the items in the commonplace book,⁹⁵ italic entries such as the poems attributed to ‘Stroud of Christs Church’ (f 108v–109v) and ‘Mr. Clifton’ (f 110–111v), as well as ‘Dr. Donn’s Paradoxes and Problems’ (f 103–108v) do evince a good match for later examples of John Newdigate’s hand in the list of fowl served at Bolsover in 1634, in the headings for his personal account books of 1636, and in the ‘Skeffington’ inscription in Gervase Markham’s *Faithfull Farrier*.

The paleographic evidence for the italic hands in all of these documents having been produced by one writer is overwhelming.⁹⁶ Figure 6 contains samples from Newdigate’s commonplace book (Column A), the Markham’s *Farrier* inscription (Column B), the Bolsover fowl list (Column C), the Croydon account books (Column D), and the dramatis personae and stage directions of the Osborne *Humorous Magistrate* (Column E). All the letter forms provide convincing matches across the documents, but several letter forms are particularly striking. Newdigate displays a tendency to use both an open italic *b* and a modern *b* even within the same document, a tendency that reoccurs in the commonplace book, the account books and the Osborne manuscript. Majuscule *I* is consistent in its ascender sweeping up from the lower left and terminating in a small flourish resembling a dot at the base of the letter. Minuscules *f* and *p* consistently display a descender that sweeps dramatically to the left and returns to cross the shaft of the letter and the ascender on *p* extends above the bowl of the letter to form a small hook or loop. Minuscule *k* with its right curving ascender and long curving descender

Digital Hand Comparison Chart: John Newdigate III's Italic Hand					
	A. Newdigate's Commonplace Book (c.1620s)	B. Markham's <i>Farrier</i> Inscription (1634)	C. Fowl List (1634)	D. Account Books (1634-6)	E. Osborne <i>Humorous</i> <i>Magistrate</i> (1640)
Characters					
1. 'r'					
2. 'h'					
3. 'l'		n/a	n/a		
4. 'k'					
5. 'p'		n/a			
6. 's'					
7. 't'					
8. 'w'		n/a			
9. '&'		n/a			
10. 1634/ 1636					

Fig. 6. Newdigate's Italic hand. The thumbnails in A and E columns of this chart are taken from the following folios: Commonplace Book 104, 106v, 107, 109v, 110; Osborne ms 1, 12.

that often extends well below the text-line occurs in all of the samples, as does minuscule *t*, which is formed by one continuous stroke that loops to the right at the bottom of the letter and comes back up to cross the shaft. Minuscule *s* likewise appears in all of the samples and displays various forms within individual documents that are replicated in the others. Majuscule *W*, though it does not occur in the Markham's *Farrier* inscription, occurs in the other documents and despite varying degrees of left-curving flourish, the forms all

display a loop at the top of the centre shaft and a convex shape in the two outer ascenders as well as a tendency to terminate with a dot-flourish (like majuscule *I* above). Even ampersand and numeric characters are remarkable in their similarity, with the tail of the ampersand often rising almost to touch the bowl of the character, giving the abbreviation a characteristic 'squashed' look. Numeric characters 6, 3, and 4 are identical in the samples in which they occur, with 3 displaying both a flat and a curved top-bowl in the Bolsover list and a small 'dot' where the bottom bowl terminates (similar to the flourish in majuscule *I* and *W* above).

Newdigate's characteristic letter forms in these five documents provide a compelling example of a unique and attributable italic script;⁹⁷ as Guy Meigs notes in 1688:

there are few Men that write [the Italic hands] exactly, according to the Models prescribed by Writing Masters. But every one writes as he fancies, and as his Genius leads him. Insomuch that one may truly say, there are as many Hands as there be individual Writers, it being as hard to find an absolute Likeness betwixt two Persons Writings, as it is to find two Faces or two Voices alike. So wisely Nature has provided against the Confusion which must necessarily result from an universal Likeness. (119)

Despite their more uniform tendencies, then, italic hands can be markers of individuality nonetheless, and Newdigate's proven connection to the italic script in the account books, one of which is signed,⁹⁸ and his inscription in Skeffington's gift book allow us to link John Newdigate III conclusively with the previously un-attributable Bolsover list, the italics in the Osborne play, and the italic entries in his commonplace book.⁹⁹

'In the Shadow of Enormous Mysteries'

As a prolific and dedicated writer and scribe over the span of fifteen or twenty years, John Newdigate III changed his script frequently and adapted it to different contexts, always attuned to the level of efficiency required. Newdigate shared with other seventeenth-century authorial countrymen 'an almost fetishistic delight in manuscripts and a passion for transcribing',¹⁰⁰ as well as for drama and literature, amply demonstrated through the many records we have of texts and accounts in Newdigate's hand. Our detailed paleographic analysis provides evidence that Newdigate's later hand as found definitively

in the Croydon letter matches the Osborne script, and that his early hand found in the commonplace book matches the script of the Arbury plays. We have further shown that his hand, both secretary and italic, was known to change over time — even as certain key forms are retained — which explains the differences between the play versions which previously led Keenan, Kidnie, and Larminie to doubt the possibility of a single author.¹⁰¹ The evidence of Newdigate's italic hands bolsters our analysis, supplying striking examples of shared script between the Bodleian commonplace book, the 1630s Newdigate Account Books, and even the Osborne manuscript itself. As author of *The Humorous Magistrate* and various other poems and plays, Newdigate can with reason be added to the group of amateur Caroline dramatists which includes the likes of John Suckling, Mildmay Fane, and William Cavendish, duke of Newcastle.

In quoting from the conclusion to Harold Love's *Attributing Authorship* in the section heading above, we wish to draw attention to the many mysteries still surrounding the Arbury and Osborne plays, particularly in regards to their performance history, and to gesture toward some of the new directions that a confident attribution of authorship might suggest, and even allow, for further researchers. We hope to have stressed that in announcing a 'confident attribution'¹⁰² our conceptualization of 'authorship' rests on the kind of distinction that Love sets out early in his book: 'The term "authorship" ... will not therefore denote the condition of being an originator of works, but a set of linked activities (*authemes*) which are sometimes performed by a single person but will often be performed collaboratively or by several persons in succession.'¹⁰³ Our work on these plays and documents is informed by their context and by a keen awareness of the nature of authorship as a collaborative endeavour shaped by one's social and political context and, in Newdigate's case, by a particularly vibrant and literary-minded community and family based around the Warwickshire area in the mid-seventeenth century. The Newdigates' massive library holdings and their connections with the accomplished playwright and stager-of-masques William Cavendish, partnered with Newdigate's literary ties with the notable patron Jane Burdett, his interest in London masques, and his tutelage under the Oxford scholar Gilbert Sheldon, all point to John of Arbury as a truly viable candidate for such extensive dramatic production. We still postulate, then, that this was not an isolated, individualistic process of composition, but that Newdigate was inspired and encouraged by his literary-minded neighbours, perhaps even welcoming suggestions from them after a private staging of the play-in-process. Thus, we

echo Love's sentiment that 'the identification of scribal communities and the analysis of their intellectual affiliations, political allegiances, and relationships to patronage networks is one of the most rewarding tasks facing manuscript studies'.¹⁰⁴

We hope that a confident attribution of authorship to John Newdigate III will open new and further avenues of research into these plays and the Newdigate family's connection to their Midlands neighbours. Conversely, attribution to a named author may also, on a more pragmatic level, help to bring these plays to the notice of a wider public and encourage performances or workshops of the other plays in the miscellany. As yet the plays have been considered largely in isolation or as individual objects of manuscript transmission, and we would suggest that an attribution to a single author will enable critics to read the plays in relation to each other as literary works.

John Newdigate himself appears to have been pondering the survival and reception of his dramatic canon as he penned the Arbury epilogue:

Can a play
 But of two howers life suruiue those gay
 Adorned high built tropheies? Poetrye
 (But one step short of immortalite)
 Knowes more, thinks less, yet in a modest way
 Concludes her yongest son hath in the play
 Spoke sence to some mens wonder. If there be
 In this strange age in possibilitie
 The pen lookes to be canoniz'd that wrought
 This miracle vpon *your* eye & thought.¹⁰⁵

While a degree of hyperbole is apparent in the epilogue, so too is an underlying and sincere concern about the ephemerality of performance and the capacity of poetry to immortalize. Given Newdigate's insistence throughout *The Humorous Magistrate* that his audience confront discourses of writing and revision, it seems fitting that he returns in its epilogue to a consideration of the written word and the materiality of its production. Perhaps the mysteries that yet surround the Newdigate manuscripts and their performance histories will ensure that the work of 'canonizing' Newdigate's pen continues.

Notes

For their generous provision of materials and support of the project, we would like to extend our gratitude to the Bodleian Library, the British Library, the Huntington Library, and, especially, the library at Arbury Hall and the Warwickshire County Records Office. We are also indebted to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for funding the Osborne Manuscript Project, and to Margaret Jane Kidnie for reading an early draft. Most of all, thanks are due to project leader Mary Polito, who has been our fearless and enduring guide.

- 1 Jacqueline Jenkins and Mary Polito (eds), *The Humorous Magistrate*, Malone Society Reprints, forthcoming, 83–7. We are grateful to the editors for allowing us to cite their edition ahead of its publication. The play manuscript is held at University of Calgary Special Collections, MSC 132.127. The manuscript version will be referred to throughout as the ‘Osborne manuscript’.
- 2 Ibid, 1853–4.
- 3 Ibid, 523.
- 4 The version of *The Humorous Magistrate* found in the A414 Miscellany will henceforth be referred to as the ‘Arbury manuscript’.
- 5 With the significant exception of Trevor Howard-Hill, whose 1988 article ‘Another Warwickshire Playwright: John Newdigate of Arbury’ (*Renaissance Papers* (1988), 51–62) argued for Newdigate as the author of the plays in the Arbury miscellany. Howard-Hill was at the time unaware of the existence of the Osborne version of *The Humorous Magistrate*.
- 6 Mary Polito and Jean-Sebastien Windle, “‘You see the times are dangerous’: The Political and Theatrical Situation of *The Humorous Magistrate* (1637)”, *Early Theatre* 12 (2009), 96.
- 7 Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York, 1993. Repr 2001), 200. Sir Daniel Fleming, for example, and Simonds D’Ewes, were both copious transcribers and scholars: Love asserts that Fleming belonged to the ‘generation trained by the new bureaucrats of the interregnum in the importance of meticulous documentation, and which also still respected the medieval view of copying as a work of virtue to be instilled in the young to preserve them from debauched courses (an attitude intensified rather than otherwise by Puritanism)’. D’Ewes was a ‘professed antiquary’ (*Scribal Publication*, 200).
- 8 For a discussion of professional scribes and the stigma associated with their trade, see Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and Their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1998), 1–30, 192–210. Beal’s argument, primarily concerned with

professional scribes, does not extend to gentlemen-scribes such as Newdigate, for whom the ability to write well and legibly was both a source of pride and a matter of pragmatism.

- 9 David Browne, *The New Invention, Intituled Calligraphia* (St. Andrew’s, 1622; stc: 3905) *Early English Books Online [EEBO]*, 2, 47.
- 10 Edward Cocker, *Arts glory, or, The Pen-Man’s Treasurie* (London, 1657; stc: C4830. Repr. in 1659, 1669, 1674, 1785) *EEBO*, 29v.
- 11 Jenkins and Polito, *Humorous Magistrate*, 76. For a discussion of the anxiety surrounding a judiciary’s status as clerk of the quorum in this and other seventeenth-century plays, see Polito and Windle, “‘You see the times are dangerous’”, 104.
- 12 In their paper at the February 2010 ‘New Directions in Medieval and Early Modern Performance’ conference workshop in Calgary, Alberta, which was the initial setting for the presentation of our findings, Lynette Hunter and Peter Lichtenfels made the intriguing suggestion that John Newdigate himself may have played Thrifty in at-home productions of the play, thus heightening the effect of the humour through dramatic contrast with Newdigate’s real-life attributes (‘(Un)Editing for Non-Fictional Bodies’, University of Calgary, February 26, 2010). Besides those we have already mentioned, other details in the play would support this suggestion: in act one, Peter venerates Thrifty for his status as a ‘new sprung vp gentleman & flourishing’ by stating that he ‘come[s] forth more perfect then a booke reuised, & [is] *multo emendatior* in the originall copie’ (Jenkins and Polito, *Humorous Magistrate*, 228, 229–31). If Newdigate had played Thrifty in this scene, some humour may arise from the fact that Newdigate himself made many revisions in his plays, obviously privileging a ‘booke reuised’ rather than an ‘originall copie’.
- 13 Paul Werstine, ‘The Textual Mystery of Hamlet’, *Shakespeare Quarterly* 39 (1988), 24–5; Eric Rasmussen, ‘The Revision of Scripts’, *A New History of Early English Drama* (New York, 1997), 442. Both Werstine (in the context of printed texts of *Hamlet*) and Rasmussen note the difficulty in distinguishing between revisions made by an author and those made by a scribe or typesetter.
- 14 In general, the Osborne play is much shorter than the Arbury, involving many omissions. For example, the Osborne lacks a Prologue or Epilogue, the Scottish jockey named Jonny who discusses horse-racing and gambling with the character Wild, the extended dialogue between old man Crutch and his wife, and further development of the courtship between Sophia and Wild. It does, however, substantially increase the role of the humorous magistrate himself and foregrounds the romantic subplots. On a smaller scale, the Osborne MS tends to excise specific references, such as Wild’s accusation that Spruce is ‘acting Hamlet’ when he engages in an extended monologue regarding his love for Constance (A414 Miscellany f 107). The Osborne

ms conspicuously replaces 'acting Hamlet' with simply 'acting to yo' glass' (Jenkins and Polito, *Humorous Magistrate*, 163). For more on the revisions and paleographic distinctions between Arbury and Osborne, see Margaret Jane Kidnie, 'Near Neighbours: Another Early Seventeenth-Century Manuscript of *The Humorous Magistrate*', *English Manuscript Studies* 13 (2007), 200–201.

- 15 Ibid, 47, 46. Love, *Scribal Publication*, 121.
- 16 Kidnie, 'Near Neighbours', 196.
- 17 Ibid, 198–201.
- 18 For Howard-Hill this very diversity is the defining characteristic of Newdigate's hand ('Another Warwickshire Playwright', 59), while for Vivienne Larminie, Kidnie, and Siobhan Keenan, doubts remain as to the possibility of a single hand having produced all of the extant documents (Vivienne Larminie, *Wealth, Kinship and Culture: the 17th-Century Newdigates of Arbury and Their World*, (Woodbridge, 1995), 160 n20; Kidnie, 'Near Neighbours', 197; Siobhan Keenan, 'The "Fierce Particularities" of Early Dramatic Manuscripts', Conference Paper, SAA Annual Meeting (Washington DC, April 11, 2009), 8. Thanks are due to Siobhan Keenan for allowing us access to her work ahead of its print publication.
- 19 Kidnie, 'Near Neighbours', 197.
- 20 Howard-Hill, 'Another Warwickshire Playwright', 58. Howard-Hill works from Larminie's 1980 dissertation, which was revised and published as *Wealth, Kinship and Culture* in 1995.
- 21 Ibid, 61; Larminie, *Wealth*, 170.
- 22 Library catalogues from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries include the following: Warwickshire County Records Office (wcro) CR136 V181; CR136 V179; CR 136 MI351/73.
- 23 See William B. Long, "'Precious Few": English Manuscript Playbooks', *A Companion to Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1999), 417, 431.
- 24 Larminie, *Wealth*, 169–70.
- 25 Ibid, 172.
- 26 Ibid, 134. Letters from Sheldon to Newdigate are preserved in wcro CR136 B471–483. In a 1623 letter, Sheldon explicitly mentions sending Newdigate verses, relays greeting from fellow Trinity College man Martin Lister, and hints at the king's control of reports from Spain (B480). The letter seems exemplary of the admixture of personal, political, and literary interests that the friends shared.
- 27 Ibid, 133.
- 28 Ibid, 137.
- 29 Ibid, 172.

- 30 Larminie provides a list of some of the families with whom Newdigate was in contact and who also sat in the 1628 parliament: 'Bagot, Brereton, Bulstrode, Cary, Crewe, Croke, Curson, Gerard, Gresley, Holcroft, Knightley, Knollys, Leigh, Lister, and Mainwaring' (Ibid, 136). For a more extended discussion of the interrelated Warwickshire families and their dramatic activities, see Alan Somerset, "Beginning in the Middle ...": Warwickshire Locations and Families, as Audiences for Early Modern Music and Drama', *Medieval English Theatre* 20 (1998), 77–94.
- 31 WCRO CR136 B766.
- 32 Trevor Howard-Hill, 'Boccaccio, Ghismonda, and its Foul Papers, Glausamond', *Renaissance Papers* (1980), 23–5; Larminie, *Wealth*, 200.
- 33 Bodl, Eng. Poet. ms e. 12. Attribution of the commonplace book to John Newdigate, while contested by some scholars, was made quite convincingly by Vivienne Larminie (*Wealth*, 171). A note reading 'which I see nothing here to proue' and initialled I.N. on the verso of f 105 indicates Newdigate's engagement with his reading and subsequent copying (here of Donne's *Paradoxes*). An attribution in the unmistakable hand of John's brother, Richard Newdigate, at the end of the book reads 'Sublime your actions as your thoughts yat those may shew you lived in verse and dyed in prose' (f 142v).
- 34 Kidnie speculates that this note could allude to Newdigate's lifelong correspondence with Gilbert Sheldon (1598–1677), later Archbishop of Canterbury ('Near Neighbours', 209 n16). Sheldon and Newdigate appear to have exchanged books and verses throughout their long friendship. 'In Mr. Erles own copie' suggests that Newdigate has access to Earle's manuscript version of the *Characters*, and, since he is at pains to copy it out, implies that he was expected to return the manuscript to Sheldon, perhaps with his comments. In the 1630s Gilbert Sheldon and John Earle were both associated with the 'Great Tew Circle' centered around Lucius Cary, second viscount Falkland (Paul G. Stanwood, 'Community and Social Order in the Great Tew Circle', *Literary Circles and Cultural Communities in Renaissance England* (Columbia, 2000), 175, 177.)
- 35 Larminie, *Wealth*, 171.
- 36 Arbury Hall, A414 f 77–102. A third and probably later version of the play is held at the British Library. Named 'Ghismonda' by Herbert G. Wright and published in 1944 under that name, it is not written in John Newdigate's hand and appears to be a clean copy of *Ghismonda and Guiscardo* destined for some kind of circulation.
- 37 Howard-Hill, 'Boccaccio, Ghismonda', 25–7.
- 38 A414 f 103.
- 39 A414 f 196–265.

- 40 'I am doubtful whether this play was ever acted on the public stage. Even a Red Bull audience might have judged it to be a trifle too crude. But I will look more closely into the MS volume to which it belongs, and will report about the other plays' (Anon, *The Twice Chang'd Friar: A Comedie*: (Temp. ms Charles I)', *Gentleman's Magazine* (1906), 290).
- 41 A414 ff 145–95.
- 42 Keenan provides examples of internal allusions in order to establish a date in the late 1620s for the play's composition, and convincingly argues for the later end of this spectrum.
- 43 Keenan, 'Fierce Particularities', 8.
- 44 A414 ff 104–43.
- 45 Kidnie, 'Near Neighbours', 198.
- 46 Such allusions include Charles I's 1631 Book of Orders and a 1632 proclamation to the gentry. See Polito & Windle, "You see the times are dangerous", 96–103.
- 47 WCRO CR136 A1–3.
- 48 Howard-Hill, 'Another Warwickshire Playwright', 61. We would contend that the Parliamentary Diary, while reconcilable with Newdigate's hand (see pp 10–11) is far from its most representative or clearest example.
- 49 Robert C. Johnson, et. al. *Commons Debates 1628*, 6 vols (New Haven, 1977) 1.26. See also the entry for John Newdigate in Andrew Thrusch & John P. Ferris, *The House of Commons 1604–1629*, vol. 5 (Cambridge, 2010), 508–10.
- 50 Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive DR 98/1652/2.
- 51 CR136 B623, B630.
- 52 WCRO CR136 B623 ff 6v, 13v. These items include payments for: 'My selfe wife secutes & some friendes seeing a sight presented by little figures & other motions from the creation to Diues & Lararus', 'the muisicians *which* came with the shew at my house', and 'At London my selfe and William Kelly at a play', among others (B623 ff 7v, 8v, 13v).
- 53 CR136 B2453. The list is headed 'A note of the Earle of Newcastles fowle at the feast he made the King at Bolsover 1634' and itemizes dozens of domestic, wild, and water fowl. It also includes the striking description: 'Whole sturgeons in seuerall dishes. A very long table at the least between 7 & eight yards was full of nothing but sowced fish vpon *which* it was set out before it was served vp.'
- 54 The connection between the Cavendish and Newdigate families is as yet a tenuous one. No extant correspondence has yet come to light between the families, though they shared a circle of common acquaintances in the West Midlands gentry, including the Willoughby and Rolleston families (Larminie, *Wealth*, 172). John Rolleston, the beloved secretary of William Cavendish who copied many of his plays, was

cousin with some secretarial duties to William Rolleston of Watnall Hall, based on two documents held in the Rolleston papers at the British Library: a legal document from 1654 discussing William's financial affairs which John signs as witness; and a letter from John to William, signed 1663, which demonstrates that William appointed John to help him collect reimbursement for arms he had sold (British Library Additional ms 34769, ff 52 and 65). This letter from John mentions William Willoughby as one such individual who owed W. Rolleston '10 backes breasts & headpeeces' (BL Add. ms 34769, f 65). Beyond these broader midland family connections, William Cavendish and John Newdigate certainly shared a passion for drama and for horse racing. Also, Robert Payne, a member of Cavendish's household from 1632–1638 and who was involved in the 1634 masque was part of 'the same social circle' as Gilbert Sheldon, an intimate friend of the Newdigate brothers since their Oxford days (Timothy Raylor, 'Newcastle's Ghosts: Robert Payne, Ben Jonson, and the "Cavendish Circle"', *Literary Circles and Cultural Communities in Renaissance England* (Columbia, 2000), 110–11); John Spurr, 'Morley, George (1598?–1684)', *DNB* (Oxford, 2004). The list itself suggests a more than casual interest in the masque and entertainment hosted by Cavendish in 1634.

- 55 Gervase Markham, *Markhams Faithfull Farrier*, (Oxford, 1631), Huntington Lib, 12951. The book was catalogued in the Arbury Library in 1885 as item number 297 (CR136 MI 351/76) and was one of the books sold when the library was dispersed in 1920.
- 56 Richard Skeffington married Anne Newdigate (1607–37) in 1626. The Newdigate brothers maintained a close acquaintanceship with Skeffington both before and after his marriage to their sister (Larminie, *Wealth*, 75–76).
- 57 CR136 B84aⁱⁱ (referred to hereafter as the 'Croydon letter').
- 58 The title of the poem is corrected on the folio from 'Vpon a painted gentlewoman' (Arbury Hall, Arbury ms 414 f 70). Of this poem, Larminie states 'This poem with its emendations, its strong lines, its peculiar punctuation and its other distinctive stylistic traits and flaws, certainly resembles [Newdigate's] celebration of Lady Burdett' found in *The Wearie Soules Wish*' (*Wealth*, 173). She also cites Donne's second paradox, 'that women ought to paint', as an influence, which is copied into Newdigate's commonplace book (*Wealth*, 173).
- 59 Kidnie, 'Near-Neighbours', 198, 209 n18.
- 60 CR136 B738a. The poem is written on two sides of a loose quarto sheet that is now quite creased and damaged with a tear in the centre. No watermark appears and a different hand has added 'Barba Iovis seed. 1690' at the bottom of the verso side. The verses recount stereotypes of various Italian cities and show heavy revision throughout.

- 61 See this essay, 40–2.
- 62 Polito and Windle, “‘You see the times are dangerous’”, 109. The dating is based on an internal allusion to the unpopular ‘Etcetera Oath’ implemented in May of 1640 and repealed by parliament in November 1640.
- 63 Kidnie, ‘Near-Neighbours’, 200.
- 64 Howard-Hill, ‘Another Warwickshire Playwright’, 58.
- 65 For our researchers, however, the Watnall Hall reference provided an exciting clue regarding the circle of literary enthusiasts based around Warwickshire, since the Rollestones of Watnall Hall maintained connections with playwright William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle (see n53).
- 66 Sara Jayne Steen, ‘Introduction’, *The English Moore; or The Mock-Mariage* (Columbia, 1983), 21–3. Steen bases her attribution primarily on the improbability that Brome would have employed a scribe for such a meticulous presentation copy of one of his plays; she also cites the continuity between Brome’s signature and the hand-written copy itself. For more on the similarities between *HM* and *A Jovial Crew*, see Polito and Windle, 105–6.
- 67 See this essay, 38–9.
- 68 It should be noted that Newdigate’s 1641 Last Will and Testament is also demonstrably similar to the Later Hand of this chart (WCRO CR 136 C1942).
- 69 Many characters are the same, but to name a few examples, in both items majuscule *A* has a single smooth stroke beginning from the right and forming the crossbar; majuscule *I* is formed with two strokes, with two points at the top and a crossbar; and minuscule ‘g’ has a point at the top left of the base and a joint in the descender.
- 70 Kidnie, ‘Near Neighbours’, 196–7. Kidnie also points out, however, that various hands are ‘not necessarily inconsistent with the view that the five Newdigate plays (including the ‘Ghismonda’ play not bound in the miscellany) were written by one author who made use of a variety of hands’.
- 71 These calculations include struck-out passages. However, because of the messy, revisionary state of the Arbury, a margin of error of one or two characters may exist.
- 72 This characteristic rounded *s* also appears frequently in John III’s Will (WCRO CR136 C1949).
- 73 Newdigate’s large collection of documents we would now term ‘scribal publications’ reveals him to be an avid consumer of popular culture (for a discussion of some of these items see Larminie, *Wealth*, 161); he would obviously have been exposed to changing trends in scribal hands and, we would argue, adapted his own hand to fit these changes in a highly individualistic way.
- 74 Such manuals include Peter Bales’ *The Writing Schoolemaster Conteyning Three Bookes in One, The First, Teaching Swift Writing; The Second, True Writing; The Third,*

Faire Writing (London, 1590; STC: 1312) EEBO; Angel Day’s *The English Secretorie Wherin is contayned, a perfect method, for the inditing of all manner of epistles and familiar letters ...* (London, 1592; STC: 6401. According to the STC, this item was reprinted in 1595, 1599, 1607, 1614, 1618, 1625, 1626, and 1635) EEBO; Richard Gething’s *Calligraphotechnia or The art of faire writing sett forth, and newly enlarged* (London, 1619; STC:11803. Reprinted 1642, 1652) EEBO; David Browne’s *The New Invention, Intituled Calligraphia: Or, The Arte Of Faire Writing* (see n9); William Comley’s *A New Copy-Booke Of All The Most Vsual English Hands* (London[?], 1622; STC:5604.7) EEBO; and Edward Cocker’s *Arts Glory, Or, The Pen-man’s Treasure, wherein you may be accommodated with variety of curious hands for any manner of employments*, as well as various other treatises by Cocker.

- 75 See Day’s *The English Secretorie*, which is particularly focused on the proper construction of epistles.
- 76 Comley, *A New Copy-Booke*, image 4 (nf); *A New Alphabet of the Capitall Romane Knotted Letters* (London[?], 1622; STC: 5604.5) EEBO, (np). Comley’s is certainly not the only model which resembles Newdigate’s earlier script: Richard Gething’s *Calligraphotechnia* also establishes a familiar model for the secretary hand, employing similarities in majuscule *L*, majuscule *K*, minuscule *b*, and minuscule *r*, to name a few.
- 77 John Davies, *The Writing Schoolemaster, Or, The Anatomie Of Faire Writing wherein is exactlie expressed each seuerall character* (London, 1631; STC: 6344.5. Also printed in 1620) EEBO, 8r.
- 78 Also associated — though not definitively — with Newdigate is a small handwritten volume in the WCRO Newdigate collection containing a version of ‘brachygraphy,’ or the art of shorthand (CR 136 A40). A hand, potentially Newdigate’s, appears throughout this book, practicing the shorthand model therein — at one point the name ‘John’ appears in the corner of the page. If this book did belong to Newdigate, it presents further evidence for his interest in perfecting his hand in a variety of scribal mediums.
- 79 Love, *Scribal Publication*, 111.
- 80 See for example Edward Cocker, *Arts Glory*, np.
- 81 The possible exception to this statement is the untitled ‘Rome *with* the precious blood’ verses, which are clearly a work-in-progress, though written in Newdigate’s later hand.
- 82 With the exception of minuscule *d*, whose ascender exhibits a dramatic angle to the left, contrasting the vertical orientation of the early-hand ‘d’, and more generally the right-oriented figures of the majority of the later script.

- 83 Love, *Scribal Publication*, 118. The variable and idiosyncratic secretary hand even lent itself to covert social subversion due to the difficulty of attributing a single hand to an author, and was especially valuable for the circulation of potentially dissenting or libellous documents (Love, *Scribal Publication*, 115).
- 84 For a stimulating discussion of the rigid social discourse of epistles as established through writing manuals, see A.R. Braunmuller, 'Accounting for Absence: The Transcription of Space', W. Speed Hill (ed.), *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985–1991* (Binghamton, 1993), 47–56. *Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies*.
- 85 Love, *Scribal Publication*, 109.
- 86 As the editors of *Commons Debates 1628* assert, it was the official duty of the Clerk to keep a journal within the House of Commons, so private diaries tended to be fragmentary, with hurried notes, blanks, errors, and scant punctuation (1.15, 1.27). Newdigate's diary 'give[s] every evidence of having been written while the author was sitting in the House; there are many abbreviations and interlineations, and many sentences are incomplete' (*Commons Debates* 1.26).
- 87 John Davies, *The Writing Schoolemaster*, 4r.
- 88 *Ibid.*
- 89 *Ibid.*
- 90 *Ibid.*, 6v.
- 91 Stratford Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive DR 98/1652/2. For another example of this script, see wCRO CR136 B329, a draft of Newdigate's 'Excuses' for not being knighted. At the time of Charles' coronation Newdigate was sheriff of Warwick county and thus 'bound by oath not to goe out of my Countye, nether could I 'then' haue left the Countye, without neglecting the Kings seruice, & being lyable to censure in the starr chamber'. While his position as Sheriff would have constituted a considerable workload and a genuine excuse not to travel out of his county, Newdigate, with comic effect, puts similar rhetoric in the mouth of his corrupt JP Thrifty, who complains about his workload as JP and pleads: 'Let not I beseech you my life be had / in contempt, who am thus forced to descend to keep order / in a Countrey' (Jenkins and Polito, *Humorous Magistrate*, 2043–5).
- 92 Compare, for example, majuscules *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, *G*, *P*, and minuscules *f*, *k*, and *w*. In both hands, majuscule *P* in particular exhibits a tendency to sweep the top of the bowl around to the left side of the shaft. This is not to say that the Parliamentary Diary hand is italic — it is neither italic nor strictly secretary — just that it exhibits forms continuous with Newdigate's italic hand as well.
- 93 See Love, *Scribal Publication*, 108.
- 94 Keenan, 'Fierce Particularities', 14 n52.

- 95 Francellina Stapleton's 'Vpon a ioynted ring' (f 81v) provides an intriguing example of an italic hand that is *not* consistent with Newdigate's and which was conceivably inscribed in the book by Stapleton herself (See also this essay, 31).
- 96 The distinctive italic hand of our discussion here also occurs in the title and date of 'To a Poet whose *mistris* was painted' (A414 f 70), the secretary hand of which Kidnie has demonstrated is a good match to the Osborne play.
- 97 Examples of other distinct italic scripts that are definitively not John Newdigate's are present in the Stapleton poem (cited above) and in the italic scripts favoured by William Cavendish's scribe John Rolleston over a similar period of time. It was particularly important to rule Rolleston out as the scribe of the Bolsover list, since his connection to the Cavendish family, the eyewitness quality of the document and Rolleston's role as Cavendish's scribe provided at least a possibility that he was responsible for the list.
- 98 WCRO CR136 B630 f 2r.
- 99 See also WCRO CR136 B331, a signed letter in italic hand from John Newdigate to his brother-in-law Skeffington.
- 100 Love, *Scribal Publication*, 200.
- 101 See n18.
- 102 Love sets out categories of attribution such as 'assured', 'confident', tentative' etc. A confident attribution, he proposes, is one which might 'rest on one particular result ... with generally supportive internal and external evidence and with no tenable alternative' (*Attributing Authorship*, 216). The persuasive paleographic evidence coupled with circumstantial and biographical evidence would allow for, at the very least, a confident attribution.
- 103 Ibid, 39.
- 104 Love, 'The Work in Transmission and its Recovery', *Shakespeare Studies* 32 (2004), 73–80. 74.
- 105 A414 f 143r.

I confesse the advantage I have
 is a difference ^{standing} ~~between~~ ^{between} ~~our~~ ^{our} good opinions
 who give in themselves, or out my
 dare of challenge. As yo^r grace pleaseth
 not because, if yo^r command required it
 yo^r grace will in my ^{own} ~~own~~ justification
 so I intreat you will forgive my selve
 low; & I think better of my selve be-
 cause you are pleased to make this
 choice. My wife & I salute you & re-
 mife; with an assurance you may command

in conf

I confesse

Croydon. March. 13.
1634.

yo^r grace
 J. Newdigate

you may command yo^r grace & I salute you & re-
mife; with an assurance you may command

you may command

you may command
yo^r grace

Plate 1. John Newdigate drafts a letter, wcro CR 136 B 330.