

JIHOČESKÁ UNIVERZITA V ČESKÝCH BUDĚJOVICÍCH

FILOZOFICKÁ FAKULTA

ÚSTAV ANGLISTIKY

BAKALÁŘSKÁ PRÁCE

THE EVOLUTION OF PROGRESSIVE VERB FORMS WITHIN THE LANGUAGE
SYSTEM FROM LATE MIDDLE ENGLISH TO EARLY MODERN ENGLISH

Vedoucí práce: Mgr. Helena Znojemská, Ph.D.

Autor práce: Dominika Jozová

Studijní obor: BOH–AJL

Ročník: 3.

2017

PROHLÁŠENÍ

Prohlašuji, že svoji bakalářskou práci jsem vypracoval samostatně pouze s použitím pramenů a literatury uvedených v seznamu citované literatury.

Prohlašuji, že v souladu s § 47b zákona č. 111/1998 Sb. v platném znění souhlasím se zveřejněním své bakalářské práce, a to v nezkrácené podobě elektronickou cestou ve veřejně přístupné části databáze STAG provozované Jihočeskou univerzitou v Českých Budějovicích na jejích internetových stránkách, a to se zachováním mého autorského práva k odevzdanému textu této kvalifikační práce. Souhlasím dále s tím, aby toutéž elektronickou cestou byly v souladu s uvedeným ustanovením zákona č. 111/1998 Sb. zveřejněny posudky školitele a oponentů práce i záznam o průběhu a výsledku obhajoby kvalifikační práce. Rovněž souhlasím s porovnáním textu mé kvalifikační práce s databází kvalifikačních prací Theses.cz provozovanou Národním registrem vysokoškolských kvalifikačních prací a systémem na odhalování plagiátů.

V Českých Budějovicích, 26. července 2017

.....

Dominika Jozová

PODĚKOVÁNÍ

Na tomto místě bych chtěla poděkovat své vedoucí bakalářské práce Mgr. Heleně Znojenské, Ph.D., za pomoc při zpracování této práce; dále děkuji za konzultace PhDr. Vladislavu Smolkovi, Ph.D., Mgr. Janě Kozubíkové Šandové, Ph.D., a Mgr. Petru Kosovi, Ph.D. Za korektury v mé práci děkuji studentce Jihočeské univerzity Bc. Tereze Demjaničové.

Anotace

Cílem práce je zmapovat výskyt průběhových tvarů v anglickém jazyce v textech z období od konce 14. do začátku 18. století. Teoretická část se opírá o historii vývoje jazyka, jeho typologický rozvoj a vývoj slovesa z hlediska morfologické roviny. V praktické části se zabývám analýzou vybraných textů a hledáním tvarů značící průběhové formy. Dále zde hledám souvislosti s typologickým vývojem a vývojem vzdělanosti společnosti zmíněném v praktické části.

Annotation

The aim of my thesis is to map the occurrence of the progressive verb forms in the English language from the period of the end of the 14th century to the beginning of the 18th century. The theoretical reading is based on the history of language development, its typological development and the development of the verb in terms of morphology. In the practical part I deal with the analysis of selected texts and I search for shapes marking the progressive form. I am looking for a connection with the typological development and development of the education in society mentioned in the practical part.

Obsah

1	Introduction.....	7
2	Language typology.....	8
2.1	Inflectional type of language.....	9
2.2	Isolating (analytic) type of language.....	10
3	The development of the English language	10
3.1	Old English	10
3.2	Middle English.....	11
3.3	The Early Modern English.....	13
3.4	Modern English.....	13
4	The development of the verb.....	15
4.1	Middle English verb.....	15
4.1.1	Strong versus weak verbs.....	16
4.1.2	Tense system.....	16
4.1.3	Mood	18
4.1.4	Voice	19
4.1.5	Aspect.....	19
4.1.6	The non-finite forms of verbs	20
4.1.7	Verbal phrases.....	22
4.2	Modern English Verb.....	22
4.2.1	Strong and weak forms.....	22
4.2.2	Tense system.....	22
4.2.3	Mood	24
4.2.4	Voice	24
4.2.5	Aspect.....	24
4.2.6	Non-finite forms.....	25
5	The sources of the English language development in Middle English and Early Modern English	26
5.1	Literary vs. Non-literary texts	26
5.2	Letters.....	27
5.3	Diaries and autobiographies.....	27
6	Analysis.....	28
6.1	Selected texts and their characteristics.....	29
6.1.1	Julian of Norwich.....	30

6.1.2	Margery Kempe	31
6.1.3	Mary, Queen of Scots.....	32
6.1.4	Elizabeth I.	33
6.1.5	Arbella Stuart	34
6.1.6	Anne Halkett – The Autobiography	34
6.1.7	Katharine Evans & Sarah Chevers	35
6.1.8	Lady Mary Wortley Montagu	36
6.1.9	Elizabeth Bury – Diary.....	37
7	The Conclusion	39
8	Appendix.....	43
8.1	Julian of Norwich.....	43
8.2	Margery Kempe	49
8.3	Mary, Queen of Scots.....	63
8.4	Elizabeth I.	71
8.5	Arbella Stuart	79
8.6	Anne Halkett	92
8.7	Katharine Evans & Sarah Chevers	102
8.8	Lady Mary Wortley Montagu	110
8.9	Elizabeth Bury.....	117
9	Resources	133

1 Introduction

The development of any language is a continuous process full of changes within the language system and a process that is affected not only by its own development but also from the outside. These changes have formed English language to a shape that we know today. As the society was developing and proceeding to another stage of its time, the language was changing as well. The common division of the development of the English language is: Old English, Middle English, Early Modern English and Modern English. These stages were preceded by other languages that were spoken in Britain before the Roman Conquest such as Celtic languages (Goidelic and Brythonic) but the evidence for these languages is hardly to be found.

The language had undergone many changes during the four main stages of its development and all of them played an important part in the formation of English language as we know it today. Yet, there are two stages of development that seem to be crucial for the later standard in English language. As the word 'standard' says, the process of standardization was one of the most important events that took place during the period of late Middle English (ME) and Early Modern English (EME). These two stages formed and codified the rules for the usage of English language.

This is also the reason I chose these two phases of development as the main periods for my bachelor thesis. In these stages the language had undergone several changes on many levels of language. This thesis is tracking these changes in non-literary texts and my aim is to give an integrated image of the occurrence of the changes. The non-literary texts are chosen to represent the language nearest to the language spoken for the literary texts are often transformed according to its literary function. The work deals with the thesis that the progressive verb forms have raised in the period from Middle English to early Modern English. I want to track the changes in the occurrence, form and classification. With the development of the occurrence of these durative forms is developing also the syntactic structure. My other thesis is that it is difficult to deal with the division of progressive forms according to the lack of syntactic markers. I suppose that this will change with the centuries and the older texts (meaning the one representing early Modern English period) will be analysed with little of struggles because the syntactic markers would be already developed with the connection of the form. My presupposition is that the change in the typological perspective is one of the reasons of the change of the occurrence of progressive forms.

Another aspect I want to consider in my analysis is the influence of the printing press and its impact on the development of the unified form of the spelling.

2 Language typology

There are two possible classifications of languages: genealogical (or genetic) and typological. The genealogical classification is based on a theory that languages have diverged from a common ancestor. The evidence for this historical perspective is to be found in early written remains and when missing, the reconstruction of the parent language is based on comparative methods and deductions. The typological classification is not concerned with history or development of languages but it compares the formal similarities of chosen languages. The whole typological theory is based on phonology, grammar and vocabulary rather than on historical relationship. [Crystal 2010, pp. 302-303]

All languages have something in common but what is more important is that they also differ from each other. Hand in hand with the language classification comes the theory of two concepts: universal and typology. The universal concept is dealing with similarities across languages, whereas typology studies the differences between languages and forms languages into groups according to what they have in common opposite to other languages. These two concepts (universal and typology) are not in opposition to each other but there is a parallel present between them. The reason behind this correlation is that there is a need to establish certain parameters to typologize the languages. [Comrie 1989, pp. 33-37]

There are many typological parameters which can be used when studying languages. We can divide these parameters into two groups: significant and non-significant. Thus it is hard to decide which parameters are significant and which are not; some are just more likely to be significant or otherwise according to the typological study as a whole. What we can say about the parameters is that we work with logical independency and correlation between parts of language. Sometimes it is hard to typologize the structure of language for it is hard to separate the structure into units needed because of their high correlation. The parameters used are then non-significant because of their complete or partial inseparability (For example the phonetic paradigm is less significant than the syntactic paradigm). [Comrie 1989, pp. 38-40]

According to Praguian Typology School, the languages can be divided into groups by the morpho-syntactic typology: agglutinative, inflectional, polysynthetic and isolating type. These are four major divisions in morpho-syntactical typology and sometimes there is also the fifth type present – the introflexive type. The agglutinative type of language (e.g. Turkish, Hungarian etc.) does not use suffixes and combines more than one sense in a word. In the inflectional type (e.g. old Indo-European languages, Slavic languages, etc.) the affixes fuse together several grammatical categories (number, gender, case) into a single morpheme. The polysynthetic type (Vietnamese, Thai languages, etc.) use a large number of morphemes and these languages can also bond more roots in one word. [Luelsdorff 1994, pp.335-339]

2.1 Inflectional type of language

Under the group of inflectional type of languages we can find languages such as Latin and old Indo-European languages (such as Slavonic). Even though that Modern English is considered the isolating type of language today, the older forms of English language exhibit the features of inflectional type of language.

Inflectional type is characterized as a group of languages where every lexical word has a single grammatical ending. In some of these languages these endings are not only present in verbs or nouns but also adjectives (e.g. Czech). There are many possible endings and therefore many ways to express different function of the words. These functions make their classification (word classes, genders and others) possible. If there are any derivational affixes (not in the construct but in actual languages) then they differ strongly from the inflectional endings. The inflectional type languages have a single ending in the word but it can express more function at once. This is called the ‘accumulation of functions’ and it may cause the ambiguity of meanings. Because of many variations of endings possible, these languages have so-called free-order. If we want to distinguish the word classes it is not hard to do for the distinction between them is very clear. [Luelsdorff 1994, pp. 337-338]

Not all words in this type of language can be analysed into morphemes or not easily. This contains most of the irregularities in languages; they can be hardly tracked to their roots. Some of them are the relics of older forms of one language itself but it is not applicable to all cases. The irregularities are for instance the presence of irregular nouns and verbs (esp. in English) – e.g. in English it is sometimes hard to distinguish the morphemes for they may have several phonetic forms – for example the past-tense

morpheme in English (written as *-ed*) can be pronounced differently depending on the preceding sound. [Crystal 2010, pp. 94-95]

2.2 Isolating (analytic) type of language

The major leaders in this group of languages are English and French. Even though being in Germanic group from the genealogical point of view, this group shares many similarities with the group of Romance languages. These two groups were close during their development and the exchange between them is present at least in their vocabulary. It is hard to track these language loans; in most cases we cannot identify which language was the primary mover of these movements. [Crystal 2010, pp. 302-303]

What is significant in the typological point of view about this particular group is that they are characterized by the abundance of isolated words and the morphological derivations are not very frequent. This is caused by the absence of affixes. There are many lexical and grammatical monosyllabic words in these languages. The connection between grammatical and lexical morphemes (words) is regular – that means the classification is hardly to be made (e.g. we cannot differ the word classes). The syntactic structure does not allow free order which then makes it possible for many kinds of derived clauses to enter the structure (mostly with conjunctions). [Luelsdorff 1994, pp. 338]

3 The development of the English language

3.1 Old English

The language changes when there is an initiative from the language users that the current form of language is no longer sufficient. The rules for the language usage are set up by the upper class of society or ecclesiastical sphere of society but the pressure comes from the majority and therefore from the lower classes of society. During the Roman Conquest (0-410 A.D.) the upper class used Latin language because Britain was a province of Roman Empire and most members of upper class were non-native Roman people. The native part of the population in Britain was speaking in different languages but not Latin. The Church used Latin and so did most of clergy men in Britain. This was connected to the concept of education which comes hand in hand with the language knowledge and because the majority of English people were not educated in language they were not educated as well. [Petrliková 2009, pp. 18-22]

The first stage of the development of the English language is called Old English or “Englisc” and it dates back to 443 AD i.e. the beginnings of Anglo-Saxon Invasion. This period created good conditions for the English language to develop. There was no Roman nobility in Britain; the Germanic tribes that conquered Britain were the Jutes, Saxon and Angles. Even though the tribes came from three different areas, the term ‘Angli’ or ‘Anglia’ became the designation for all the West Germanic tribes. This is also a period, when there can be found the term English and England for the first time. The majority still spoke native languages (e.g. Celtic etc.) but Latin did not disappear because it was used in monasteries around the country. There were many English dialects across the country – Northumbrian, Mercian, Anglian, Kentish, West Saxon - and therefore the language was not united and even the boundaries between dialects were not discrete. The evidences and traces of this language are to be found in manuscripts. The milestone in this stage of development took place in the 7th century thanks to the spread of Christianity. Monks adapted the Roman alphabet and wrote in English. This stage took place up to Norman Conquest (1100-1150) when the official language of the ruling class was not English but Latin and French. Old English had its own dialect variations but the only standard form considered acceptable till the 12th century was the West Saxon dialect. [Petrlíková 2009, pp. 23-26]

3.2 Middle English

From about 1150 to 1450 the stage in language development is called Middle English. In 1066, after the Battle of Hastings, the Norman Conquest started with William the Duke of Normandy on the throne. At the beginning the status of English language declined because the nobility sphere of society controlled political, ecclesiastical, economic and also cultural life of the nation. The majority of England was still speaking English but what changed was the notion of the usage of English language in higher social strata. Till 1200 we can observe the fusion of native residents of Britain and French people in this social layer. The nobility was in a contact with the majority of people and therefore the need for the usage of English grew even in upper class. English survived also in some monasteries – for example the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle continued until 1154. After 1200 England lost its possessions abroad and the nobility abandoned their continental estates and lost their continental connections. In this time the upper class considered themselves as only English and the French started to disappear. French language was used only when making business and the majority of

dealings took place in English. The biggest change was the switch of these two languages in two most conservative institutions, the church and the universities. [Petrlíková 2009, pp. 47-51]

The significant aspect of this era of English language history is the power of the division of the dialects across the country. There are many manuscripts to be found as an evidence of the Middle English language. Most of them are copies of original works and they capture many dialects present during this period. The dialects are divided into 5 major groups: Southern (or South-East), Kentish, East Midlands (and London dialect), West Midlands and Northern dialect. The most records were found in the London dialect. [Petrlíková 2009, pp. 57-58]

English was set as the main language in the country. The crucial step for its development was that in 1349 English was once again used in schools.

French remained official language until the second half of 14th century and there were two events that took place and helped the English language to rise. The first one was the Hundred Years' War which caused the displeasure of the natives to speak French because it was the language of enemy. The second event was (paradoxically) the Black Death. During this event many native people died and most of them were from lower social layers. This caused the rise of economic importance of middle class and also the importance to use English language instead of French. [Petrlíková 2009, pp. 52-55]

Another institution helped to widen the usage of English and that was the Parliament with Lord Chancellor opening his speech for the first time in English language in 1362. English replaced French on every position language can have in society. The only issue that had to be solved was the spread of writings in English. Till the introduction of printing press by William Caxton in 1476 the only evidence and occurrence in literary texts in English were the manuscripts. After the set of printing press, the English language has moved into another stage of its development. The language was easier to spread across the country, it was easier and quicker to copy the works and the most important – just one repeatable form was used during the printing process. All these facts spontaneously lead to the process of standardization of language. In the 15th century, the centre of government was the City of Westminster which was just 2 miles from London where The Chancery (the Court of the Lord Chancellor) dwelt. In the light of these events, the standard form of English for

administrative documents was considered the East Midlands (London) dialect. This event became crucial for later standardization of English Language. [Petrlíková 2009, pp. 54-56]

3.3 The Early Modern English

Caxton's printing press was not only the invention for potential booksellers or readers but it was important invention for the whole society in Britain. With the spread of texts which were then more affordable it was easier to educate the people in their native language. Also because the texts were spread easily and they were not so expensive, the people wanted to be able to read it as well even if they were from the lower class. Till the invention of printing press the education was the advantage only of higher social strata who were speaking French but after 1476 the lower strata of society had easier access to education as well and the middle class of society started to be literate as well. Another benefit of the printing press was that the form of English could be unified for the first time at least on official levels of the language usage. [Petrlíková 2009, pp. 54-56]

As above mentioned, the literacy became more common. In spite of all these remarkable changes, English had to solve the problem of some field of knowledge that were using Latin or Greek for a very long time. Two groups faced each other with their own idea why it is better to use ancient languages that were common to the scholar world or why they should use English language instead. During the 16th century, the English language seems to have won its way to the scholar world. The 16th century was not only a matter of dispute but also a century which rised the question of orthography. The orthography system was not codified and there were no rules accepted for the right usage of this part of language system. The first man who codified many spellings was Richard Mulcaster and within the centuries the public spelling was completely standardized. [Petrlíková 2009, pp. 79-85]

3.4 Modern English

From the 17th till 19th century, British Empire was extending and so was the language. Through the communication with different cultures and different languages, English language enlarged its vocabulary and it was introduced to the other areas of the world. In the 17th century, the Royal Society released the proposal which was crucial for

the English language to be enlarged not only as a language for writing fiction etc. but it should be also a language that is more constructive, stripped of emotions, and therefore more useful for academic sphere. During the standardization the language was shaped in unified form. The standardization helped to form the rules for using the English language as a whole system. But even so, it does not mean that since then the language had just one acceptable form and that the dialects had disappeared. Still today they are many dialects across the country but the official language has its standardized form and grammar rules. The vocabulary has naturally increased as well and there may be evidences of changes in some words but these changes are not as important as the changes in the grammatical level of language.

This longing for more complex language and its regulation persisted till the 18th century. The attention turned to grammar for there were no codified grammatical rules in the English language. These desires and pressures from the upper class of society caused that the language was reduced to correct usage, the defects were being removed and the whole system was fixed to a final form. This period is called the ‘Ascertainment’ where the word *to ascertain* means to settle a matter. Having the English language system established, the attention was turned to the grammar and new vocabularies and the English language as we know it today was introduced. [Petrliková 2009, pp. 85-93]

It is obvious that the codification, standardization or regularisation of English language took many years to be made. When the lower classes of society spoke English and the upper class did not, the language had no codified form and there was no need for it. The reason is that lower classes of society were not well educated and they used the language only for oral communication. Therefore the urge for the codification was not their need. They connected their identity with the language they spoke (English of course) and this was also a part of national consciousness. The rapid change is to be seen when the upper class started to use English and the language began to mingle into the sphere of education and governance. The upper class was facing the problem of English language as a non-established and orderless system. Since more people started to be educated, this need for fixed standard had increased. These demands were solved in the period of ‘Ascertainment’ which may seem a little bit brutal in today’s point of view. The effort to make English a language usable

for every social layer and every sphere of life caused on the one hand almost unhealthy obsession to make the language as clear as possible, on the other hand it formed and regularized the English language to the form we use today. From all above mention we can assume that on the one hand, the pressure for the use of English came from lower classes because the language helped to form the national consciousness of the natives in earlier periods. On the other hand, when it comes to standardization of a language as a system the pressure came from upper class which was struggling with the question of regularization in spheres of social life where the written language played the crucial part (education, governance etc.).

4 The development of the verb

The verb has undergone many changes during the Middle English and Early Modern English times. These changes are to be seen in the system of auxiliary verbs, the aspect of the verbs, tenses, participles and voice. The changes in endings and other spelling were also present.

4.1 Middle English verb

At the beginning of the Middle English, the verb was present in a few forms. The voice used was mostly active but there was also present passive voice but in a construction with the auxiliary verb and the past participle. It was present in three moods: indicative, subjunctive-optative (formed mostly with modal auxiliary and infinitive) and imperative. The tense were simple, in Middle English tense system contained mainly two tenses present also in the Old English period – present and preterite. The past tense was formed in verbs according to their division into weak and strong verbs. Due to the French and Germanic influence, we can find the evidence of other tenses in language such as perfect, pluperfect, future present and past. The influences participated in the later development of the English language system of tenses. The verb had two numbers and three persons in singular and plural. When searching for the verb, we may find two nominal forms: the present infinitive and the verbal noun with –ing ending. It had also just one present participle with active meaning only and one type of verbal adjective – the past participle. [Iglesias Rábade 2003, pp. 111]

Concerning the spelling, the significant changes took place regarding the expression of the person. The usual ending in Old English of the third person singular of the present indicative was -eth. This ending has changed during the Middle English era into the simple -s which is still used today to indicate this particular person. The third person plural had occasionally the form of -s ending as well, but it was later changed to the same form as other persons not to be confused with third person singular. The plural itself had the ending with -en or -e (these can be found for example in Chaucer) which was later changed into the ending with -s as we know it today. [Baugh 1957, pp. 297]

4.1.1 Strong versus weak verbs

The verbs in ME were mostly strong because the tense of preterite required the particular form of verb. What happened in this period is that the strong verbs started to become weak. Most verbs are now weak in the English language because of this development but there are still some strong verbs that preserved its strong variation. The differences are to be seen in the tenses – especially in the preterite. The strong verbs were changing the root vowel to form the preterite (brake, spake, drave, clave, tare, bare, sware). Opposite to that, the weak verbs did not change the stem vowel to form this tense or past participle but there was a dental suffix containing “d” or “t” added to the root of the infinitive that was then followed by the inflectional ending marking person and number. [Iglesias Rábade 2003, pp. 112-113]

4.1.2 Tense system

Two main tenses used in the Middle English were preterite and present tense.

4.1.2.1 Present tense

The present tense in the English language has not changed in the case of what it meant – an action which took place in the present. In the Middle English, the present tense also expressed a time where the progressive forms would be used in Modern English. With this pattern we can say that the simple present tense is used in the Middle English more than the progressive forms. In Old English there was present tense with the reference in the future but in the Middle English this reference has disappeared from the present tense system according to the development of the modal verbs such as shall and will. The ending was same for the strong and weak forms Middle English being the inflective type of language, it had its own conjugation. There are 4 forms of either weak

or strong verbs indicating first, second and third person and the plural. These forms are different according to the dialect variation. [Hladký 2003, pp. 189]

4.1.2.2 Preterite system

The preterite system has indicated all the actions taking place in the past. In Middle English and Early Modern English there began the distinction between past and perfect and also between simple and durative actions. The system was different for weak and for strong verbs and it has different form for the mood. [Hladký 2003, pp. 190]

The strong verbs had four stem vowels. According to these vowels we can distinguish if the verb is in present system or if it is the past participle. At the beginning of its usage the remaining two vowels differentiate 1st and 3rd person singular from the plurals, but these vowels were reduced to just one. In OE the verbs were divided onto seven classes according to their similarities and differences (for example the spelling, the endings etc.) [Iglesias Rábade 2003, pp. 117-121]

The weak verbs were divided into three classes only according to the length of the stem syllable. These classes then fused into just one category of weak verbs. The new system of division had been discovered and the weak verbs in ME were divided into two classes – in the first class there were verbs which had the vowel –e preceding the dental suffix and in the second class there were verbs which had the dental suffix directly added to the stem. There may be some evidence of exceptions but these are rather rare. [Iglesias Rábade 2003, pp. 121-125]

4.1.2.3 Preterite present

This tense system is working only with the strong verbs. Even though it may seem weird to connect the two systems – one representing present and one representing past, this tense was used in ME and it is very important for the later development of modal and auxiliary words. The “old preterite” as this tense is sometimes called, served to show preterite indicative forms in the present indicative. This tense had no special endings in persons in singular but had its own special ending in the plural (-e/-en). The modals, auxiliaries and other grammatical forms of verbs needed for the later formation of other tenses were present. [Iglesias Rábade 2003, pp. 125-129]

There is another one group in this group of verbs which is called Anomalous verbs. These are the verbs which are irregular. [Iglesias Rábade 2003, pp. 130]

4.1.2.4 *The compound tenses*

Apart from the two main tense systems – the preterite and present, there were other tenses present at the beginning of the ME era. These tenses are called “compound” as they consist of the modal or auxiliary and past participle. The evidence of the future perfect tense is to be seen in the construction of the verb *shal/wil* connected with the auxiliary verb and the past participle. There was another future tense in ME which later disappeared called future pluperfect. This tense was a construct of the verb *sholde/wolde* with the auxiliary verb and the past participle. [Iglesias Rábade 2003, pp. 138-139]

4.1.2.4.1 Perfect tense

The ME period was the time where the perfect tense began to appear. In OE the more common tense was preterite. The perfect tense had expressed the action that happened in past but has an implication into the moment of speaking or it indicates repeated action which took place in the past. This tense consists of the verb *ben/habben* and the past participle. There is another perfect tense that was used in ME and that is the pluperfect. This tense was supposed to indicate the action that had been completed before another past action has happened. [Iglesias Rábade 2003, pp. 139]

4.1.3 *Mood*

4.1.3.1 *Indicative*

The present mood and its use according to its meaning has not changed. Even in ME it expressed the present or past time (depending on the tense system), actions that took place in the moment of speaking, habitual actions or factual statements of general validity or truth and continuing states (present tense system) or a single action which was completed in the past or an action which had no time limit in the past, habitual act in the past and an action which had any effect to the moment of speaking (preterite tense system). For the expression there was a simple tense used or the tense was indicated by the adverbs such as *nu* (now) etc. [Iglesias Rábade 2003, pp. 135-138]

The indicative mood expressed the future as well in ME. The future also may had a meaning as a threat, promise, advice; occurrence which was or was not about to happen or it was used in adverbial clauses that were introduced with the conjunction. The future was formed periphrastically using the verbs *shal*, *wil*, *mai* and *mote* followed by the bare infinitive of the lexical verb. There is semantic difference between *shal* and *wil* even in the ME. *Shal* was used in all persons to indicate an event which was predestined

to happen. In the 2nd or 3rd person singular it was used when giving instructions and in the 1st person singular to make a promise. *Wil* was used in all persons to indicate an event that could happen according to the speakers will or in the main clauses when the subordinate clauses expressed any hope, expectations etc. The form “be going to” began to appear in late Middle English and it indicated a near future. [Iglesias Rábade 2003, pp. 137-138]

There are also other uses expressing the historic present to make it more lively.

4.1.3.2 The subjunctive

The subjunctive mood was present in two forms – the inflectional and periphrastic. Because the inflectional aspects of language started to slowly disappear from the English language, it started to weaken its position even in the case with the inflectional form of the subjunctive. The subjunctive was mostly expressed by the modal auxiliaries such as *dar* (dare), *may*, *can*, *moot* (must), *shal* to indicate a “must” and *ouhte* (ought) and *wil* to indicate a “want to”. According to this, through the subjunctive there could be expressed two semantically different positions of these verbs – the volition and non-volition. The volition meant any wish under the condition that it is realisable. This type of subjunctive is sometimes called the optative subjunctive. The non-volition could express two semantically different actions – the first possibility is the potentiality of an action and the second possibility is the impossibility of an action to happen. [Iglesias Rábade 2003, pp. 139-140]

4.1.4 Voice

After the Old English period, the most used voice was the active but in Middle English, this slowly began to change. The passive was still not used frequently, mostly in formal writing and it consisted of the periphrastic form of auxiliary *be* and past participle. [Iglesias Rábade 2003, pp. 142]

4.1.5 Aspect

The aspectual side of the language deals with the indication of the way in which is a particular action regarded or in which it is experienced. In the Middle English there were few aspect forms that expressed the event differently. The first two are opposite to each other. It is the perfective and imperfective aspect. Whereas the perfective aspect was indicated mostly by the verbal prefixes (*a-*, *for-*, *i/y-*), the imperfective aspect consisted of two parts: *-to be* and the present participle (ending with *-inde*, *-ende*, *-ing*).

The second option of aspect is important because it represented the durativity of an action. This duration was restricted only to the present or preterite and to the verbs of motion (come, go etc.) and rest (libben e.g. live). Another type of aspect is the inchoative (or ingressive) aspect which was composed of the verbs such as begins, does, bicombe etc. connected to the plain infinitive or infinitive which was preceded by “to” when indicating the beginning of an activity. When expressing the action which came to conclusion, the aspect used was the egressive aspect. This type was a construct of preverbal form (be-, for-, i/y-) and to- infinitive. The last aspect of ME is the iterative aspect which describes the action that is done habitually. The formation is a construct of periphrastic wil (wold) and infinitive. [Iglesias Rábade 2003, pp. 140-142]

4.1.5.1 Progressive forms

The progressive forms are developing mostly from the 14th and 15th century. At first the meaning of the progressive forms was the same as of the simple form. In the 18th century the progressive forms acquired the meaning different from the simple forms and kept its special meaning till present-day English. The progressive form was used in passive construction even being active itself. These forms have developed in the Old English influenced by the Latin. [Hladký 2003, pp. 191]

4.1.6 The non-finite forms of verbs

The ME period was a paradise for the rise of the non-finite forms of verbs. I divided them according to Luis Igleas-Rábade into three categories: infinitive, participle and verbal periphrasis.

4.1.6.1 Infinitive

In the OE language system, the infinitive had two forms – uninflected (written and inflected (to writenne/to writanne). In the ME, the system of infinitives has enlarged. They can function as an adjunct to a verb, noun or adjective; also as a subject or object of a finite verb and as an adverbial of purpose. The infinitives can be divided according to tense they are used in and also according to the aspect they express. The present infinitive was divided into two other groups: the bare infinitive (binden) and the to- infinitive (to binden). The perfective infinitive was a construct of have plus the past participle. The passive infinitive had three forms in OE and was reduced to two forms in ME. The first one consisted of the periphrastic passive (or active depending on the aspect) form of ben to and infinitive, and the second called the perfect passive infinitive with have been and past participle in its formation. [Iglesias Rábade 2003, pp. 142-145]

4.1.6.2 *Participle*

The participles in ME were divided into two according to the tense they express.

4.1.6.2.1 *Present participle*

The infinitive was in some positions replaced by the participles and their meaning got closer to the meaning of verbs in the Middle English. The infinitive was replaced when standing after the verbs of perception or mental action. This does not mean that the participle was more frequent than the infinitive, the choice of the use of participle or infinitive was the decision of author of the text also because there were no strict rules in Middle English when and how to use either of them. [Hladký 2003, pp. 192-193]

The present participle could stay as an adjunct to another verb. If it stayed before or after the head noun it had a meaning of an adjective (and is also sometimes called attributive participle). The –ing form of the participle could have a function as a subject itself, or if not in this form as a subject predicate. When in the sentence with verbs of perception and mental activities, the participle could be the object predicate as well. Sometimes the participle had a function of an introduction of the adverbial clause (appositive participle) or the adverbial clause of time, manner etc. The biggest issue with the development of participles was that thanks to their development, the progressive form started to develop as well because the participles helped to form continuous tenses in present, perfect, pluperfect and also in the passive voice. The usual structure of the participle was the connection of the infinitive with the endings –end/-ende/-ing. [Iglesias Rábade 2003, pp. 145-146]

4.1.6.2.2 *Past participle*

Even though you may find the present participle and the infinitive similar in their use or position in the sentence, the position of the past participles was a little bit different. They served as an attributive participle with the meaning of adjective, they could stand as predicative subject or object (when expressing the state of a given action). It could also introduce a relative clause as an appositive participle. The tenses this participle was forming were the perfect tenses, perfect infinitives and the passive voice. [Iglesias Rábade 2003, pp. 146-147]

4.1.7 Verbal phrases

There are other verbal phrases that did not match with the shape of participles or infinitives. Most of them are at least partly consisted of modal or auxiliary verbs. [Iglesias Rábade 2003, pp. 147-148]

4.2 Modern English Verb

The most significant change in the verb system is affected by the change of the typological aspect of the language itself. The English language has turned from inflective to isolating type of language and therefore a big change is to be seen in the loss of inflections and verb endings. There may be some differences present in the development of the system according to dialect diversity of the language. The one form was codified but it did not led to the complete disappearing of the dialects which may influence the development and its differences. [Graddol 1996, pp. 227]

The loss is present in the second person singular, where the inflection completely disappeared. This is connected also to the loss of the pronoun indicating second person singular – thou. The third person singular has kept its inflection but simplified it in the Early Modern English period from the ending –th to simple –s. This change started to appear in the 16th century but many authors used –th inflection even later or there were also words (such as do and have) that kept their Middle English inflection longer than other verbs. [Gelderen 2006, pp. 168-169]

4.2.1 Strong and weak forms

As mentioned, in the Middle English the extensive part of the verb system was the contrast of strong and weak forms where the strong forms had their own system and division. This contrast has changed for the strong verbs began to fade in the Modern English according to a development. The strong verb system has simplified by the 18th century. The survivor strong verbs are in present-day English the verbs which are irregular. [Graddol 1996, pp. 227-228]

4.2.2 Tense system

4.2.2.1 Simple present

The simple present tense system is representing an action which takes place in a present time. Mostly is indicates state present (stative verbs are used) a state which started in the past, is in the present and will be continuing in the future. These are also so called “eternal truths” (states which are state according to the outside world). When

using dynamic verbs, it represents habitual action which occurred repeatedly without limitation. [Greenbaum 1991, pp. 48-49]

The present is not the only meaning that can present simple tense have. It can also refer to the past or future. The example for such cases is the historic present which refers to a past time. Another reference to the past is with the use of verbs of communication or verbs of perception of communication which suggest a validity of the information (tell, hear, understand). When the adverbials are present and the verb is a part of the main phrase, the real time can point out to the future (for example when adverbials such as tomorrow are present). [Greenbaum 1991, pp. 49-50]

4.2.2.2 *Simple past*

The simple past tense is used to indicate an action which took place in a past time. As in the case of simple present tense, the stative verbs show a state event only in the past. The dynamic verbs are used in two situations – one is the habitual past which again referred to a situation which took place repeatedly (but in the past). This use and the use indicating the state event can be also expressed by the phrase *used to*. The second situation when using dynamic verbs is a reference to a single event in the past connected often with a period, specific time or simply at the common knowledge of the speaker and the hearer. [Greenbaum 1991, pp. 50]

There are other special occasions when the past tense is used. The first anomaly in the use of the past tense is present in the case of indirect speech or indirect though. If we are dealing with the indirect forms of expression, there may be a tense shift happening in the subordinate clauses. The past tense represents these shifts in the verbs. Another example is more of an example of politeness than a grammar. In some cases, the past tense may be used to indicate politeness. This phenomenon is called the attitudinal past. The last special use of the past tense is an hypothetical event especially when *if* is present. [Greenbaum 1991, pp. 50-51]

4.2.2.3 *Future*

As was mentioned, the inflections in the Middle English indicated the future time. With the loss of inflections, their work do other words and phrases. First of these expressions are the modal verbs *shall* and *will* with the connection to infinitive or progressive aspect. We have to consider that model verbs may indicate modal meanings but they are also frequently used to indicate the future as well. The future created with the phrase *going to* with infinitive are referring to the fulfilment of the present or the

result of the event in the present. Another option is the use of present progressive and present simple in the sense of future meaning. The last possibility to express the future is through the phrase *be(about) to* plus infinitive. [Greenbaum 1991, pp. 57-60]

Modal verbs with *would, be going to* and infinitive, past progressive, *be to* plus infinitive and *be (about) to*, are the forms indicating future time in past. Though it may seem weird, this simply refers to an action seen in the future from the past time. [Greenbaum 1991, pp. 59-60]

4.2.3 Mood

In the Modern English the indicative mood is still present. The subjunctive is not so frequent and is occurring in two forms – the present subjunctive and the past subjunctive. The present subjunctive is expressed by the base form of the verb. The past subjunctive is not much used in the Modern English. Sometimes we refer to him as to “were-subjunctive” because it survived only in the past tense of the verb *be*. Mostly it occurs in the conditional clauses with the verbs such as wish or suppose (formulaic subjunctive) or that-clauses with the verb of demand, recommendation, proposal and intention (the so called mandative subjunctive). [Greenbaum 1991, pp. 43-44]

4.2.4 Voice

In Modern English there are still two voice present in the system - the active and passive. The active form is more common and the passive is created on the basis of transitivity of the verb and also by the auxiliary verb *be*. [Greenbaum 1991, pp. 44-46]

4.2.5 Aspect

4.2.5.1 *The present perfect*

The present perfect form is used when referring to an action or an event which began in the past but the actions last to present or affects the present time. The stative verbs represents the state event (began in the past, last in the present and will probably continue in the future). The dynamic verbs are used in so called event present perfect. This refers to a situation which also has its beginning in the past time, it last till the present but the action took place in some time. The event which took place repeatedly in the past till the present is then expressed by the habitual present perfect. [Greenbaum 1991, pp. 51-52]

4.2.5.2 *The past perfect*

The past perfect is used to refer to a time which took place before another past time. This type of tense is sometimes called the pluperfect. [Greenbaum 1991, pp. 53]

4.2.5.3 *Progressive aspect*

The Modern English progressive aspect is concerning with the duration of an action or its duration at a particular time. Sometimes is the progressive aspect referred to as continuous aspect. Opposite to Middle English, the verbs used in the progressive forms are dynamic. The stative verbs do not occur in the Modern English system of progressive aspect. If there is an exception and there is stative verb in a progressive form, it bears or adopts the durative meaning. These may also point out to some states of character (using the verbs *be* and *have* in their –ing form) or the verbs expressing a sense. The event with progressive aspect is used in the cases when we refer to a situation in duration which has not ended. The progressive aspect is mostly connected to a present tense because the present events have a premise of duration in more cases than the past tense. Through the progressive form we can also express a habit. These habits in progressive form implicated the duration of repeated action. [Greenbaum 1991, pp. 53-56]

4.2.5.3.1 *The perfect progressive*

The perfect progressive connects two aspects combining them in a form indicating an action or event with limited duration but in the duration. It refers mostly to temporary situations. [Greenbaum 1991, pp. 56-57]

4.2.6 *Non-finite forms*

The non-finite forms are frequent in the Modern English. The basis of this category is the infinitive, present participle ending in –ing and past participle ending in –ed. [Greenbaum 1991, pp. 41-42]

The –ing participle is present as a marker of progressive aspect when following the auxiliary verb *be* or is also present in participle clauses without the auxiliary. The past participle cannot be interchange with the past form of a finite verb also ending in –ed. The past participle is preceded by the auxiliaries *have* or *be* or it can stand alone in the participle clauses. [Greenbaum 1991, pp. 25-26]

5 The sources of the English language development in Middle English and Early Modern English

To study and work with the language, we need sources of the language – the written texts. Before the printing press invention the texts were only manuscripts. These manuscripts function as a good source for the tracking of development and changes of English language before the invention of the printing press. These manuscripts are also good source for the language spoken for there is lower possibility that these texts are re-written or modified (the possibility is low but not zero!). It is harder to distinguish the movement in the system of language because the standardized form came in the 15th century with the printing press and the pressure for unified form. Till then the forms used for markers of different categories were not unified and it was more the choice of the author which form they used or which they knew. When analysing texts before the unification and codification of the forms, we have to consider the fact of different forms indicating one aspect of the analysis.

5.1 Literary vs. Non-literary texts

It is crucial to distinguish texts that are literary and text that are not. If we examine literary text we should be aware of the possible adjustment of the text. The author of literary text may use words according to a literary or aesthetic function not considering the syntactic rules. Also in syntactic structure, the word order can be manipulated and the constituents may not be in a position which would indicate searched form and it could influence the analysis by the wrong assignment into a group. Literary texts are in their basis earmarked for their aesthetic function and the language is often different from the one we are speaking. This does not mean that literary texts do not have any informational value but according to the tracking of the development, these texts are not a good choice for the sample of common spoken language in a period.

For this reason I chose for my thesis non-literary texts mostly from women. First, the non-literary texts are the best evidence we can trace the changes in without being affected with the purpose of using language in a literary way. The language in non-literary text is also a good source for the simple language people actually used without innovative or poetic words etc.

Second, women are good source for these scripts because they wrote in a language that is the closest to the language spoken. Most women were not allowed to

write literary texts and therefore the evidence can be found in letters and non-literary texts that they were writing. There are differences in their education and their status in society that have to be considered as well.

5.2 Letters

Letters are very good material to work with because they contain language that is common in the spoken language as well as in written language. The best sample is the personal correspondence of the people rather than official correspondence because the official letter can be modified to more formal language. If this happens, the script is no longer original production of the person needed for the analysis. The aim is to capture the language most common in a period and if it is modified by a different person, this sample could not be relevant. For example when re-written by the man who was more educated, the text would not represent the common language of middle class.

5.3 Diaries and autobiographies

Even much better source for the language spoken are the diaries. The capture of language in diaries is better source than letters because there is no need of the writer to manipulate their language in more formal way. The diaries are capture of everyday life and therefore everyday language. The person writing does not have to be influenced according to the addressee as in the case with letters. The only contamination which could be possible is when the diary is supposed to be a literary work. In all other cases, diaries capture the language closest to the one which the people were actually speaking.

6 Analysis

In my analysis I will be dealing with the texts from the end of the 14th century till the beginning of 18th century. With this problematic is also concern the study of Johan Elsness who is mapping the development of the progressive forms and other related aspects. On the basis of his study I focused on this particular period. In his study he mentions that the occurrence of –ing forms is getting higher [Elsness 1994, pp. 8-10] To track the progressive verb forms and its occurrence I am dividing the words ending in –ing or its earlier variants into groups to: verbal nouns (violet), gerund (red), adjective (yellow), present participle (green) and words ending in –ing which indicates the progressive aspect in verbs (blue). This division is made to track how the form has developed from the higher occurrence of the gerund to the lowering of the occurrence of the gerunds and verbal nouns and more frequent presence of progressive aspect within the tense system.

The gerund is basically a noun as it syntactically acts like a noun. The difference is that the gerund can create constructions where it acts like a verb. The verbal noun ending in –ing in the opposition to gerund has the substantive attributes – it has plural forms, adjective modification, the determiner is also present and the postmodification is genitive. Verbal nouns have properties of noun and no properties of verb despite of being derived from the verb. Mostly this relates to dynamic verbs but in Middle English and Early Modern English, the verbal nouns were derived also from stative verbs (such as hear). I indicated the verbal nouns in texts thanks to their characteristics of noun – the presence of the article or modifier (mostly the adjectives) followed by a prepositional phrase. Opposite to verbal nouns, gerund has properties of a verb but syntactically they are fulfilling the position which is typical for nouns. They are preceded mostly by the preposition. Before the gerund there can be no article for this would signalize a verbal noun because the determiner is in connection only with nouns. The gerund is also often followed by the object or adverb. As these principles are not common in the Middle English, the identification of verbal nouns or gerunds might be difficult and in some cases the lack of these categories makes the identification impossible. Participles are the closest to verbs and their system, even syntactically the participles fulfil the position of verb. It is not preceded by the preposition nor by the determiner. At last I searched for the progressive aspect looking for –ing ending in connection with auxiliary or modal verb indicating continuous tense. [Dušková 1994, pp. 569-580]

6.1 Selected texts and their characteristics

An inspiration for my thesis was a study by Johan Elsnæs – On the progression of the progressive in early Modern English. This study is based on Helsinki corpus which is not accessible from the Czech republic. The corpus is a diachronic corpus working with multi-genre texts from Old English, Middle English and Early Modern English. The text is mapping the development of the progressive forms dealing also its connection with preterite or perfective system and the passive construction with progressive aspects. He is also working with syntactic relationships and their change or modification according to the use of progressive and its near surroundings in an utterance.

My analysis works only with text chosen and not with corpus. As written before, Helsinki corpus is not available in the Czech republic. More important reason for my choice of the text was the fact that I wanted to map the language most close to the one speaking. In corpus, there are all texts not divided into non-literary and literary which may cause a problem according to the different specification and differences in the use of language in both these groups as mentioned also in a Chapter before. There is also social aspect which is not considered when working with corpus. The social aspect of the division of the society in a country or also the literacy and education are very important factors which I wanted to consider when doing the analysis. For that I had to know the exact text and the person who wrote the text to consider other aspects of the use of their language.

When searching for the best sample that would be valid for my thesis, I picked the forms of autobiographical works when possible and letters. My aim was to find texts which are written by the people having a common education. This was very hard while the evidence was not easy to find and their scope relevant. According to my need I had to choose the works of women which were from higher social strata and also from the ruling class. Even though the printing press made the literacy more possible and the spread of the works as well, it was still a matter of the rich ones. This is one of the reasons why I found very good evidence of the letters and diaries from aristocrats and ruling class than from a middle class. There was also not an aspiration of the middle class to write any type of work or to archive them. They were still spending most of their time working and even though the literacy got higher when invented the printing press, the social aspect was developing by little steps.

My analysis starts with texts of Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe in original. Both these women are the basis of my thesis followed by the letters of ruling class and their representatives – Elizabeth I. and Mary, Queen of Scots. I avoided their official proposals, speeches and letters with political backgrounds. By avoiding these official documents, I wanted to get the most personal language expression of these women and therefore I picked the correspondence which is on the one hand going on with the people from ruling class, on the other they are still personal appointments. The two Queens are followed by the letters of Arbella Stuart (one of the possible successor of Elizabeth I.) from the 16th century and by The Autobiography of Anne Halkett (religious writer) as the representative of the writers from 1650 and after. During the 17th century there were also present the works of different religious beliefs and mysticism. In opposite to religious Anne Halkett I work with the works from the period 1650 and after showing different religious believes – Katharine Evans and Sarah Chevers. In the period from 18th century and after the works selected are the letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (selected letters written earlier in the 18th century) and the diary of Elizabeth Bury.

6.1.1 Julian of Norwich

This is the earliest sample in my analysis and it represents the English language also with its inflective form. If we look at the text, one of the first differences that we see is the different spelling but also different endings. These endings in verbs morphologically indicate the person, number, tense and voice. The text also contains a capture of –ing forms - verbal nouns, gerunds and participles. As can be seen in the table, the presence of verbal is more common than the occurrence of participles. The spelling is not unified to just one form but oscillates between –ing/–yng and -and suffix.

Spelling oscillation on the example of verbal nouns in the text:

*But it was to have lyved that I might have loved God better and longer tyme, that I might have the more **knoweing** and **lovyng** of God in blisse of Hevyn.*

When searching for the verbal nouns, we have to be aware of the fact that in Middle English and early Modern English there can be some stative verbs used as a the basis for the verbal noun. This is not a mistake in the analysis, these “stative verbal nouns” were common.

Tab. 1: The occurrence of the -ing forms in the text:

Julian of Norwich (original)	
Verbal noun	47
Gerund	9
Verbal noun/Gerund	7
Adjective	2
Present Participle	13

6.1.2 Margery Kempe

The original manuscript of the Book of Margery Kempe has also different spelling than we are used to in present English. There is an evidence of the inflections in the language showing that the text is from a period when English was still part of the language group of inflectional type of language according to typology of languages. It can be seen in different forms of modal and auxiliary verbs expressing the person. The auxiliary and modal verbs are modified due to the need of the language (still inflective) and the lexical verb often bears the suffix indicating voice, number, person or tense.

The original text of the Book of Margery Kempe is very rich in the presence of –ing forms – especially in present participles. There are also verbal nouns, gerunds present in the text. In comparison with Julian of Norwich, Margery used more participles than verbal nouns; the occurrence of gerunds is comparable but and the presence of continuous tenses is higher in the text of Margery Kempe. The ending in –yng (more common in her texts) or –ing is in her text typical for gerunds, verbal nouns and participles as in this example from the first chapter (for the full text see appendix):

*... And, aftyr that sche had conceyved, sche was labowrd wyth grett accessys tyl the child was born, and than, what for labowr sche had in **chyldyng** and for sekenesse **goyng** befor, ...*

where *chyldyng* is a representant for gerund and *goyng* for participial.

The progressive form is marked by the use of auxiliary verbs and the ending of the lexical verb in –yng or –ing.

The use with the auxiliary verb in the past tense – example from the chapter 11:

*... It befel upon a Fryday on Mydsomyr Evyn in rygth hot wedyr, as this creatur **was komyng** fro Yorkeward beryng a botel wyth bere in hir hand and hir husbond a cake in hys bosom, ...*

... *On a day as this creatur was **heryng** hir messe, a yong man and a good prest heldyng...*

... *He was so seke thatmen trustyd no thyng to hys lyfe, and hys sekenes was **long contunyg***

There may be oscillations of the spelling present also especially in the words ending in –y as in the word *crying/cryyng/cryin*. This oscillation is less present than in the texts of Julian of Norwich and the form –yng is used more often.

Tab. 2: The occurrence of the -ing forms in the text

Margery Kempe	
Verbal noun	27
Gerund	13
Verbal noun/Gerund	5
Adjective	1
Present Participle	55
Past continuous	3

6.1.3 Mary, Queen of Scots

The letters of Mary, Queen of Scots are the evidence of the unified form of progressive form, gerunds, verbal nouns and participles in just one form of ending in –ing. The unification is probably present because of the invention of the printing press and the pressure which it had on standardization of the language. The highest rate of this form is in participles and gerunds and the lowest is the occurrence of the –ing forms. This may be caused by the extension of the other forms of verb and tense system which than had more possibilities to express the situation.

The example is taken from the Casket letter n.2 from the Norton Anthology (p.678):

... *,I will know all of him; but I **shall never be willing** to beguile one who putteth his trust in me. ...*

The following excerpt is from the last letter ever written by Mary and it shows the identic forms in the use of gerund and participle and also the non-changed form of –ing after the ending in vowel which cause problems in earlier texts and the spelling oscillated in these words more than in the words with other endings:

... *who have always protested your love for me, to give proof now of your goodness on all these points: firstly by charity, in **paying** my unfortunate servants the wages due to*

*them-this is a burden on my conscience that only you can relieve: further, by **having** prayers offered to God for a queen who has borne the title Most Christian, ...*

Tab. 3: The occurrence of the -ing forms in the text

Mary, Queen of Scots	
Verbal noun	2
Gerund	5
Adjective	2
Present Participle	7
Present continuous	1
Future continuous	1

6.1.4 Elizabeth I.

Queen's letters are more or less the same in the meaning of the occurrence of the -ing forms in the text as the letters from Mary, Queen of Scots. It is not a surprise while the time they were written in is the same time and by they are written by the women which were both in the highest social positions. The form is unified in the case of both writers. According to the table related to Elizabeth, the occurrence of these forms is higher in Elizabeth's letters but the difference is not so significant as in the comparison with Julian or Margery. There is no evidence in my texts of the presence of continuous tenses but in my opinion it is caused by the character of the form (letters) and the social status.

Extract from a letter to Edward VI (the whole letter in appendix):

*... , doth now increase them in **asking** and **desiring** where you may bid and command, **requiring** a thing not worthy the **desiring** for itself, but made worthy for your Highness's request. ...*

Tab. 4: The occurrence of the -ing forms in the text

Elizabeth I.	
Verbal noun	17
Gerund	19
Verbal noun/Gerund	2
Adjective	2
Present Participle	20

6.1.5 Arbella Stuart

Lady Arbella Stuart was considered as one of the options to succeed Elizabeth I. on the throne. The occurrence of verbal nouns and gerunds, also progressive forms indicating continuous tenses are comparable to the letters of Mary and Elizabeth but she is breaking the pattern with high occurrence of the present participle. We should consider the form and occasion of the texts and the possibility of the addressee which could have made a huge difference for in one of her letters there are participles appearing in the beginning of almost every paragraph (see example).

Being demaunded who it is that she desireth her majestie to grace
and to wynde his hart from her she sayth that it is the Kinge of Scottes.
Being demaunded who it is that she desireth libertye to sende to and
120 then she wilbe content that her Grandmother shall see all his letters and
revele them to all the worlde she sayeth it is the Kinge of Scottes.
Being demaunded who that gentleman is by whose love she is so
much honoured as she can not be ashamed of her choyce nor woulde
sticke to revele him if she durst without his consent she sayth it is the
Kinge of Scottes.
Being demaunded whether the Kinge of Scottes dare not geve his
consent till he have pardon for him selfe and his friendes she aunsuered
she thinks not.

Tab. 5: The occurrence of the -ing forms in the text

Arbella Stuart	
Verbal noun	5
Gerund	15
Present Participle	51

6.1.6 Anne Halkett – The Autobiography

The form of autobiography itself creates more space for more forms of verbs, tenses and words in general. After the “ruling women” and their letters, Anne’s autobiography is a text rich in every form of words representing verbal nouns, gerunds, participles and progressive verb forms. The most significant shift can be seen in the number of progressive verb forms used when expressing the aspect of the tense. The tense mostly used with the connection to the progressive aspect was the past tense (which also corresponds with the pattern of narratology in diaries). In comparison to the Margery or Julian, the occurrence has increased. Not much but the number of the progressive aspects indicating continuity in tense system has almost quadrupled. The present participle is still more common than the gerunds and verbal nouns which is comparable

to the “ruling women” Mary and Elizabeth but definitely not to Julian of Norwich. The number of verbal noun is lowering from the first texts and there are more examples of participles and continuous tenses.

The spelling is unified before Halkett’s autobiography and the only differences from the Modern English can be traced in the words themselves but not in the ending indicating duration. (for the full text see appendix)

... [p. 90] The **lodging** I was then in nott **beeing** convenientt for more then myselfe, I removed up to Mr. Glover's, att the head of Blacke-friar Wind, ...

Even though the -ing forms are frequent, the only tense used in connection with it is the past tense.

... , I told him I **was going** to comunicate something to him which hitherto I had concealed, butt now would entrust him with itt under promise of secresy,...

, and I gave him a particular accountt what I **was owing**.

... I was nott very certaine of what was convenientt, and upon the Monday when I **was comming** away my Lady brought mee ten pound, ...

Tab. 6: The occurrence of the -ing forms in the text

Anne Halkett	
Verbal noun	19
Gerund	20
Present Participle	30
Past continuous	11

6.1.7 Katharine Evans & Sarah Chevers

The only representatives of mythical sphere of writing have texts a little bit poor on the occurrence of verbal nouns and progressive aspects of tenses, but the number of the examples of gerunds and participles is not as high as well. The reason may be the length of the material or also the fact that they were from the same social position as earlier analysed texts. Also again another reason may be the type of the document.

From the Relation of some cruel sufferings (for the truths sake) in the inquisition in the isle of Malta (for the full text see appendix):

... And we went to bed, there I lay night and day for 12. days together, **fasting** and **sweating**, that my bed was wet, and great was our affliction. ...

Tab. 7: The occurrence of the -ing forms in the text

Evans & Chevres	
Verbal noun	12
Gerund	4
Adjective	7
Present Participle	12

6.1.8 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu

One of the last texts analysed are the letters from the English aristocrat Lady Mary Wortley Montagu who represents the period from the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century. Mary W. Montagu wrote letters even later in the 18th century but I chose letters written at its beginning. The use of the -ing forms has increased a little bit and the progressive aspect was used in more tenses as well. The most common were perfect tenses but also past tenses especially in diaries which work mainly with the past tense. In the letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, there is evidence also of present perfect progressive. Another shift is to be seen in the spelling of the words – especially modal and auxiliary verbs. The form used in the letters of Mary W. Montagu is identical with the form as we know today.

The example different tenses in connection with progressive aspect (for the full text see appendix):

Present continuous

... *I **am trying** whether it be possible to learn without a master ; I am not certain (and dare hardly hope) I shall make any great progress ; ...*

Present perfect continuous

... , *for I don't so much as know the man's name : **I have been studying** these three hours, and cannot guess who you mean. I passed the days of Nottingham races, Thorsby, without **seeing** or even **wishing** to see one of the sex....*

The example of the unification of spelling; the gerund following the preposition and the present participle standing on its own in participle clause:

... When Mr. Cowley, and other people, (for I know several have learnt after the same manner,) were in places where they had opportunity of **being** learned by word of mouth, I don't see any violent necessity of printed rules ; but **being** where from the top of the house to the bottom not a creature in it under stands so much as even good English, without the help of a dictionary or inspiration, ...

Tab. 8: The occurrence of the -ing forms in the text

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu	
Verbal noun	8
Gerund	30
Present Participle	18
Present continuous	8
Present perfect continuous	1

6.1.9 Elizabeth Bury - Diary

As in the case of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Elizabeth Bury follows the pattern of using all four -ing forms with the only difference that in her texts there are more participles than gerunds in comparison with Wortley Montagu. The spelling is unified and the text is written in the language which is almost identical with the Modern English. There are also other tenses present in her work – the present continuous, past continuous and present perfect continuous.

The example of different tense use with the progressive aspect in the text:

Present continuous

...; I cry as loud for **purging**, as for pacifying Grace: **I am willing** to be kept from mine Iniquity; I except no Darl|ing from thine Iron Mace; I ask no Mercy, ...

Past continuous

... I reflected on the Cove|nant I have long since made, and oft, with Joy, renew'd, and **was never willing** to retract: ...

Present perfect continuous

... My Judgment has esteem'd God, even his Holiness, the most desirable Good; and I would be a Partaker of his Holiness, whatever it cost me; and **have generally been willing** of, and thankful for the smartest Discipline, ...

From the examples can be seen that the forms are fully developed and so is their spelling.

Tab. 9: The occurrence of the -ing forms in the text

Elizabeth Bury	
Verbal noun	13
Gerund	32
Present Participle	51
Present continuous	8
Present perfect continuous	1
Past continuous	1

7 The Conclusion

My hypothesis was that the occurrence of the progressive forms is rising. This hypothesis was based on the study of Johan Elsness and the Helsinki corpus. My own study showed that this hypothesis is true. During my analysis I found out that there were –ing forms present in the original text of Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe as well as in the text of Elizabeth Bury or Mary Wortley Montagu but with higher occurrence. Late Middle English was the basis for the development of the progressive verb forms. The occurrence of continuous tenses is not very high in the texts of Julian of Norwich or Margery Kempe but there is at least some evidence. This leads to an idea that Middle English is the period where the –ing forms started to be used but mostly in the form of verbal nouns and gerunds in comparison to progressive aspect. The letters in the 16th century are not very rich in progressive forms but this can be due to the form of letters itself. In the 17th century and at the beginning of the 18th century the –ing forms are used frequently. There is an evidence of different continuous tenses in the later texts where the present continuous, past continuous and also present perfect continuous are present. This shows a development of the occurrence and use of the progressive aspect within the tense system towards present day usage. Across the centuries, the most stable form of the development of occurrence is the present participle which is present in every text analysed and not in so small numbers.

What has to be considered is the format of the text where some of them may be a better foundation for different tenses and their occurrence. We can see that letters from Mary, Queen of Scots, Elizabeth I. and Arbella Stuart were poor in sense of using the progressive aspect of different tenses but the use of verbal nouns, gerunds and especially participles were not used less in comparison with the diary of Elizabeth Bury or Autobiography of Anne Halkett. The reason behind this statement is that diaries and autobiographies are better foundation for different type of tenses as they have characteristics of the narration. When writing a letter, there is no need for switching between the tenses as in the case of narration because it is a simplified summary of information or a simple statement.

My hypothesis consisted of an idea that the rise of the progressive verb forms is caused also by the change of the typological parameters on the English language. The hypothesis is true, but the typological change is not the main cause of the rise of –ing forms. In my analysis I figured out that the typological change had no or just a little

effect on the occurrence of the –ing forms. The change in the presence of the forms can be seen in the connection with the modal and auxiliary verbs which form has changed and also in the texts of Julian of Norwich where the –and suffix was changed into –ing suffix according to the typological change in the structure of language. The modals had different forms as also the auxiliary words to mark some categories but these markings have disappeared.

It turns out that more than the development of the language itself, the occurrence of the progressive forms rely on the preferences of every writer and on the text they are writing. Even though I chose non-fictional character of the analysed texts, the differences in the use were to be seen. The biggest difference is between the letters and autobiographical forms of expressing when the character of the genre presumes using more or less of the progressive forms.

My second hypothesis was that the form of expressing the progressive verb forms has changed and that this change is affected by the invention of the printing press. This hypothesis has been confirmed. As described in the practical part, in the case of Margery Kempe and Julian of Norwich the form was not unified and in the examples of Margery Kempe I proved that the form indicated the inclusion to verbal noun, gerund, participle or progressive aspect of the tense used. In the text of Mary or Elizabeth I., the form in the letters of both “ruling women” is unified into just one (-ing) which is present today. When checking the date they were written in, they are related to the printing press invention. The letters were written in the period around 1550 and plus, the printing press was invented almost a century but the changes did not take a place right in the 15th century. The effect of the printing press can be seen in older texts written in the 18th century by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Elizabeth Bury. The letters are the evidence of the changes in grammatical and spelling structure of the language after the printing press and the response to the need of having one official form of the language. The letters being written almost century after, it could adapt the changes more or less codified and therefore the form used in both of these women’s work is unified. Since then the form remained the same.

When analysing the texts, what was very helpful were the syntactic properties of the verbal noun, gerund, participles and progressive aspect of continuous tenses. My assumption was that again the rules have developed with the language itself. I was surprised when the modern patterns were applicable even in the earlier texts. But these

patterns were not used always in the cases as in the present day English. Especially in the texts of Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe, the form was sometimes hard to distinguish between the gerund and the verbal noun for the absence of these patterns. Simplified - the verbal noun is to be distinguished by the use of an article or modifier before the noun and the presupposition that it has developed from the verb. The gerund follows the prepositions and there is no article before them. Participle stays always alone without connection to any article or preposition and it fulfils the work of the verb. These principles helped me divide the –ing forms from the text from Elizabeth I. till the last text. The principles have not changed but the use was not stable and in some cases these principles were missing. This is changing after the 16th century when the principles are more stable and mark the form without struggles.

My fourth hypothesis relied on the texts itself. The presupposition was that the texts would not influence the analysis because the letters and the autobiographic works are both examples of informal expression through the language. Also this hypothesis has not been confirmed as the letters were different in the sense of using the form or word. We can assume that the form of chosen text affects the occurrence of the different –ing forms but the sample is still relevant for both letters and autobiographies or diaries are a sample of how the language appeared in every day communication. The fourth hypothesis is not true as well but not in a sense of an impact on the relevance of chosen texts.

In conclusion the practical part has shown there is a change of the occurrence of the progressive verb forms even though it may seem not so significant according to numbers detected. The most significant change was in connection with the invention of the printing press and the standardization of the language in the 15th century. The standardization caused the unification of the –ing form. Before the standardization, the form was not unified. These forms were used randomly; the random oscillation was between possible endings and the use was fully dependent on the author's style. When going through the texts, the verb is changing according to the change of the English language from the inflectional to isolating type of the language. The endings indicating different categories (such as different modification of the word pointing to different person) are fading away and the verb system is going into simplification of the system and to an isolating type of language according to the typology of languages from Praguian Linguistic School. Nevertheless this change did not intervene the development

of the –ing forms in present but for example it prepared the basis of the tense system to express duration in more ways.

8 Appendix

8.1 Julian of Norwich

Available in [The Shewings of Julian of Norwich, © 1994]

Chapter 3

And when I was thirty yers old and halfe, God sent me a bodely sekeness in which I lay three dayes and three nights, and on the fourth night I tooke all my rites of Holy Church and wened not a levyd till day; and after this I langorid forth two dayes and two nights. And on the third night I wened oftentimes to have passyd, and so wened they that were with mee; and, in youngith yet, I thought great sweeme to dye; but for nothing that was in earth that me lekid to levin for, ne for no peyne that I was aferd of, for I trusted in God of His mercy. But it was to have lyved that I might have loved God better and longer tyme, that I might have the more **knoweing** and **lovyng** of God in blisse of Hevyn. For methought all the time that I had lived here so little and so short, in reward of that endlesse blisse, I thought, nothing. Wherefore I thought, "Good Lord, may my **living/living** no longer be to Thy worshippe?" And I understood by my reason and be my **feleing** of my peynes that I should dye, and I assented fully with all - with all the will of my herte to be at God will. Thus I durid till day, and be than my body was dede fro the middis downewards as to my **feleing**. Then was I stered to be sett upright, **underlenand** with helpe, for to have more fredam of my herte to be at Gods will, and **thinkeing** on God while my life would lest.

My curate was sent for to be at my endeing, and by than he cam I had sett my eyen and might not speke. He sett the cross before my face and seid, "I have browte thee the image of thy maker and Saviour. Louke thereupon and comfort thee therewith." Methought I was wele for my eyen were sett up rightward into Hevyn where I trusted to come be the mercy of God, but nevertheless I assented to sett my eyen in the face of the Crucifix, if I might; and so I dede. For methought I might longer duren to loke even forth than right up. After this my sight began to failen and it was all derke about me in the chamber as it had be night, save in the image of the Cross wherein I beheld a comon light, and I wiste not how. All that was beside the Cross was uggely to me as if it had be mekil occupyed with the fendes. After this the other party of my body began to dyen so

ferforth that onethys I had ony **feleing**, with shortnesse of onde; and than I went sothly to have passid.

And in this, sodenly all my peyne was taken fro me, and I was as hele, and namely in the other party of my body, as ever I was aforn. I mervalid at this soden change, for methought it was a privy **workeing** of God and not of kinde, and yet by the **feleing** of this ease I trusted never the more to levyn. Ne the **feleing** of this ease was no full ease to me, for methought I had lever a be deliveryd of this world. Than came suddenly to my minde that I should desyre the second wounde of our Lords gracious gift, that my body might be fullfilled with minde and **felyng/felyng** of His blissid passion, for I would that His peynes were my peynes, with compassion, and, afterward, **longeing/longeing** to God. But in this I desired never bodily sight nor **sheweing** of God, but compassion as a kinde soule might have with our Lord Jesus that for love would beene a dedely man, and therefore I desired to suffer with Him.

Chapter 4

In this sodenly I saw the rede blode trekelyn downe fro under the garlande hote and freisly and ryth plenteously, as it were in the time of His passion that the garlande of thornys was pressid on His blissid hede. Ryte so, both God and man, the same that sufferd thus for me, I conceived treuly and mightily that it was Himselfe shewed it me without ony mene.

And in the same **sheweing** sodenly the Trinite fullfilled the herte most of joy; and so, I understood, it shall be in Hevyn withoute end to all that shall come there. For the Trinite is God, God is the Trinite. The Trinite is our maker and keeper, the Trinite is our **everlasting** lover, **everlasting** joy and blisse, be our Lord Jesus Christ; and this was shewed in the first and in all, for where Jesus appereith the blissid Trinite is understand, as to my sight. And I said, "Benedicite, Domine." This I said for reverence in my **meneing** with a mighty voice, and full gretly was astonyed for wonder and mervel that I had, that He that is so reverend and dredfull will be so homley with a synfull creture **liveing** in wretched flesh. This I tooke for the time of my temptation, for methowte by the sufferance of God I should be tempted of fends or I dyed. With this sight of the blissid pass-

sion, with the Godhede that I saw in myne **understanding**, I knew wele that it was strength enow to me, ya, and to all creturers **leving**, ageyn all the fendes of Hell and ghostly temptation.

In this He browght our blissid Lady to my **understondyng/understondyng**. I saw hir ghostly in bodily likeness, a simple mayde and a meke, young of age and little waxen above a child, in the stature that she was wan she conceived with child. Also God shewid in party the wisdom and the trueth of hir soule, wherein I understood the reverend **beholding** that she beheld hir God and maker **mervelyng** with greate reverence that He would be borne of hir that was a simple creature of His **makeyng**. And this wisdom and trueth, **knowyng** the greteness of hir maker and the littlehede of hirselfe, that is made, caused hir sey full mekely to Gabriel, "Lo, me, Gods handmayd." In this sight I understoode sothly that she is mare than all that God made beneath hir in worthyness and grace. For aboven hir is nothing that is made but the blissid manhood of Criste, as to my sight.

Chapter 5

In this same time our Lord shewed to me a ghostly sight of His homely **love-
ing**. I saw that He is to us everything that is good and comfortable for us. He isoure **clotheing**, that for love wrappeth us, halsyth us, and all becloseth us for tender love, that He may never leeve us, **being** to us althing that is gode as to myne **understondyng**. Also in this He shewed a littil thing the quantitye of an hesil nutt in the palme of my hand, and it was as round as a balle. I lokid there upon with eye of my **understondyng** and thowte, What may this be? And it was generally answered thus: *It is all that is made*. I mervellid how it might lesten, for methowte it might suddenly have fallen to nowte for littil. And I was answered in my **understondyng**, *It lesteth and ever shall, for God loveth it; and so all thing hath the being be the love of God.*

In this littil thing I saw three properties: the first is that God made it, the second is that God loveth it, the third, that God kepith it. But what is to me sothly the maker, the keper, and the lover I canot tell, for till I am substantially onyd to Him I may never have full rest ne very blisse; that is to sey, that I be so

festined to Him, that there is right nowte that is made betwix my God and me. It needyth us to have **knoweing** of the littlehede of creatures and to nowtyn allthing that is made for to love and howe God that is unmade. For this is the cause why we be not all in ease of herete and soule, for we sekyn here rest in those things that is so littil, wherin is no rest, and know not our God that is al mighty, al wise, all gode; for He is the very rest. God will be knowen, and Him liketh that we rest in Him. For all that is beneth Him sufficeth not us. And this is the cause why that no soule is restid till it is nowted of all things that is made. Whan he is willfully nowtid for love, to have Him that is all, then is he abyly to receive ghostly rest.

Also our Lord God shewed that it is full gret plesance to Him that a sily soule come to Him nakidly and pleylnly and homely. For this is the kinde **yernings** of the soule by the **touching** of the Holy Ghost, as be the **understandyng** that I have in this **sheweing**: "God of Thy goodnesse, give me Thyselfe, for Thou art enow to me, and I may nothing aske that is less that may be full worshippe to Thee. And if I aske anything that is lesse, ever me wantith; but only in Thee I have all." And these words arn full lovesome to the soule, and full nere, touchen the will of God and His goodness. For His goodness comprehendith all His creatures and all His blissid works and overpassith without end. For He is the endleshede, and He hath made us only to Himselfe and restorid us be His blissid passion, and kepith us in His blissid love; and all this is of His goodness.

Chapter 7

And to lerne us this, as to myne **understandyng**, our Lord God shewed our Lady Saint Mary in the same tyme, that is to mene the hey wisdom and trewth she had in **beholding/beholding** of hir Maker, so grete, so hey, so mightie, and so gode. This gretenes and this noblyth of the **beholdyng** of God fulfilled her of reverend drede, and with this she saw hirselle so litil and so low, so simple and so pore, in reward of hir Lord God, that this reverent drede fulfillid hir of mekenes. And thus by this ground she was fulfillid of grace and of al manner vertues and overpassyth all creatures. In all the tyme that He shewed this that I have seid now, in ghostly sight I saw the bodyly sight **lesting** of the plentious **bledeing** of the hede. The grete dropis of blode fel downe from under the garland like pellots semand as it had cum out of the veynis, and in the **comeing out** it were

browne rede, for the blode was full thick, and in the **spredeing** abrode it were bright rede, and whan it come to the browes, than it vanysgid; notwithstanding the **bleding** continuid till many things were seene and **understondyn**. The fairehede and the livelyhede is like nothing but the same. The plenteoushede is like to the dropys of water that fallen of the evys after a greate showre of reyne that fall so thick that no man may numbre them with bodily witte; and for the roundhede, it were like to the scale of **heryng** in the **spreadeing** on the forehead. These three come to my mynde in the tyme: pellotts, for roundhede in the **comynge out** of the blode; the scale of **heryng**, in the **spreadeing in** the forehede, for roundhede; the dropys of evese, for the plentioushede innumerable. This **shewing** was quick and lively and hidouse and dredfull, swete and lovely.

And of all the sight it was most comfort to me, that our God and Lord that is so reverent and dredefull is so homley and curtes, and this most fullfilled me with **likeing** and sekirnes of soule. And to the **understondyn** of this He shewid this opyn example. It is the most worshippe that a solemne King or a grete Lord may doe a pore servant if he will be homely with him, and namely if he shewith it himselfe, of a full trew **meneing** and with a glad cheere, both prive and partie. Than thinkyth this pore creature thus: A, what might this nobil Lord doe more worshipp and joy to me than to shew me that am so simple this marvelous homlyhede? Sothly it is more joy and **likeing/likeing** to me than he gave me grete gifts and were himselfe strange in maner. This bodily example was shewid so hey that manys hart might be ravishid and almost **forgettyng** himselfe for joy of this grete homlyhede. Thus it fareith be our Lord Jesus and be us, for sothly it is the most joy that may be, as to my sight, that He that is heyest and mightyest, noblest and worthyest, is lowest and mekest, homlyest and curteyest. And treuly and sothly this marvelous joy shall be shewne us all whan we se Him. And this will our Lord, that we willen and trowen, joyen and , comfortyn us and solacyn us as we may with His grace and with His helpe into the tyme that we se it verily. For the most fulhede of joy that we shal have, as to my sight, is the marvelous curtesie and homlyhede of our Fader that is our maker in our Lord Jesus Criste that is our brother and our Saviour.

But this marvelous homlyhede may no man weten in this tyme of life, but he have it of special **shewing** of our Lord, or of grete plenty of grace inwardly govyn of the Holy Ghost. But faith and beleve with charite deservith the mede; and so

it is had be grace; for in faith with hope and charete our life is groundyd. The **shewyng**, made to whome that God will, pleynty techith the same, openyd and declarid with many privy points **longing** to our faith which be worshipfull to knowen. And whan the **shewyng**, which is goven in a tyme, is passyd and hid, than the feith keyth be grace of the Holy Ghost into our life end. And thus be **the shewyng**: It is not other than the faith ne less ne more as it may be seene be our Lords **meneing** in the same matter be than it come to the end.

Chapter 27

After this the Lord browte to my mynd the **longyng** that I had to Hym afor. And I saw that nothyng letted me but synne, and so I beheld generally in us al. And methowte, if synne had not a ben, we should al a ben clene and like to our Lord as He made us. And thus, in my foly, afor this tyme, often I wondrid whi by the gret **forseyng** wysdam of God **the begynyng** of synne was not lettid. For than, thowte me, al shuld a be wele. This **steryng** was mikel to forsakyn, and nevertheless **mornyng** and sorow I made therefor without reason and discretion.

But Jesus, that in this vision enformid me of all that me nedyth, answerid by this word, and seyde: *Synne is behovabil, but al shal be wel, and al shal be wel, and al manner of thyng shal be wele.* In this nakid word *synne*, our Lord browte to my mynd generally al that is not good, and the shamfull dispite and the utter **nowtyng** that He bare for us in this life, and His **dyeng/dyeng**, and al the peynys and passions of al His creatures, gostly and bodyly - for we be all in party nowtid, and we shall be nowtid **followyng** our Master Jesus till we be full purgyd, that is to sey, till we be fully nowtid of our dedly flesh and of al our inward affections which arn not very good - and the **beholdyng** of this with al peynys that ever wern or ever shal be; and with al these I understond the passion of Criste for most peyne and **overpassyng**. And al this was shewid in a touch, and redily passid over into comforte. For our good Lord wold not that the soule were afferd of this ugly syte.

But I saw not synne, for I beleve it hath no manner of substance ne no party of **being**, ne it myght not be knowin, but by the peyne that it is cause of; and thus peyne - it is somethyng, as to my syte, for a tyme, for it purgith and makyth us to knowen our selfe and askyn mercy. For the passion of our Lord is

comforte to us agens al this, and so is His blissid wille. And for the tender love that our good Lord hath to all that shal be save, He comfortith redyly and swetely, **menyng** thus: *It is sothe that synne is cause of all this peyne, but al shal be wele, and al shall be wele, and all manner thing shal be wele.* These words were seyde full tenderly, **shewyng** no manner of blame to me ne to non that shall be safe. Than were it a gret unkindness to blame or wonder on God for my synne, sythen He blamyth not me for synne. And in these same words I saw a marvelous, hey privyete hid in God, which privyete He shall openly make knowen to us in Hevyn, in which **knowyng** we shal verily see the cause why He suffrid synne to come, in which syte we shall endlesly joyen in our Lord God.

8.2 Margery Kempe

Available in [The Book of Margery Kempe, © 1994]

1

Whan this creatur was twenty yer of age or sumdele mor, sche was maryed to a worschepful burgeys and was wyth chylde wythin schort tyme, as kynde wolde. And, aftyr that sche had conceyved, sche was labowrd wyth grett accessys tyl the chyld was born, and than, what for labowr sche had in **chyldyng/chyldyng** and for sekenesse **goyng** befor, sche dyspered of hyr lyfe, **wenyng** sche mygth not levyn. And than sche sent for hyr gostly fadyr, for sche had a thyng in conscyens wech sche had nevyr schewyd befor that tyme in alle hyr lyfe. For sche was evyr lettyd be hyr enmy, the devel, evyrmor **seyng** to hyr whyl sche was in good heele hir nedyd no confessyon but don penawns be hirself aloone, and all schuld be forgovyn, for God is mercyful inow. And therfor this creatur oftyen tymes dede greet penawns in **fastyng** bred and watyr and other dedys of almes wyth devowt preyers, saf sche wold not schewyn it in confessyon. And, whan sche was any tym seke or dysesyde, the devyl seyde in her mende that sche schuld be dampnyd, for sche was not schrevyn of that defawt. Wherfor, aftyr that hir chyld was born, sche, **not trostyng** hir lyfe, sent for hir gostly fadyr, as iseyd befor, in ful wyl to be schrevyn of alle hir lyfetyng as ner as sche cowde. And, whan sche cam to the poynt for to seyn that thing wech sche had so long conselyd, hir confessowr was a lytyl to hastye and gan scharply to undyrnemyn hir er than sche had fully seyde hir entent, and so sche wold no mor seyn for nowt he mygth do. And anoon, for dreded

sche had of dampnacyon on the to syde and hys scharp **reprevyng** on that other syde, this creatur went owt of hir mende and was wondyrlye vexid and labowryd wyth spyritys half yer eight wekys and odde days. And in this tyme sche sey, as hir thowt, develys opyn her mowthys al inflaumyd wyth **brennyng** lowys of fyr as thei schuld a swalwyd hyr in, sumtyme **rampyng** at hyr, sumtyme **thretyng** her, sumtym **pullyng** hyr and **halyng** hir bothe nygth and day duryng the forseyd tyme. And also the develys cryed upon hir wyth greet **thretyngys** and bodyn hir sche schuld forsake hir Crystendam,

hir feyth, and denyin hir God, hys modyr, and alle the seyntys in hevyn, hyr goode werkys and alle good vertues, hir fadyr, hyr modyr, and alle hire frendys. And so sche dede. Sche slawndred hir husbond, hir frendys and her owyn self; sche spak many a reprevows worde and many a schrewyd worde; sche knew no vertu ne goodnesse; sche desyryd all wykkydnesse; lych as the spyrytys temptyd hir to sey and do so sche seyde and dede. Sche wold a fordon hirself many a tym at her **steryngys** and a ben damnyd wyth hem in helle. And into wytnesse therof sche bot hir owen hand so vyolently that it was seen al hir lyfe aftyr. And also sche roof hir skyn on hir body agen hir hert wyth hir nayles spetowsly, for sche had noon other instrumentys, and wers sche wold a don saf sche was bowndyn and kept wyth strength bothe day and nygth that sche mygth not have hir wylle. And, whan sche had long ben labowrd in thes and many other temptacyons that men wend sche schuld nevyr a skapyd ne levyd, than on a tym, as sche lay aloone and hir kepars wer fro hir, owyr mercyful Lord Crist Jhesu, evyr to be trostyde, worshypd be hys name, nevyr **forsakyng** hys servawnt in tyme of nede, aperyde to hys creatur, whych had forsakyn hym, in lyknesse of a man, most semly, most bewtyuows, and most amyable that evyr mygth be seen wyth mannys eye, clad in a mantyl of purpyl sylke, **syttyng** upon hir beddys syde, **lokyng** upon hir wyth so blyssyd a chere that sche was strengthyd in alle hir spyritys, seyde to hir thes wordys: "Dowtyr, why hast thou forsakyn me, and I forsoke nevyr the?" And anoon, as he had seyde thes wordys, sche saw veryly how the eyr openyd as brygth as ony levyn, and he stey up into the eyr, not rygth hastyli and qwykly, but fayr and esly that sche mygth wel beholdyn hym in the eyr tyl it was closyd ageyn. And anoon the creature was stablyd in hir wyttys and in hir reson as wel as evyr sche was befor, and preyde hir husbond as so soon as he cam to hir that sche mygth have the keys of the botery to takyn hir mete and drynke as sche had don befor.

It befel upon a Fryday on Mydsomyr Evyn in rygth hot wedyr, as this creatur **was komyng** fro Yorkeward **berying** a botel wyth bere in hir hand and hir husbond a cake in hys bosom, he askyd hys wyfe this qwestyon, "Margery, if her come a man wyth a swerd and wold smyte of myn hed les than I schulde comown kindly wyth yow as I have do befor, seyth me trewth of yowr consciens - for ye sey ye wyl not lye - whether wold ye suffyr myn hed to be smet of er ellys suffyr me to medele wyth yow agen as I dede sumtyme?" "Alas, ser," sche seyde, "why meve ye this mater and have we ben chast this eight wekys?" "For I wyl wete the trewth of yowr hert." And than sche seyde wyth gret sorwe, "Forsothe I had levar se yow be slayn than we schuld turne agen to owyr unclennesse." And he seyde agen, "Ye arn no good wyfe." And than sche askyd hir husbond what was the cawse that he had not medelyd wyth hir eight wekys befor, sythen sche lay wyth hym every nygth in hys bedde. And he seyde he was so made aferde whan he wold a towchyd hir that he durst no mor don. "Now, good ser, amend yow and aske God mercy, for I teld yow ner three yer sythen that ye schuld be slayn sodeynly, and now is this the thryd yer, and yet I hope I schal han my desyr. Good sere, I pray yow grawnt me that I schal askyn, and I schal pray for yow that ye schul be savyd thorw the mercy of owyr Lord Jhesu Cryst, and ye schul have mor mede in hevyn than yf ye weryd an hayr or an haburgon. I pray yow, suffer me to make a vow of chastyté in what bysshopys hand that God wele." "Nay," he seyde, "that wyl I not grawnt yow, for now may I usyn yow wythowtyn dedly synne and than mygth I not so." Than sche seyde agen, "Yf it be the wyl of the Holy Gost to fulfyllyn that I have seyde I pray God ye mote consent therto; and, yf it be not the wyl of the Holy Gost, I pray God ye nevyr consent therto." Than went thei forth to Brydlyngtonward in rygth hoot wedyr, the fornseyd creatur **havyng** gret sorwe and gret dred for hyr chastité. And, as thei cam be a cros, hyr husbond sett hym down undyr the cros, **clepyng** hys wyfe unto hym and **seyng** this wordys onto hir, "Margery, grawnt me my desyr, and I schal grawnt yow yowr desyr. My fyrst desyr is that we schal lyn styll togedyr in o bed as we han do befor; the secunde that ye schal pay my dettys er ye go to Jherusalem; and the thrydde that ye schal etyn and drynkyn wyth me on the Fryday as ye wer wont to don." "Nay ser," sche seyde, "to breke the Fryday I

wyl nevyr grawnt yow whyl I leve." "Wel," he seyde, "than schal I medyl yow ageyn." Sche prayd hym that he wold geve hir leve to make hyr praerys, and he grawntyd it goodlych. Than sche knelyd down besyden a cros in the feld and preyde in this maner wyth gret habundawns of teerys, "Lord God, thu knowyst al thyng; thou knowyst what sorwe I have had to be chast in my body to the al this three yer, and now mygth I han my wylle and I dar not for lofe of the. For, yf I wold brekyn that maner of **fastyng** which thou comawndyst me to kepyn on the Fryday wythowtyn mete or drynk, I schuld now han my desyr. But, blyssyd Lord, thou knowyst I wyl not contraryen thi wyl, and mekyl now is my sorwe les than I fynde comfort in the. Now, blyssed Jhesu, make thi wyl knowyn to me unworthy that I may folwyn theraftr and fulfyllyn it wyth al my myghtys." And than owyr Lord Jhesu Cryst wyth gret swetnesse spak to this creatur, **comawndyng** hir to gon agen to hir husbond and prayn hym to grawntyn hir that sche desyred. "And he schal han that he desyreth. For, my derworthy dowtyr, this was the cawse that I bad the fastyn for thu schuldyst the sonar opteyn and getyn thi desyr, and now it is grawntyd the. I wyl no lengar thou fast, therfor I byd the in the name of Jhesu ete and drynk as thyn husbond doth." Than this creatur thankyd owyr Lord Jhesu Cryst of hys grace and hys goodnes, sythen ros up and went to hir husbond, **seyng** unto hym, "Sere, yf it lyke yow, ye schal grawnt me my desyr, and ye schal have yowr desyr. Grawntyth me that ye schal not komyn in my bed, and I grawnt yow to qwyte yowr dettys er I go to Jerusalem. And makyth my body fre to God so that ye nevyr make no **chalengyng** in me to askyn no dett of matrimony aftr this day whyl ye levyn, and I schal etyn and drynkyn on the Fryday at yowr **byddyng**." Than seyde hir husbond agen to hir, "As fre mot yowr body ben to God as it hath ben to me." Thys creatur thankyd God gretly, **enjoyng** that sche had hir desyr, **preyng** hir husbond that thei schuld sey three Pater Noster in the worshep of the Trinite for the gret grace that he had grawntyd hem. And so they ded, **knelyng** undyr a cros, and sythen thei etyn and dronkyn togedyr in gret gladnes of spyryt. This was on a Fryday on Mydsomyr Evyn.

20

On a day as this creatur **was heryng** hir messe, a yong man and a good prest **heldyng up** the sacrament in hys handys ovyr hys hed, the sacrament schok and flekeryd to and fro as a dowe flekeryth wyth hir wengys. And, whan he held up the chalys wyth the

precyows sacrament, the chalys mevyd to and fro as it schuld a fallyn owt of hys handys. Whan the sacre was don, this creatur had gret merveyde of the **steryng** and **mevyng** of the blyssed sacrament, **desyryng** to se mor sacreys and **lokyng** yf it wold don so agen. Than seyde owyr Lord Jhesu Crist to the creatur, "Thow schalt no mor sen it in this maner, therfor thank God that thow hast seyn. My dowtyr, Bryde, say me nevyr in this wyse." Than seyde this creatur in hir thowt, "Lord, what betokenyth this?" "It betokenyth venjawnce." "A, good Lord, what venjawnce?" Than seyde owyr Lord agen to hir, "Ther schal be an erdene, tel it whom thow wylt in the name of Jhesu. For I telle the forsothe rygth as I spak to Seynt Bryde ryte so I speke to the, dowtyr, and I telle the trewly it is trewe every word that is wretyn in Brides boke, and be the it schal be knowyn for very trewth. And thow schalt faryn wel, dowtyr, in spyte of alle thyn enmys; the mor envye thei han to the for my grace, the bettyr schal I lofe the. I wer not rygthful God but I prevyde the, for I knowe the bettyr than thow dost thiself, what that evyr men seyn of the. Thow seyst I have gret paciens in the syn of the pepyl, and thow seyst soth, but, yf thow sey the synne of the pepyl as I do, thow schuldyst have mech more mervayle in my pacyens and mech mor sorwe in the synne of the pepyl than thow hast." Than the creatur seyde, "Alas, derworthy Lord, what schal I do for the pepyl?" Owyr Lord answeyde, "It is inow to the to don as thow dost." Than sche preyde, "Mercyful Lord Crist Jhesu, in the is al mercy and grace and goodnes. Have mercy, pyté, and compassyon of hem. Schew thi mercy and thy goodnes upon hem, help hem, send hem very contricyon, and late hem nevyr deyn in her synne." Owyr mercyful Lord seyde, "I may no mor, dowtyr, of my rytfulnesse do for hem than I do. I send hem **prechyng** and **techyng**, pestylens and bataylys, hungyr and **famynyng**, losse of her goodys wyth gret sekenesse, and many other tribulacyons, and thei wyl not levyn my wordys ne thei wyl not knowe my vysitacyon. And therfor I schal sey to hem that I made my servawntys to prey for yow and ye despysed her werkys and her **levyng**."

28

And so thei went forth into the Holy Lond tyl thei myght se Jerusalem. And, whan this creatur saw Jerusalem, **rydyng** on an asse, sche thankyd God wyth al hir hert, **preyng** hym for hys mercy that lych as he had browt hir to se this erdly cyté Jerusalem he wold grawntyn hir grace to se the blyssful cité of Jerusalem abovyn, the cité of hevyn. Owyr Lord Jhesu Cryst, **answeyng** to hyr thowt, grawntyd hir to have hir desyr. Than, for joy that sche had

and the swetnes that sche felt in the dalyawnce of owyr Lord, sche was in poynt to a fallyn of hir asse, for sche myth not beryn the swetnesse and grace that God wrowt in hir sowle. Than tweyn pylgrymys of Duchemen went to hir and kept hir fro **fallyng**, of whечh the on was a preste. And he put spycys in hir mowth to comfort hir, **wenyng** sche had ben seke. And so thei holpyn hir forth to Jerusalem. And, whan sche cam ther, sche seyde, "Serys, I prey yow beth nowt displeyd thow I wepe sore in this holy place wher owyr Lord Jhesu Crist was qwyk and ded." Than went thei to the tempyl in Jerusalem, and thei wer latyn in on the to day at evynsong tyme and abydyn therin til the next day at evynsong tyme. Than the frerys lyftyd up a cros and led the pylgrimys abowte fro on place to an other wher owyr Lord had sufferyd hys peynys and hys passyons, every man and woman **berying** a wax candel in her hand. And the frerys alwey, as thei went abowte, told hem what owyr Lord sufferyd in every place. And the forseyd creatur wept and sobbyd so plentyuowsly as thow sche had seyn owyr Lord wyth hir bodyly ey **sufferyng** hys Passyon at that tyme. Befor hir in hir sowle sche saw hym veryly be contemplacyon, and that cawsyd hir to have compassyon. And whan thei cam up onto the Mownt of Calvare sche fel down that sche mygth not stondyn ne knelyn but walwyd and wrestyd wyth hir body, **spreddyng** hlr armys abrode, and cryed wyth a lowde voys as thow hir hert schulde a brostyn asundyr, for in the cite of hir sowle sche saw veryly and freschly how owyr Lord was crucifyed. Beforn hir face sche herd and saw in hir gostly sygth the mornyng of owyr Lady, of Sen John and Mary Mawdelyn, and of many other that lovyd owyr Lord. And sche had so gret compassyon and so gret peyn to se owyr Lordys peyn that sche myt not kepe herself fro **kryng** and **roryng** thow sche schuld a be ded therfor. And this was the fyrst cry that evyr sche cryed in any contemplacyon. And this maner of **cryng** enduryd many yerys aftyr this tyme for owt that any man myt do, and therfor sufferyd sche mych despyte and mech reprefe. The **cryeng** was so lowde and so wondyrful that it made the pepyl astoynd les than thei had herd it befor and er ellys that thei knew the cawse of the **cryng**. And sche had hem so oftyntymes that thei madyn hir ryth weyke in hir bodyly myghtys, and namely yf sche herd of owyr Lordys Passyon. And sumtyme, whan sche saw the crucifyx, er yf sche sey a man had a wownde er a best whethyr it wer, er yf a man bett a childe befor hir er smet an hors er another best wyth a whippe, yf sche myth sen it er heryn it, hir thowt sche saw owyr Lord be betyn er wowndyd lyk as sche saw in the man er in the best, as wel in the feld as in the town, and be hirselve

alone as wel as among the pepyl. Fyrst whan sche had hir **cryingys** at Jerusalem, sche had hem oftyn tymes, and in Rome also. And, whan sche come hom into Inglonde, fyrst at hir **comyng** hom it comyn but seldom as it wer onys in a moneth, sythen onys in the weke, aftyrward cotidianly, and onys sche had fourteen on o day, and an other day sche had seven, and so as God wolde visiten hir, sumtyme in the cherch, sumtyme in the strete, sumtym in the chawmbre, sumtyme in the felde whan God wold sendyn hem, for sche knew nevyr tyme ne owyr whan thei schulde come. And thei come nevyr wythowtyn **passyng** gret swetnesse of devocyon and hey contemplacyon. And, as sone as sche parceyvyd that sche schulde crye, sche wolde kepyn it in as mech as sche myth that the pepyl schulde not an herd it for **noyng** of hem. For summe seyde it was a wikkyd spiryt vexid hir; sum seyde it was a sekenes; sum seyde sche had dronkyn to mech wyn; sum bannyd hir; sum wissed sche had ben in the havyn; sum wolde sche had ben in the se in a bottumles boyt; and so ich man as hym thowte. Other gostly men lovyd hir and favowrd hir the mor. Sum gret clerkys seyden owyr Lady cryed nevyr so ne no seynt in hevyn, but thei knewyn ful lytyl what sche felt, ne thei wolde not belevyn but that sche myth an absteynd hir fro **crying** yf sche had wold.

35

As this creatur was in the Postelys Cherch at Rome on Seynt Laterynes Day, the Fadyr of Hevyn seyde to hir, "Dowtyr, I am wel plesyd wyth the inasmeche as thu belevyst in alle the sacramentys of Holy Chirche and in al feyth that longith therto, and specialy for that thu belevyst in manhode of my sone and for the gret compassyon that thu hast of hys bittyr Passyon." Also the Fadyr seyde to this creatur, "Dowtyr, I wil han the weddyd to my Godhede, for I schal schewyn the my prevyteys and my counselys, for thu schalt wonyn wyth me wythowtyn ende." Than the creatur kept sylens

in hir sowle and answeyde not therto, for sche was ful sor aferd of the Godhed and sche cowde no skylle of the dalyawns of the Godhede, for al hir lofe and al hir affeccyon

was set in the manhode of Crist and therof cowde sche good skylle and sche wolde for no thyng a partyd therfro. Sche was so meche affectyd to the manhode of Crist that whan sche sey women in Rome beryn children in her armys, yf sche myth wetyn that thei wer ony men children, sche schuld than cryin, roryn, and wepyn as thei sche had

seyne Crist in hys childhode. And, yf sche myght an had hir wille, oftyntymes sche wolde a takyn the childeryn owte of the moderys armys and a kyssed hem in the stede of Criste. And, yf sche sey a semly man, sche had gret peyn to lokyn on hym les than sche myght a seyn hym that was bothe God and man. And therfor sche cryed many tymes and oftyne whan sche met a semly man and wept and sobbyd ful sore in the manhod of Crist as sche went in the stretys at Rome that thei that seyn hir wondryd ful mych on hir, for thei knew not the cause. And therfor it was no wondyr yf sche wer stille and answeryd not the Fadyr of Hevyn whan he teld hir that sche schuld be weddyd to hys Godhed. Than seyde the Secunde Persone, Crist Jhesu, whoys manhode sche lovyd so meche, to hir, "What seyst thou, Margery, dowtyr, to my Fadyr of thes wordys that he spekyth to the? Art thou wel plesyd that it be so?" And than sche wold not answeryn the Secunde Persone but wept wondir sore, **desiryng** to have stille hymselfe and in no wyse to be departyd fro hym. Than the Secunde Persone in Trinite answeryd to hys Fadyr for hir and seyde, "Fadyr, have hir excused, for sche is yet but yong and not fully lernyd how sche schulde answeryn." And than the Fadyr toke hir by the hand in hir sowle befor the Sone and the Holy Gost and the Modyr of Jhesu and alle the twelve apostelys and Seynt Kateryn and Seynt Margarete and many other seyntys and holy virgyne wyth gret multitude of awngelys, seying to hir sowle, "I take the, Margery,

for my weddyd wyfe, for fayrar, for fowelar, for richar, for powerar, so that thou be buxom and bonyr to do what I byd the do. For, dowtyr, ther was never childe so buxom to the modyr as I schal be to the bothe in wel and in wo, to help the and comfort the. And therto I make the suyrte." And than the Modyr of God and alle the seyntys that wer ther present in hir sowle preyde that thei myght have mech joy togedyr. And than the creatur wyth hy devocyon, wyth gret plente of terys, thankyd God of this gostly comfort, **heldyng** himself in hir owyn **felyng/felyng** ryth unworthy to any swech grace

as sche felt, for sche felt many gret comfortys, bothe gostly comfortys and bodily comfortys. Sumtyme sche felt swete smellys wyth hir nose; it wer swettyr, hir thowt, than evyr was ony swete erdly thyng that sche smellyd befor, ne sche myght never tellyn how swete it wern, for hir thowt sche myght a levyd therby yf they wolde a leystyd. Sumtyme sche herd wyth hir bodily erys sweche soundys and melodiis that sche myght not wel heryn what a man seyde to hir in that tyme les he spoke the lowder. Thes soundys and melodiis had sche herd nyhand every day the terme of twenty-five

yere whan this boke was wretyn, and specialy whan sche was in devowt prayer, also many tymes whil sche was at Rome and in Ingland bothe. Sche sey wyth hir bodily eyne many white thyngys **flying** al abowte hir on every syde as thykke in a maner as motys in the sunne; it weryn ryth sotyl and comfortabyl, and the brygtare that the sunne schyned, the bettyr sche myth se hem. Sche sey hem many dyvers tymes and in many dyvers placys, bothe in chirche and in hir chawmbre, at hir mete and in hir praerys, in felde and in towne, bothyn **goyng and syttyng**. And many tymes sche was aferde what thei myth be, for sche sey hem as wel on nytys in dyrkenes as on daylygth. Than, whan sche was aferde of hem, owir Lord seyde unto hir, "Be this tokyn, dowtyr, beleve it is God that spekyth in the, for wherso God is hevyn is, and wher that God is ther be many awngelys, and God is in the and thou art in hym. And therfor be not aferde, dowtyr, for thes betekyn that thou hast many awngelys abowte the to kepyn the bothe day and nygth that no devyl schal han power ovyr the ne non evyl man to der the."

Than fro that tyme forwarde sche usyd to seyn whan sche saw hem comyn, "*Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini.*" Also owr Lord gaf hir an other tokne, the which enduryd abowtyn sixteen yer and it encresyd evyr mor and mor, and that was a flawme of fyer wondir hoot and delectabyl and ryth comfortabyl, nowt **wastyng** but evyr **incresyng**, of lowe, for, thow the wedyr wer nevyr so colde, sche felt the hete **brennyng** in hir brest and at hir hert, as verily as a man schuld felyn the material fyer yf he put hys hand or hys fynger therin. Whan sche felt fyrst the fyer of love **brennyng** in her brest, sche was aferd therof, and than owr Lord answeryd to hir mend and seyde, "Dowtyr, be not aferd, for this hete is the hete of the Holy Gost, the which schal brenn away alle thi synnes, for the fyer of lofe qwenchith alle synnes. And thou schalt undirstondyn be this tokyn the Holy Gost is in the, and thou wost wel wherthatevyr the Holy Gost is ther is the Fadir, and wher the Fadyr is ther is the Sone, and so thou hast fully in thi sowle alle the Holy Trinite. Therfor thou hast gret cawse to lovyn me ryth wel, and yet thou schalt han grettyr cawse than evyr thou haddyst to lovyn me, for thou schalt heryn that thou nevyr herdyst, and thou schalt se that thou nevyr seyde, and thou schalt felyn that thou nevyr feltist. For, dowtyr, thou art as sekyl of the lofe of God as God is God. Thy sowle is mor sekyl of the lofe of God than of thin owyn body, for thi sowle schal partyn fro thy body but God schal nevyr partyn fro thi sowle, for thei ben onyd togedyr wythowtyn ende. Therfor, dowtyr, thou hast as gret cawse to be mery as any lady in this werld, and, yf thou knewest, dowtyr, how meche thou plesyst me whan thou suffyrst me wilfully to speken

in the, thu schuldist nevyr do otherwise, for this is an holy lyfe and the tyme is ryth wel spent. For, dowtyr, this lyfe plesyth me mor than **weryng** of the haburjon or of the hayr or **fastyng** of bred and watyr, for, yyf thu seydest every day a thowsand Pater Noster, thu schuldist not plesyn me so wel as thu dost whan thu art in silens and sufferyst me to speke in thy sowle.

36

"**Fastyng**, dowtyr, is good for yong begynnars and discrete penawns, namly that her gostly fadyr gevyth hem er injoyneith hem for to do. And for to byddyn many bedys it is good to hem that can no bettyr do, and yet it is not parfyte. But it is a good way to perfeccyonward. For I telle the, dowtyr, thei that arn gret fastarys and gret doers of penawnce thei wold that it schuld ben holdyn the best lyfe; also thei that gevyn hem to sey many devocyons thei wold han that the best lyfe, and thei that gevyn mech almes thei wold that that wer holdyn the best lyfe. And I have oftyntymes, dowtyr, teld the that **thynkyng**, **wepyng**, and hy contemplacyon is the best lyfe in erthe. And thu schalt have mor meryte in hevyn for o yer of **thynkyng** in thi mende than for an hundryd yer of **preyng** wyth thi mowth, and yet thu wylt not levyn me, for thu wilt byddyn many bedys whedyr I wil or not. And yet dowtyr, I wyl not be displeyd wyth the whedir thu thynke, sey, or speke, for I am alwey plesyd wyth the. And, yyf I wer in erde as bodily as I was er I deyde on the cros, I schuld not ben aschamyd of the as many other men ben, for I schuld take the be the hand amongs the pepil and make the gret cher that thei schuldyn wel knowyn that I lovyd the ryth wel. For it is convenyent

the wyf to be homly wyth hir husbond. Be he nevyr so gret a lorde and sche so powr a woman whan he weddyth hir, yet thei must ly togedir and rest togedir in joy and pes. Ryght so mot it be twyx the and me, for I take non hed what thu hast be but what thu woldist be. And oftyntymes have I telde the that I have clene forgove the alle thy synnes. Therefore most I nedys be homly wyth the and lyn in thi bed wyth the. Dowtyr, thow desyrest gretly to se me, and thu mayst boldly, whan thu art in thi bed, take me to the as for thi weddyd husbond, as thy derworthy derlyng, and as for thy swete sone, for I wyl be lovyd as a sone schuld be lovyd wyth the modyr and wil that thu love me, dowtyr, as a good wife owyth to love hir husbonde. And therfor thu mayst boldly take

me in the armys of thi sowle and kysse my mowth, myn hed, and my fete as swetly as thow wylt. And, as oftyntymes as thou thynkyst on me er woldyst don any good dede to me, thou schalt have the same mede in hevyn as yf thou dedist it to myn owyn precyows body which is in hevyn, for I aske no more of thee but thin hert for to lovyn that loveth thee, for my lofe is evyr redy to thee." Than sche gaf **thankyng** and **preysing** to our Lord Jhesu Crist for the hy grace and mercy that he schewyd unto hir unworthy wrech. This creatur had divers tokenys in hir bodily **heryng**. On was a maner of sownde as it had ben a peyr of belwys blowyng in hir ere. Sche, beyng abashed therof, was warnyd in hir sowle no fer to have for it was the sownd of the Holy Gost. And than our Lord turnyd that sownde into the voys of a dowe, and sithyn he turnyd it into the voys of a lityl bryd which is callyd a reedbreast that song ful merily oftyntymes in hir ryght ere. And than schuld sche evyrmor han gret grace aftyr that sche herd swech a tokyn. And sche had been used to swech tokenys abowt twenty-five yer at the **wrytyng** of this boke. Than seyde our Lord Jhesu Crist to hys creatur, "Be thes tokenys mayst thou wel wetyn that I love thee, for thou art to me a very modir and to al the world for that gret charité that is in thee, and yet I am cause of that charité myself, and thou schalt have gret mede therfor in Hevyn.

60

The good preste, of whom it is wretyn befor, the wheche was hir lystere, fel in gret sekenes, and sche was steryd in hir sowle for to kepyn hym in Goddys stede. And, whan sche faylde swech as was nedful for hym, sche went abowtyn to good men and good women and gate swech thyng as was necessary unto hym. He was so seke that men trustyd no thyng to hys lyfe, and hys sekenes **was long contunyng**. Than on a tyme, as sche was in the chirche **heryng** hir messe and preyid for the same preste, our Lord seyde to hir that he schulde levyn and faryn ryth wel. Than was sche steryd to gon to Norwych to Seynt Stefenys Chirche wher is beriid the good vicary, which deyde but lityl befor that tyme, for whom God schewyd hy mercy to hys pepil, and thankyn hym for **recuryng** of this preyste. Sche toke leve of hir confessowr, **goyng** forth to Norwich. Whan sche cam in the chirch yerd of Seynt Stefyn, sche cryed, sche roryd, sche wept, sche fel down to the grownd, so fervently the fyre of lofe brent in hir hert. Sithyn sche ros up agen and went forth **wepyng** into the chirche to the hy awter, and ther sche fel down with boistows **sobbyngys**, **wepyngys**, and lowde cryes besyden the

grave of the good vicary, al ravyschyd wyth gostly comfort in the goodnes of owr Lord that wrowt so gret grace for hys servawnt wech had ben hir confessowr and many tymes herd hir confessyon of al hir **levyng/levyng**, and ministryd to hir the precyows

sacrament of the awter divers tymes. And in so meche was hir devocyon the mor incresyd that sche sey owr Lord werkyn so special grace for swech a creatur as sche had ben conversawnt wyth in hys lyfetye. Sche had so holy thowtys and so holy mendys that sche myth not mesuryn hir **wepyng/wepyng** ne hir **crying/crying**. And therfor the pepil

had gret merveyll of hir, **supposyng** that sche had wept for sum fleschly er erdly affeccyon, and seyde unto hir, "What eylith the woman? Why faryst thus wyth thiself? We knew hym as wel as thu." Than wer prestys in the same place wech knew hir maner of **werkyng**, and thei ful charitefully led hir to a taverne and dede hir drynkyn and made hir ful hy and goodly cher. Also ther was a lady desyred to have the sayd creatur to mete. And therfor, as honeste wolde, sche went to the chersch ther the lady herd hir servyse, wher this creatur sey a fayr ymage of owr Lady clepyd a pyté. And thorw the **beholdyng** of that peté hir mende was al holy occupyed in the Passyon of owr Lord Jhesu Crist and in the compassyon of owr Lady, Seynt Mary, be wech sche was compellyd to cryyn ful lowde and wepyn ful sor, as thei sche schulde a deyde. Than cam to hir the ladys preste **seyng**, "Damsel, Jhesu is ded long sithyn." Whan hir **crying** was cesyd, sche seyde to the preste, "Sir, hys deth is as fresch to me as he had deyde this same day, and so me thynkyth it awt to be to yow and to alle Cristen pepil. We awt evyr to han mende of hys kendnes and evyr thynkyn of the dolful deth that he deyde for us." Than the good lady, **heryng** her communicacyon, seyde, "Ser, it is a good exampyl to me, and to other men also, the grace that God werkyth in hir sowle." And so the good lady was hir avoket and answeyde for hir. Sithyn sche had hir hom wyth hir to mete and schewyd hir ful glad and goodly chere as long as sche wold abydyn ther. And sone aftyr sche cam hom ageyn to Lenne, and the forseyd preyste, for whom sche went most specialy to Norwich, wech had redde hir abowte seven yer, recuryd and went abowte wher hym lykyde, thankyd be almythy God for hys goodnes.

79

Than sche beheld in the syght of hir sowle owr blisful Lord Crist Jhesu **comyng** to

hys passyonward, and, er he went, he knelyd down and toke hys moderys **blissyng**. Than sche saw hys modyr **fallyng down** in **swownyng** befor hir sone, **seyng** unto hym, "Alas, my der Sone, how schal I suffyr this sorwe and have no joy in al this werlde but the alone." "A, der Sone, yyf thu wilt alगतस देय, late me deye befor the and late me nevyr suffyr this day of sorwe, for I may nevyr beryn this sorwe that I schal han for thi deth. I wolde, Sone, that I myth suffir deth for the so that thu schuldist not deyin, yyf mannys sowle myth so be savyd. Now, der sone, yyf thu have no rewth of thiself, have rewth of thi modyr, for thu wost ful wel ther can no man in al this worlde comfortyn me but thu alone." Than ovr Lord toke up hys modyr in hys armys and kissyd hir ful swetly and seyde to hyr, "A, blissyd modyr, beth of a good cher and of a good comforte, for I have told yow ful oftyn that I must nedys suffyr deth and ellys schulde no man be savyd ne nevyr comyn in blisse. And modir, it is my fadyrs wil that it be so, and therfor I preye yow late it be yowr wil also, for my deth schal turne me to gret worschep and yow and al mankynde to gret joye and profyte wech that trustyn in my passyon and werkyn theraftr. And therfor, blissyd modir, ye must abydyn her aftyr me, for in yow schal restyn al the feith of Holy Chirch, and be yowr feith Holy Chirch schal encresyn

in hir feith. And therfor I prey yow, derworthy modyr, cesyth of yowr **sorweng**, for I schal not levyn yow comfortlees. I schal levyn her wyth yow John, my cosyn, to comfort yow in stede of me; I schal send myn holy awngelys to comfort yow in erth; and

I schal comfortyn yow in yowr sowle myn owyn self, for, modir, ye wote wel I have behyte yow the blys of hevyn and that ye ar sekyl therof. A, derworthy modyr, what wolde ye bettyr than ther I am kyng ye for to be qwen, and alle awngelys and seyntys schal be buxom to yowr wil. And what grace ye aske me I schal not denye yowr desyr. I schal gevyn yow powyr ovyr the develys that thei schal be aferd of yow and ye not of hem. And also, my blissyd modyr, I have seyde to yow befor tyme that I schal comyn for yow myn owyn self whan ye schal passyn owt of this world wyth alle myn awngelys and

alle myn seyntys that arn in hevyn and bryng yow befor my fadyr wyth al maner of musyk, melody, and joy. And ther schal I sett yow in gret pees and rest wythowtyn ende.

And ther schal ye be crownyd as for Qwen of Hevyn, as for lady of al the worlde, and as for Empres of Helle. And therfor, my derworthy modyr, I pray yow blissyth me and

late me go do my fadrys wille, for therfor I cam into this worlde and toke flesch and blood of yow." Whan the sayd creatur beheld this gloriows syght in hir sowle and saw how he blissyd hys modyr and hys modyr hym, and than hys blissyd modyr myth not spekyn o word mor to hym but fel down to the grownde, and so thei partyd asundyr, hys modyr **lying** stille as sche had ben ded, than the sayd creatur thowt sche toke ovr Lord Jhesu Crist be the clothys and fel down at hys feet, **preyng** hym to blissyn hir, and therwyth sche cryid ful lowde and wept rith sor, **seyng** in hir mende, "A, Lord, wher schal I become? I had wel levar that thu woldist sle me than latyn me abydyn in the worlde wythowtyn the, for wythowtyn the I may not abydyn her, Lord." Than answeyrd ovr Lord to hir, "Be stille, dowtyr, and rest wyth my modyr her and com fort the in hir, for sche that is myn owyn modyr must suffyr this sorwe. But I schal come ageyn, dowtyr, to my modyr and comfortyn hir and the bothyn and turnyn al yowr sorwe into joye." And than hir thowt ovr Lord went forth hys wey, and sche went to ovr Lady and seyde, "A, blissyd Lady, risith up and late us folwe yowr blissyd sone as long as we may se hym that I may lokyn inow upon hym er he deye. A, der Lady, how may yowr hert lestyn and se your blisful sone se al this wo? Lady, I may not dur it, and yyt am I not hys modyr." Than ovr Lady answeyrd and seyde, "Dowtyr, thu herist wel it wil non otherwise be, and therfor I must nedys suffyr it for my sonys lofe." And than hir thowt that thei folwyd forth aftyr ovr Lord and sey how he mad hys preyeris to hys fadyr in the Mownt of Olyvete and herdyn the goodly answer that cam fro hys fadyr and the goodly answer that he gaf hys fadyr ageyn. Than sche sey how ovr Lord went to hys discipulys and bad hem wakyn; hys enmys wer ner. And than com a gret multitude of pepil wyth meche lyght and many armyd men wyth stavys, swerdys, and polexis to sekyn ovr Lord Jhesu Crist. Ovr merciful Lord as a meke lombe **seyng** onto hem, "Whom seke ye?" Thei answeyrd wyth a scharp spiryte, "Jhesu of Nazareth." Ovr Lord seyde agen, "*Ego sum.*" And than sche sey the Jewys fallyn down on the grownde, thei mowt not stondyn for drede, but anon thei resun ageyn and sowtyn as thei had don befor. And ovr Lord askyd, "Whom seke ye?" And thei seyde ageyn, "Jhesu of Nazareth." Ovr Lord answeyrd, "I it am." And than anon sche sey Judas come and kyssyn ovr Lord, and the Jewys leyde handys upon hym ful violentlyche. Than had ovr Lady and sche meche sorwe and gret peyn to se the lombe of innocencye so contemptibly be haldyn and drawyn wyth hys owyn pepil that he was specialy sent unto. And aswithe the sayd creatur beheld wyth hir gostly eye the Jewys **puttyng** a

cloth beforn owr Lordys eyne, **betyng** hym and **bofetyng** hym in the hevyd and **bobyng** hym beforn hys swete mowth, **criyng** ful cruelly unto hym, "Telle us now how smet the." Thei sparid not to spittyn in hys face in the most schamful wise that thei cowde. And than owr Lady and sche hyr unworthy handmaydyn for the tyme wept and syhyd ful sor for the Jewys ferd so fowle and so venymowslych wyth hir blisful Lord. And thei wolde not spare to luggen hys blisful erys and drawyn the her of hys berd. And anon aftyr sche saw hem drawyn of hys clothys and makyn hym al nakyd and sithyn drewyn hym forth aforn hem as it had ben the most malefactowr in al the worlde. And he went forth ful mekely aforn hem al modyr nakyd as he was born to a peler of ston and spak no worde ageyn hem but leet hem do and sey what thei wolde. And ther thei bowndyn hym to the peler as streyt as thei cowde and beetyn hym on hys fayr white body wyth baleys, wyth whippis, and wyth scorgys. And than hyr thowt owr Lady wept wondir sor. And therfor the sayd creatur must nedys wepyn and cryin whan sche sey swech gostly syghtys in hir sowle as freschly and as verily as yyf it had ben don in dede in hir bodily syght, and hir thowt that owr Lady and sche wer alwey togedyr to se owr Lordys peynys. Swech gostly syghtys had sche every Palme Sunday and every Good Fryday, and in many other wise bothe many yerys togedyr. And therfor cryid sche and wept ful sor and suffyrd ful myche despite and repref in many a cuntré. And than owr Lord seyde to hir sowle, "Dowtyr, thes sorwys and many mo suffyrd I for thi lofe, and divers peynys, mo than any man can tellyn in erth. Therfor, dowtyr, thu hast gret cawse to lovyn me ryght wel, for I have bowt thi lofe ful der."

8.3 Mary, Queen of Scots

Letters available in [Mary's letters, b.r.] and [Greenblatt 2006, pp. 677-679]

Madame, my Good Sister

The length of my weary imprisonment, and the wrongs I have received from those on whom I have conferred so many benefits, **are** less **annoying** to me than **not having** it in my power to acquaint you with the realities of my calamities, and the injuries that have been done to me in various ways. It may please you to remember that you have told me several times "that on **receiving** that ring you gave me, you would assist me in any time of trouble". You know that Lord James has seized all I have. Melville, to whom I have often sent secretly for this ring, as my most precious jewel, says that he dare not let me have it. Therefore I implore you to have compassion on your good sister and cousin, and

believe that you have not a more affectionate relative in the world. You should also consider the importance of the example practised against me.

I entreat you to be careful that no one knows that I have written to you, for it would cause me to be treated worse than I am now. They boast that their friends at your court inform them of all you say and do. God keep you from misfortunes, and grant me patience and His grace that I may one day recount my calumnies to yourself, when I will tell you more than I dare to write, which may prove of no small service to yourself.

Your obliged and affectionate good sister and cousin,



at my prison at Lochleven.

Dundrennan, May 15, 1568

To the high and mighty Prince, Elizabeth-

You are not ignorant, my dearest sister, of great part of my misfortunes, but these which induce me to write at present, have happened too recently yet to have reached your ears. I must therefore acquaint you as briefly as I can, that some of my subjects whom I most confided in, and had raised to the highest pitch of honour, have taken up arms against me, and treated me with the utmost indignity. By unexpected means, the Almighty Disposer of all things delivered me from the cruel imprisonment I underwent.

But I have since lost a battle, in which most of those who preserved their loyal integrity fell before my eyes. I am now forced out of my kingdom, and driven to such straits that, next to God, I have no hope but in your goodness. I beseech you therefore, my dearest sister, that I may be conducted to your presence, that I may acquaint you with all my affairs.

In the meantime, I beseech God to grant you all heavenly benedictions, and to me patience and consolation, which last I hope and pray to obtain by your means.

To remind you of the reasons I have to depend on England, I send back to its Queen this token, the jewel of her promised friendship and assistance.

Your affectionate sister

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Mary".

This is Mary's last letter to Elizabeth.

Now **having been informed**, on your part, of the sentence passed in the last session of your Parliament, and admonished by Lord Beale to prepare myself for the end of my long and weary pilgrimage, I prayed them to return my thanks to you for such agreeable intelligence, and to ask you to grant some things for the relief of my conscience.

I will not accuse any person, but sincerely pardon every one, as I desire others, and, above all, God, to pardon me. And since I know that your heart, more than that of any other, ought to be touched by the honour or dishonour of your own blood, and of a Queen, the daughter of a king, I require you, Madam, for the sake of Jesus, that after my enemies have satisfied their black thirst for my innocent blood, you will permit my poor disconsolate servants to remove my corpse, that it may be buried in holy ground, with my ancestors in France, especially the late Queen my mother, since in Scotland the remains of the Kings my predecessors have been outraged, and the churches torn down and profaned.

As I shall suffer in this country, I shall not be allowed a place near your ancestors, who are also mine, and persons of my religion think much of **being interred** in consecrated earth. I trust you will not refuse this last request I have preferred to you, and allow, at least, free sepulture to this body when the soul shall be separated from it, which never could obtain, while united, liberty to dwell in peace.


Dreading the secret tyranny of some of those to whom you have abandoned me, I entreat you to prevent me from **being** dispatched secretly, without your knowledge, not from fear of the pain, which I am ready to suffer, but on account of the reports they

would circulate after my death. It is therefore that I desire my servants to remain witnesses and attestors of my end, my faith in my Saviour, and obedience to His church. This I require of you in the name of Jesus Christ in respect to our consanguinity, for the sake of King Henry VII, your great-grandfather and mine, for the dignity we have both held, and for the sex to which we both belong.

I beseech the God of mercy and justice to enlighten you with His holy Spirit, and to give me the grace to die in perfect charity, as I endeavour to do, **pardonning** my death to all those who have either caused or cooperated in it; and this will be my prayer to the end.

Accuse me not of presumption if, **leaving** this world and **preparing** myself for a better, I remind you will one day to give account of your charge, in like manner as those who preceded you in it, and that my blood and the misery of my country will be remembered, wherefor from the earliest dawn of your comprehension we ought to dispose our minds to make things temporal yield to those of eternity.

Your sister and cousin wrongfully a prisoner,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Marie".

To Henri III, the Most Christian King of France.

8 February 1587.

Monsieur mon beau-frère, estant par la permission de Dieu...

Royal brother, **having** by God's will, for my sins I think, thrown myself into the power of the Queen my cousin, at whose hands I have suffered much for almost twenty years, I have finally been condemned to death by her and her Estates. I have asked for my papers, which they have taken away, in order that I might make my will, but I have been unable to recover anything of use to me, or even get leave either to make my will freely or to have my body conveyed after my death, as I would wish, to your kingdom where I had honour to be queen, your sister and old ally.

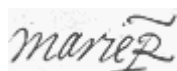
Tonight, after dinner, I have been advised of my sentence: I am to be executed like a criminal at eight in the morning. I have not had time to give you a full account of everything that has happened, but if you will listen to my doctor and my other unfortunate servants, you will learn the truth, and how, thanks be to God, I scorn death and vow that I meet it innocent of any crime, even if I were their subject. The Catholic faith and the assertion of my God-given right to the English throne are the two issues on which I am condemned, and yet I am not allowed to say that it is for the Catholic religion that I die, but for fear of interference with theirs. The proof of this is that they have taken away my chaplain, and, although he is in the **building**, I have not been able to get permission for him to come and hear my confession and give me the Last Sacrament, while they have been most insistent that I receive the consolation and instruction of their minister brought here for that purpose.

The bearer of this letter and his companions, most of them your subjects, will testify to my conduct at my last hour. It remains for me to beg Your Most Christian Majesty, my brother-in-law and old ally, who have always protested your love for me, to give proof now of your goodness on all these points: firstly by charity, in **paying** my unfortunate servants the wages due to them-this is a burden on my conscience that only you can relieve: further, by **having** prayers offered to God for a queen who has borne the title Most Christian, and who dies a Catholic, stripped of all her possessions. As for my son, I commend him to you in so far as he deserves, for I cannot answer for him.

I have taken the liberty of **sending** you two precious stones, talismans against illness, **trusting** you will enjoy good health and a long and happy life. Accept them from your loving sister-in-law, who, as she dies, bears witness of her warm **feelings** for you. Again I commend my servants to you. Give instruction, if it please you, that for my soul's sake part of what you owe me should be paid, and that for the sake of Jesus Christ, to whom I shall pray for you tomorrow as I die, I be left enough to found a memorial mass and give the customary alms.

Wednesday at two in the morning.

Your most loving and most true sister.



Queen of Scotland

Many of the words that seem to speak to us most eloquently of Mary's self and circumstances are not in fact her own. Throughout her life, Mary encountered no shortage of people, some admirers and others deadly foes, who were eager to seize control of her voice. The controversy over the Casket Letters thus crystallizes the more general problem of locating the "real" Mary Stuart. It will probably never be possible to prove with certainty whether the letters are products of Mary's own hand or cunning forgeries designed to incriminate her, and indeed it is this impossibility that lends them much of their fascination, opening them up for the endless play of interpretation. Yet if the interpretation of the Casket Letters has become a kind of intellectual game, it began as a matter of life or death. If Mary was in one respect a text with many authors, she was also a singular woman inhabiting a body that, on the orders of another woman, was at last cut in two.

From Casket Letter Number 2¹

* * * This day I have wrought² till two of the clock upon this bracelet, to put the key in the cleft³ of it, which is tied with two laces. I have had so little time that it is very ill,⁴ but I will make a fairer; and in the meantime take heed that none of those that be here do see it: for all the world would know it, for I have made it in haste in their presence. I go to my tedious talk.⁵ You make me dissemble so much that I am afraid thereof with horror; and you make me almost to play the part of a traitor. Remember that if it were not for obeying you, I had rather be dead;⁶ my heart bleedeth for it. To be short, he will not come⁷ but with condition that I shall promise to be with him as heretofore at bed and board,⁸ and that I shall forsake him no more; and upon my word⁹ he will do whatsoever I will, and will come, but he hath prayed me to tarry till after tomorrow. * * * But now, to make him trust me, I must feign something unto him; and therefore when he desired me to promise that when he should be whole¹ we should make but one bed, I told him (feigning to believe his fair promises) [that if he]² did not change his mind between this time and that, I was contented, so as³ he would say nothing thereof: for (to tell it between us two) the lords wished no ill to him,⁴ but did fear lest (considering the threatenings which he made in case we did agree together) he would make them feel the small account⁵ they have made of him, and that he would persuade me to pursue some of them; and for this respect should be in jealousy if at one instant,⁶ without their knowledge, I did break a game made to the contrary in their presence.⁷ And he said unto me, very pleasant and merry, "Think you that they do the more esteem you therefore? But I am glad that you talk to me of the lords. I hear⁸ that you desire now that we shall live a happy life—for if

1. The English translation was made shortly after the French originals of the Casket Letters were produced at Mary's first trial in England (1568–69).

2. Worked.

3. I.e., lock.

4. Badly made.

5. I.e., with Darnley. He was lying ill (probably from syphilis, though smallpox was given out as the cause) at Glasgow; Mary had joined him there.

6. I.e., than play the traitor.

7. I.e., to Craigmillar Castle, outside Edinburgh. "To be short": in short.

8. I.e., to live again with him as man and wife.

9. I.e., if I give my word to do this.

1. Well.

2. The manuscript of the English translation has a tear at this point; the missing words have been inferred from the contemporary Scottish translation.

3. Provided that.

4. Darnley—weak, arrogant, and vicious—had many bitter enemies among the other Scottish lords.

5. Make them suffer for the low estimate.

6. Suddenly. "Respect": reason.

7. At their urging, Mary had authorized a confederacy of nobles to find a way for her to divorce Darnley. "Game": undertaking.

8. I.e., I am convinced.

it were otherwise, it could not be but greater inconvenience should happen to us both than you think. But I will do now whatsoever you will have me do, and will love all those that you shall love, so as you make them to love me also. For, so as they seek not my life, I love them all equally."

Thereupon I have willed this bearer to tell you many pretty⁹ things; for I have too much to write, and it is late, and I trust him, upon your word. To be short, he¹ will go anywhere upon my word. Alas! and I never deceived anybody; but I remit² myself wholly to your will. And send me word what I shall do, and whatever happen to me, I will obey you. Think also if you will not find some invention more secret by physic,³ for he is to take physic at Craigmillar, and the baths also, and shall not come forth of⁴ long time. To be short, for that that⁵ I can learn, he hath great suspicion, and yet nevertheless trusteth upon my word, but not to tell me as yet anything. Howbeit, if you will that I shall avow⁶ him, I will know all of him; but I shall never be willing⁷ to beguile one who putteth his trust in me. Nevertheless, you may do all.⁸ And do not esteem me the less therefore, for you are the cause thereof; for, for my own revenge, I would not do it.

He giveth me certain charges⁹ (and those strong) of that that I fear: even to say that his faults be published, but there be that commit some secret faults and fear not to have them spoken of so loudly, and that there is speech of great and small. And even touching the Lady Reres,¹ he said, "God grant that she serve you to your honor," and that men may not think, nor he neither, that mine own power was not in myself,² seeing I did refuse his offers. To conclude, for a surety he mistrusteth us of that that you know,³ and for his life. But in the end, after I had spoken two or three good words to him, he was very merry and glad. I have not seen him this night, for ending⁴ your bracelet; but I can find no clasps for it. It is ready thereunto,⁵ and yet I fear lest it should bring you ill hap, or that it should be known if you were hurt.⁶ Send me word whether you will have it, and more money,⁷ and when I shall return, and how far I may speak. * * *

He hath sent to me, and prayeth me to see him rise tomorrow in the morning early. To be short, this bearer shall declare unto you the rest; and if I shall learn anything, I will make every night a memorial⁸ thereof. He shall tell you the cause of my stay.⁹ Burn this letter, for it is too dangerous; neither is there anything well said in it, for I think upon nothing but upon grief if you be at Edinburgh.¹

Now if to please you, my dear life, I spare neither honor, conscience, nor

9. Small(er). "This bearer": the bearer of the letter.

1. I.e., Darnley.

2. Submit.

3. Medicine (i.e., a poisoned draft). "Invention": contrivance. If Mary wrote this sentence, it shows her complicit in the plot to murder Darnley (who was in fact strangled—and the house he was occupying at Kirk O'Field, just outside Edinburgh, blown up—on the night of February 9–10, 1567).

4. For a.

5. As far as.

6. Assure him by taking a vow. "Howbeit": however.

7. I.e., without reluctance.

8. I.e., you may command me in all things.

9. Admonitions: the idea seems to be that Darnley hinted that he might reveal Mary's secrets.

1. Who was acting as wet-nurse to Mary's son James (later James VI of Scotland and, in 1603, James I of England).

2. I.e., that I was not acting of my own will.

3. The thing that you know about. "For a surety": for certain.

4. Because I was finishing.

5. Apart from that.

6. Recognized if you were wounded (and thus powerless to conceal the bracelet). "Ill hap": misfortune.

7. I.e., whether you want more money.

8. Memorandum.

9. Delay.

1. The Scottish translation makes this clause the beginning of a new sentence, which says, in effect, "If you are in Edinburgh when you receive this, send me word soon."

hazard, nor greatness, take it in good part, and not according to the interpretation of your false brother-in-law,² to whom I pray you give no credit against the most faithful lover that ever you had, or shall have.

See not also her whose feigned tears you ought not more to regard than the true travails which I endure to deserve her place, for obtaining of which, against my own nature I do betray those that could let³ me. God forgive me, and give you, my only friend,⁴ the good luck and prosperity that your humble and faithful lover doth wish unto you: who hopeth shortly to be another thing unto you, for the reward of my pains. I have not made⁵ one word, and it is very late, although I should never be weary in writing to you, yet will I end, after kissing of your hands. Excuse my evil⁶ writing, and read it over twice. Excuse also that [I scribbled,]⁷ for I had yesternight no paper, when I took the paper of a memorial.⁸ . . . Remember your friend, and write unto her, and often. Love me al[ways, as I shall do you].⁹

1567

1571

A Letter to Elizabeth I, May 17, 1568¹

Madam my good sister,² I believe you are not ignorant how long certain of my subjects, whom from the least of my kingdom I have raised to be the first, have taken upon themselves to involve me in trouble, and to do what it appears they had in view from the first. You know how they purposed to seize me and the late king my husband, from which attempt it pleased God to protect us, and to permit us to expel them from the country, where, at your request, I again afterwards received them; though, on their return, they committed another crime, that of holding me a prisoner, and killing in my presence a servant of mine, I being at the time in a state of pregnancy.³ It again pleased God that I should save myself from their hands; and, as above said, I not only pardoned them, but even received them into favor. They, however, not yet satisfied with so many acts of kindness, have, on the contrary, in spite of their promises, devised, favored, subscribed to, and aided in a crime⁴ for the purpose of charging it falsely upon me, as I hope fully to make you understand. They have, under this pretence, arrayed themselves against me, accusing me of being ill-advised, and pretending a desire of seeing me delivered from bad

2. Presumably the brother of Bothwell's wife, Jean Gordon—who is presumably the person referred to in the following sentence.

3. Prevent.

4. Lover.

5. Possibly "read"—in which case the meaning is "I have not read over a word."

6. Poor.

7. Words torn off the English manuscript here; reading inferred from the Scottish translation.

8. She apologizes for having had to use paper already used for memoranda.

9. Again words torn from the English manuscript are inferred from the Scottish translation. The latter continues with what seem to be the memoranda—to herself or perhaps to the bearer of the letter—mentioned above: "Remember zow [you] of the purpos of the Lady Reres. Of the Inglismen. Of his mother. Of the Erle of Argyle. Of the Erle Bothwell. Of the ludgeing [lodging] in Edinburgh."

1. This letter (translated from the French by Agnes Strickland) was written just after Mary, in flight from her Scottish enemies, made her fateful crossing into England. Its account of her troubles is, though not exaggerated, inevitably one-sided. In 1565, Mary's ill-advised marriage to her cousin Lord Darnley had upset the power structure of the nation's factious and violent nobility. A group of nobles rebelled against her, led by Mary's illegitimate half-brother James Stewart, earl of Moray, who had previously been her key supporter and adviser.

2. Fellow queen.

3. The servant was David Rizzio, Mary's secretary and confidant. At the time of his murder, Mary was six months pregnant with her only child, the future King James VI. She omits the fact that Darnley was involved in the murder.

4. The murder of Darnley.

8.4 Elizabeth I.

Letters available i [Letters of Elizabeth I., © 2017]

Letter to Catherine Parr

To our most noble and virtuous queen KATHERINE,
Elizabeth her humble daughter wisheth perpetual felicity
and everlasting joy.

Not only **knowing** the affectuous will and fervent zeal, the which your highness hath towards all godly **learning**, as also my duty towards you (most gracious and sovereign princess) but **knowing** also that pusillanimity and idleness are most repugnant unto a reasonable creature and that (as the philosopher sayeth) even as an instrument of iron or of other metal waxeth soon rusty unless it be continually occupied. Even so shall the wit of a man, or woman, wax dull and unapt to do or understand anything perfectly, unless it be always occupied upon some manner of study, which things considered hath moved so small a portion as God hath lent me to prove what I could do.

And therefore have I (as for essay **beginning**, following the right notable **saying** of the proverb aforesaid) translated this little book out of French rhyme into English prose, **joining** the sentences together as well as the capacity of my simple wit and small learning could extend themselves. The which book is entitled, or named, The Mirror or Glass, of the Sinful Soul, wherein is contained how she (**beholding and contemplating** what she is) doth perceive how, of herself, and of her own strength, she can do nothing that good is, or prevaieth for her salvation—unless it be through the grace of God, whose mother, daughter, sister, and wife, by the scriptures she proveth herself to be.

Trusting also that through his incomprehensible love, grace and mercy she (**being** called from sin to repentance) doth faithfully hope to be saved. And although I know that, as for my part, which I have wrought in it (as well spiritual as manual) there is nothing done as it should be, nor else worthy to come in Your Grace's hands, but rather all unperfect and uncorrect: yet do I trust also that albeit it is like a work which is but new begun and shapen, that the style of your excellent wit and godly **learning** in the **reading** of it (if so it vouchsafe Your Highness to do) shall rub out, polish, and mend (or else cause to mend) the words (or rather the order of my **writing**) the which I know in many places to be rude, and nothing done as it should be. But I hope, that after to have been in Your Grace's hands there shall be nothing in it worthy of reprehension and

that in the meanwhile no other (but Your Highness only) shall read it or see it, lest my faults be known of many. Then shall they be better excused (as my confidence is in Your Grace's accustomed benevolence) that if I should bestow a whole year in **writing**, or inventing ways for to excuse them.

Praying God Almighty, the maker and creator of all things, to guarantee unto Your Highness the same New Year's Day, a lucky and a prosperous year with prosperous issue and continuance of many years in good health and continual joy and all to His honour, praise, and glory.

From Ashridge, the last day
of the year of our Lord God, 1544.

Letter to Catherine Parr 1548

July 31, 1548.

Although your Highness's letters be most joyful to me in absence, yet, **considering** what pain it is for you to write, your Grace being so sickly, your commendations were enough in my Lord's letter. I much rejoice at your health, with the well **liking** of the country, with my humble thanks that your Grace wished me with you till you were weary of that country. Your Highness were like to be cumbered, if I should not depart till I were weary of **being** with you; although it were the worst soil in the world, your presence would make it pleasant. I cannot reprove my Lord for **not doing** your commendations in his letter, for he did it; and although he had not, yet I will not complain on him; for he shall be diligent to give me knowledge from time to time how his busy child doth; and if I were at his birth, no doubt I would see him beaten, for the trouble he hath put you to. Master Denny and my lady, with humble thanks, prayeth most entirely for your Grace, **praying** the Almighty God to send you a most lucky deliverance, and my mistress wisheth no less, giving your Highness most humble thanks for
her
commendations.

Written with very little leisure this last day of July.

Your humble daughter,
ELIZABETH.

Letter to Edward VI

Like as the rich man daily gathereth riches to riches, and one bag of money layeth a great sort till it come to infinite, so methinks your Majesty, not being sufficed with many benefits and gentleness showed to me afore this time, doth now increase them in **asking and desiring** where you may bid and command, **requiring** a thing not worthy the **desiring** for itself, but made worthy for your Highness's request. My picture, I mean, in which if the inward good mind toward your Grace might as well be declared as the outward face and countenance shall be seen, I would not have tarried the commandment but prevent it, nor have been the last to grant but the first to offer it. For the face, I grant, I might well blush to offer, but the mind I shall never be ashamed to present. For though from the grace of the picture the colours may fade by time, may give you weather, may be spotted by chance; yet the other nor time with her swift wings shall overtake, nor the misty clouds with their **lowerings** may darken, nor chance with her slippery foot may overthrow. Of this although yet the proof could not be great because the occasion hath been but small, notwithstanding as a dog hath a day, so may I perchance have time to declare it in deeds where now I do write them in words. And further I shall most humbly beseech your Majesty that when you shall look on my picture, you will vouchsafe to think that as you have but the outward shadow of the body before you, so my inward mind wisheth that the body itself were oftener in your presence; howbeit because both my so **being** I think could do your Majesty little pleasure, though myself great good; and again because I see as yet not the time **agreeing** thereunto, I shall learn to follow this **saying** of Horace, 'Feras non culpes quod vitari non potest.' And thus I will (**troubling** your Majesty I fear) end with my most humble thanks. **Beseeching** God long to preserve you to His Honour, to your comfort, to the Realm's profit, and to my joy. From Hatfield this 15 day of May.

Your Majesty's most humbly sister and servant,
ELIZABETH.

Second Letter to Edward VI

Like as a shipman in stormy wether plukes downe the sailes **tarijnge** for bettar winde, so did I, most noble Kinge, in my vnfortunate chance a thursday pluk downe the hie sailes of my ioy and comfort and do trust one day that as troblesome waues have repulsed me bakwarde, so a gentil winde wil bringe me forwarde to my hauen. Two chief occasions moued me muche and griued me gretly, the one for that I doubted your Maiesties helthe, the other bicause for al my longe **tarijnge** I wente without that I came for. Of the first I am releued in a parte, bothe that I vnderstode of your helthe, and also that your Maiesties **loginge** is far from my Lorde Marques chamber. Of my other grief I am not eased, but the best is that whatsoever other folkes wil suspect, I intende not to feare your graces goodwil, wiche as I know that I never disarued to faint, so I trust wil stil stike by me. For if your Graces aduis that I shulde retourne (whos wil is a commandement) had not bine, I wold not haue made the halfe of my way, the ende of my iourney. And thus as one desirous to hire of your Maiesties helth, thogth vnfortunat to se it, I shal pray God for euer to preserue you. From Hatfilde this present Saterdag.

Your Maiesties humble sistar
to commandement
ELIZABETH.

To the Kinges most
excellent Maiestie.

Letter to Erik of Sweden

25 Feb 1560

Most Serene Prince Our Very Dear Cousin,

A letter truly yours both in the **writing** and sentiment was given us on 30 December by your very dear brother, the Duke of Finland. And while we perceive there from that the zeal and love of your mind towards us is not diminished, yet in part we are grieved that we cannot gratify your Serene Highness with the same kind of affection. And that indeed does not happen because we doubt in any way of your love and honour, but, as often we have testified both in words and **writing/writing**, that we have never yet conceived a **feeling** of that kind of affection towards anyone.

We therefore beg your Serene Highness again and again that you be pleased to set a limit to your love, that it advance not beyond the laws of friendship for the present nor disregard them in the future. And we in our turn shall take care that whatever can be required for the holy preservation of friendship between Princes we will always perform towards your Serene Highness. It seems strange for your Serene Highness to write that you understand from your brother and your ambassadors that we have entirely determined not to marry an absent husband; and that we shall give you no certain reply until we shall have seen your person.

We certainly think that if God ever direct our hearts to consideration of marriage we shall never accept or choose any absent husband how powerful and wealthy a Prince soever. But that we are not to give you an answer until we have seen your person is so far from the thing itself that we never even considered such a thing. But I have always given both to your brother, who is certainly a most excellent prince and deservedly very dear to us, and also to your ambassador likewise the same answer with scarcely any variation of the words, that we do not conceive in our heart to take a husband, but highly commend this single life, and hope that your Serene Highness will no longer spend time in **waiting** for us.

God keep your Serene Highness for many years in good health and safety. From our Palace at Westminster, 25 February.

Your Serene Highness' sister and cousin,
Elizabeth

Letter from Princess Elizabeth to Princess Mary

Good Sister, as to hear of your sickness is unpleasant to me, so is it nothing fearful; for that I understand it is your old guest that is wont oft to visit you, whose **coming/coming** though it be oft, yet is it never welcome, but notwithstanding it is comfortable for that *iacula praeuisa minus feriunt*. And as I do understand your need of Jane Russel's service, so am I sorry that it is by my man's occasion letted, which if I had known afore, I would have caused his will give place to need of her service. For as it is her duty to obey his commandment, so is it his part to attend your pleasure; and, as I confess, it were meeter for him to go to her, since she attends upon you, so indeed he required the

same, but for that divers of his fellows had business abroad that made his **tarrying** at home.

Good Sister, though I have good cause to thank you for your oft **sending** to me, yet I have more occasion to render hearty thanks for your gentle **writing**, which how painful it is to you, I may well guess by myself; and you may well see by my **writing** so oft, how pleasant it is to me. And thus I end to trouble you, **desiring** God to send you as well to do, as you can think and wish, or I desire or pray. From Ashridge, scribbled this 27th of October.

Your **loving** sister,

ELIZABETH

Letter to James VI of Scotland 1585

Right deare brother, the strangenes of harde accidens that ar arrived here, of unlooked for, or unsuspected, attempes in Skotland, euen by some suche as lately issued out of our lande, constraineth me, as wel for the care we have of your person as of the discharge of our owne honor and consciense, to send you immediatly this gentleman, one that appartaineth to us in bloud, bothe to offer you all assistance of helpe as al good indeuor of counceil, and to make hit plaine that we delt plainly. Thes lordes **makeng** great outcryes that I wold not or coulde helpe them to be restored; I, by ther great importunitie, yelded, that if I might be fried of my assurance given unto you for ther safe **kiping**, I wold consent unto ther departure, and so, after your answer, as my thought most honorable, that the might take ther way to Germany with your gracious graunt of some livelode, after a weekes space I gaue them my pasport and so dismissed them, without, I swere unto you, ons the sight of any one of them. Now, whan I way how suddenly, beyond my expectation, this suddan stur ariseth, and **fering** lest some iuel and wicked person might surmise that this was not without my foresight, I besече you trust my actions accordinge the measure of my formar **dealings** for your safety, and ansuerable to the rule of reason, and you shal find, that few princes wyl agrye to constraint of ther equalz, muche les with compulsion of ther subiects. Juge of me, therfor, as of a kinge that caries no abiect nature, and thinke this of me, that, rather than your daungier, I wyl ventur myne; and albeit I must confesse that it is daungerous for a prince to irritast to muche, through iuel aduise, the generalitie of great subjectz, so

might you or now haue folowed my aduise, that wold neuer betray you with unsound counceil; and now to conclude, **making** hast, I pray you be plain with this bearrar, that I may knowe what you wold that I should do, without excuse hireafter, that constrained you did hit, for I dare assure you of his secresye, and therof be you bold. For the lord Russelz dethe, and other thinges, I referre me to this gentilman, who I dare promis is of no faction beside my wyl. God blesse you in al safety as I wysche myself.

Your tru assured cousing and sistar,

ELIZABETH R.

Letter to James VI of Scotland 1587

February 14, 1587.

My dear Brother, I would you knew (though not felt) the extreme dolor that overwhelms my mind, for that miserable accident which (far contrary to my **meaning**) hath befallen. I have now sent this kinsman of mine,* whom ere now it hath pleased you to favour, to instruct you truly of that which is too irksome for my pen to tell you. I beseech you that as God and many more know, how innocent I am in this case : so you will believe me, that if I had bid aught I would have bid by it. I am not so base minded that fear of any living creature or Prince should make me so afraid to do that were just; or done, to deny the same. I am not of so base a lineage, nor carry so vile a mind. But, as not to disguise, fits not a King, so will I never dissemble my actions, but cause them show even as I meant them. Thus **assuring** yourself of me, that as I know this was deserved, yet if I had meant it I would never lay it on others' shoulders; no more will I not damnify myself that thought it not.

The circumstance it may please you to have of this bearer. And for your part, think you have not in the world a more loving kinswoman, nor a more dear friend than myself; nor any that will watch more carefully to preserve you and your estate. And who shall otherwise persuade you, judge them more partial to others than you. And thus in haste I leave to trouble you : **beseeching** God to send you a long reign. The 14th of February, 1587.

Your most assured loving sister and cousin,

ELIZAB. R

Letter to James VI 1603

5th January 1603

My very good Brother

Hit pleaseth me not a litel that my true intents without gloses or giles ar by you so gratefully taken for I am nothing of that vile disposition of suche as while thir neighbors house is or likly to be a fire wyl not only not helpe but not afourd them water to quench the same. If any suche you have hard of toward me God graunt he remembreth hit not to wel for them, for the Archeduke helas poore man he wischeth every body like himself except his bondes wiche without his brothers helpe he wil soon repent his Signory. I suppos that **considering** whos aperte enemy the King of Spaine is you wyl not neglect so muche your owne honor to the world (thogh you had no peculiar love to me) as to permit his Embassator in your Land, that so causelesly persecutes suche a Princes as never harmed him. Yea suche a one as if his deceased father had beene rightly informed, did bettar merite at his hand than any prince on erthe ever did to other for wher hathe ther bene an example that any one King hathe ever denied so faire a present as the hole seventene provinces of the Lowe Countries. Yea who not only wold not have denied them but send a dousin Gentilmen to warne him of their **sliding** from him wt offer of **keeping** them from the nere neighbors hands and sent treasur to pay the shaking towns fro laps, disserved I suche a recompence as many a complot bothe for my life and kingdom? Aught I not to defend and bereave him of suche weapons as might invay myselfe? he wil say I helpe Zealand and Holand from his hands tho if ether his father or himselfe wold observe suche othe as the Emperour Charles obliged himselfe and so in sequele his son I wold not have delt with others territories: but the hold this by suche covenants as not **observing** by thir owne grants the ar no longar bound unto them: but thogh al this wer not unknowne to him —Yet I cast suche right raisons over my shuldar and regarded this good and have never defended them a wicked quarel and had he not mixt that gouvernement contrary to his owne lawes with the rule of Spainards al this had not neded.

Now for the **warning** the frenche sent you of Vesons imbassat to yow me thinkes the king your good brother hathe given you a good caveat that being a king he supposeth by that measure that you wold denye suche offers. And since nedes you wyl have my counseil I can hardly believe that **being warned** your own subject shall be suffred to come into your realme from suche a place to suche intent. Suche a prelate if he came

shuld be taught a bettar leason than play so presumtius and bold a part afor he knewe your good **liking** therof which as I hope is far from your intent. So wyl his **coming** verefie good Mastar [Symples] asseverations at Rome of wiche you have or now bene warned ynough. Thus you se how to fulfil your trust reposed in me wiche to infringe I never mynde. I have sincerely made patente my sinceritie and thogh not fraught wt muche wisdome yet stuffed wt great good wyl I hope you wyl beare wt my **molesting** you to long wt my [skratching] hand, as **proceeding** from a hart that shal ever be filled wt the

Sure affection of your

Loving and frendely

sistar, Elizabeth R.

8.5 Arbella Stuart

Available in: [Stuart 1994, pp. 134-145]

TO SIR JOHN STANHOPE AND SIR ROBERT CECIL

Autograph, begun and closed in Stuart's presentation hand but largely in her informal hand, Cecil Papers 135, ff. 147–49. Addressed, in presentation hand, "To the right honorable Sir John Stanhope knight Vicechamberlcin, and Sir Robert Cycell knight principal Secretary to hir Majesty". Docketed by Cecil "The Lady **Arbella** to m^r ViceChamberlain Stanhope and me/". Written 6 February 1602/3.

Stanhope's and Cecil's letter had urged Bess to allow **Stuart** her former liberty, but also to keep her from bad company and have her watched by discreet gentlefolk, without "any extraordinarye restraynt" (Cecil Papers 135, f. 128). Not surprisingly, **Stuart** and her grandmother differed on what Stanhope and Cecil had meant.



May it please you./ for as much as my Lady my Grandmother doth interprett the letter which by hir most Excellent Majesties commandement hir Ladyship received from your Honors. concerning hir Majesties

Letter 7. Lines 209–10. **hath...hand:** would have in a letter in Stuart's handwriting. Lines 218–19. **unfoldeth...speeches:** explains these obscure words.

gratious acceptance of hir Ladyships faithfull discharging the trust
reposed in hir by hir Highnesse; together with hir Majesties pardon of
my offence, and interpretation of the originall ground thearof, and
direction for my traicement hereafter, in other sence then I to whom it
was hir Majesties pleasure it should be imparted do understand it: And
during that variety of opinions hir Ladyship may suppose hir selfe
charged [*with*] to looke to me with more strictnesse then I assure my
selfe it is hir Majesties <pleasure> I should be as heartofore I have found, 10
and with most dutifull thanckes acknowledge; And on the other side, I
supposing the limittes prescribed me larger then perhappes they are may
unwilling[ly] transgresse hir Majesties commaundment when I meane
nothing lesse; It may please your honors for avoiding all errors both on
the right hand and on the left to expound your owne meanings in these
pointes which now comm in question or any other which hereafter
may./ Whither it be hir Majesties pleasure I shall have free choise of my
owne servants to take keepe and putt away whom I thinck good either
telling or not telling the reason. And whither I may send for whom I 20
thinck good or talke with any that shall voluntarily or upon businesse
comm to me, in private if they or I shall so desire with out veilding
account to any but hir Majesty if hir Highnesse require it. And whither
it be not hir Majesties pleasure I should as well have the company of
somm yong Lady or gentlewoman for my recreation, and Schollers,

owne servants to take keepe and putt away whom I thinck good either
telling or not telling the reason. And whither I may send for whom I 20
thinck good or talke with any that shall voluntarily or upon businesse
comm to me, in private if they or I shall so desire with out yeilding
account to any but hir Majesty if hir Highnesse require it. And whither
it be not hir Majesties pleasure I should as well have the company of
somm yong Lady or gentlewoman for my recreation, and Schollers,
Musick, hunting, hauling, variety of any lawfull disport, I can procure
or my friends will afford me as well as the attendance of grave overseers;
for which I thinck my selfe most bound to hir Majesty for it is the best
way to avoide all Jelousies. Whither if the running on of yeares be not 30
discerned in me onely, yet it be not hir Highnesse pleasure to allow me
that liberty being the .6. of this February .27. yeares olde, which many
Infants have to chuse theyr owne Gardian, as I desire to do my place of
abode. Finally whither it pleaseth hir Majesty I should be bound within
straiter bonds then the duties of a most dutifull subject and servant to a

Line 11. <pleasure>: By this point, **Stuart** is using her informal hand.

Line 14. **unwilling[ly]**: The sheet is torn.

Line 29. **Jelousies**: jealousies; doubts and suspicions.

most gracious Souveraigne and Mistresse, of an obedient childe, faithfull
frend. etc. according to the lawes of God and man in the strictest sort,
without claiming at all to infringe or abuse Christian liberty. And then if
it please hir Majesty to impose an extraordinary yoke of bondage upon
me, I protest it will be more grievous to me because hir Majesty
40 imposeth it, then that I am not very well able, and inured to endure the
heaviest crosses whearwith God maketh his knowne. But my humble
suite is, it may please hir Majesty for Gods sake to lett me know the true
causes whearfore; because the misjudging of them may be very prejudi-
ciall to my selfe and others: And to sett downe the time how long, and
without ambiguity to prescribe me the rules wheareby it pleaseth hir
Majesty to try my obedience./ And forasmuch as by my Lady my
Grandmothers commaundment I did sett downe somm thinges which
it seemed good to hir Ladyship to send to your Honors, before I could
either point, or correct any error thearin; great or little; in such <slight>
50 sort as may onely be a wittnesse how merry secure innocence can be
even in the presence of a revered, and yet unappeased parent; and
rather give an inckling that there is yet somm farther matter for which if
I durst or could tell how I would humbly crave hir Majesties pardon,
and hir Ladyships and the intercession of somme for theyr worth gra-
tious in hir Majesties eyes. then [*give*] any certeine light of truth given. I
humbly crave of your Honors to whose handes by Gods direction the
even in the presence of a revered, and yet unappeased parent; and
rather give an inckling that there is yet somm farther matter for which if
I durst or could tell how I would humbly crave hir Majesties pardon,
and hir Ladyships and the intercession of somme for theyr worth gra-
tious in hir Majesties eyes. then [*give*] any certeine light of truth given. I
humbly crave of your Honors to whose handes by Gods direction the
first fruites of my scribled follies weare presented that you will vouchsafe
to excuse the errors of youth all together./ And to the end hir Majesty
may with that speed that I desire be fully satisfied that this action had no
60 corrupt beginning (which it is no small grieve to me hir Majesty should
beleeve of any action of mine) it may please hir Highnesse to hasten the
conclusion by sending downe somm faithfull servant of hir Majesties to
see whither it will prove so fonde as your Honors write, or so ridiculous,
as by my trifling manner of handling, it yet seemes, or so serious and

Line 49. **point:** punctuate.

Line 60. **corrupt beginning:** a phrase Stanhope and Cecil had used in their letter to Stuart's grandmother (Cecil Papers 135, f. 128).

Line 63. **fonde:** fond; foolish. *Fond* was a word Stanhope and Cecil had used to describe the attempted marriage.

many wayes acceptable to hir Majesty as I dare (with the adventure of my life if it otherwise prove) assure hir Majesty it will be./ And as at the first I presented an humble suite to hir Majesties faithfull servant Sir Henry Brouncker, which hir Highnesse most gracious foredeviner of the thoughts of my heart before I craved it had graunted; even at that time when hir Majesty had <reason> for to thinck I full little deserved that or any other favour. So I humbly reiterate the same suite to your Honors, that few may be acquainted with this matter till it be fully determined and judged by hir Majesty who yet may rather doubt a relapse or greater faultinesse, then hope of my innocence heartofore, or better government hearafter. Thearfore my most humble suite to hir Majesty is (and I humbly crave your Honors effectuall mediation thearin, that it may please hir Majesty once more to send downe that worthy gentleman Sir Henry Brouncker, who partly (and but partly) understanding the matter already, will sooner conceive and consequently advertise the rest; and will with fidelity deliver the names of the beloved parties, which especially my dearest I dare not trust paper with all, nor any living but whom it shall please hir Majesty to chuse and binde him with all the strictest commaundements that may be, whearof any one weare sufficient but that it concernes my soule and almost all for whose sake I love my life more then for my owne, and if the least hayre of any one of their heads should perish, or hir Majesties displeasure continue for my sake it cially my dearest I dare not trust paper with all, nor any living but whom it shall please hir Majesty to chuse and binde him with all the strictest commaundements that may be, whearof any one weare sufficient but that it concernes my soule and almost all for whose sake I love my life more then for my owne, and if the least hayre of any one of their heads should perish, or hir Majesties displeasure continue for my sake it would ever after be more discomfortable to me, then if I endured a great adversity for theyrs, To deliver onely to hir Majesty whatsoever I shall deliver to him with out either omitting any part thearof how displeasent so ever to him selfe, or any frend of his, or ever revealing it to any with out my consent. And if I might receive hir Majesties promise under .2. lines of hir Highnesse owne hand, that it would please hir Majesty to keepe my counsell, I should with greater alacrity deliver my minde in what sorte it should please hir Majesty to commaund; and thinck my selfe happier of those .2. lines then of a Patent of greater valew then ever

Line 73. **relapse:** early modern Protestants' conventional term for conversion to Roman Catholicism.

Line 76. **thearin:** The comma marks the end of the parenthetical comment.

Prince graunted under the great scale of England; and with as great confidence venture all I have to adventure as others would do a small matter with all manner of warranties. How much I shall thinck my selfe bound to them by whom I shall obtaine this high favour or treasure, I know not what title worthy enough to give it, I hope your Honors see by the inestimable rate wherewith I would buy it or begg it and thearfore I humbly beseech you make me for ever bound to you by becomming humble and importunat sutors to hir Majesty in my behalfe to graunt me this greatest suite I ever made or will make to hir Majesty And it obtained vouchsafe I beseech you with all speed to satisfy my expectation who cannot but assuredly hope of good successe considering so just a suite is craved of so gracious a Queene, by so worthy intercessors as your Honors, to so good an end as hir Majesties service. And I beseech you let Sir Henry Brouncker, be the happy and swift messenger. The almighty protect and direct your Honors and all your counselles, and actions and continue to prosper them as he doth, to his owne glory hir Majesties honour and safety, and consequently of the whole commonwealth. Vouchsafe to remember hir Majesty sometime I beseech you of
from Hardwick
the sixt of February./

Hir Majesties
most humble and dutifull
handmaide
Arbella Stuart./

9

TO MR. EDWARD TALBOT

Autograph, Stuart's informal hand, Bodleian MS Ashmole 1729, ff. 154–55. Addressed "To my honorable and assured good frend m.^r Edward Talbott". Cecil's copy in his secretary's hand, Cecil Papers 135, f. 170. Dated in the docket on the autograph copy 16 February 1602/3.

Edward Talbot was Stuart's maternal step-uncle, a son of George Talbot's first marriage. Talbot himself forwarded this letter to Cecil and argued his innocence of any complicity in the affair.

Noble gentleman, I am as unjustly accused of contriving a Comedy as you (in my conscience) a tragedy counsellors are acquainted with both our badd handes, but whilst we may wash our handes in innocence, lett the grand accuser and all his ministers do theyr worst God will be on our side, and reveale the truth to our most gracious Soveraine maugre all wicked and indirect practises whearwith somm seeke to misinforme hir Majesty but I thancke the Almighty it pleaseth hir Highnesse to deale most graciously with me, and by hir Majesties commaundement have liberty to chuse my [*owne*] frends by whom I may better informe hir Majesty of somm matters nearely concerning my selfe and diverse of the very best frends you and I have, thearfore I request you most earnestly to deliver a message from me [*th*] to hir sacred Majesty which shall be greatly to hir Majesties contentment, your honour and behoofe, and is of great importance. it requireth great hast, and I have advertised a most honorable privy counsellor that I have sent for you to imploy you in hir Majesties service so that you may not excuse your selfe or loose time in your owne respect whom it concernes more wayes then this. and of your owne honorable disposition I doubt not but you would bestow a journey hither and so to the Court for my sake

10

20

Your fathers love and your
faithfull frend.

Arbella Stuart

I pray you in kindest manner commend me to my Lady Ogle, and sweet m.^{rs} Talbott whom I am very desirous to see, and intreat hir to hasten you hither for the sooner you comm the better for us all.

ANSWERS TO SIR HENRY BROUNKER'S QUESTIONS

Autograph, largely in Brounker's hand, but with comments and signature in Stuart's informal hand, Cecil Papers 135, ff. 153–55; Cecil's copies in his secretary's hand, Cecil Papers 135, ff. 156–58, and Cecil Papers 213, f. a87. Cecil marked the original "B" and noted "Sir Henry Bronkerd being sent to lern the particulers of the writing which is marked A. broght this from her". In the docket of the second of the copies, Cecil crossed out his secretary's wording about this being the "Examination" of the Lady Arbella and substituted "The Exposition". Written 2 March 1602/3.

When Brounker returned, Stuart was interrogated. The questions repeat her phraseology in her letter to her grandmother (letter 7), and the written answers are close transcriptions of her responses, which Stuart then corrected.



The examination of the Ladye Arbella the seconde of march 1602

Beinge demaunded why she was distracted betweene fere and hope she aunsuered that she fered her majesties displeasure by reason of the letters she received from her, and by her Inocencye she hoped to recover her highnes favour:

Beinge demaunded by whome the practize with the Earle of Hartforde was propounded, desired [*and desired*] and well liked of her Ladyship sayde it was propounded by m^r Owen, and to her understanding desired and well liked of by my Lord of Hartforde:

¹⁰ Beinge demaunded why she restrayned her friendes and employed such as were likeliest to offende the Earle of Hartforde she sayde because she desired to bringe it to lighte and woulde not use those that beinge of creditte might have bounde her by theyre acte.

Beinge demaunded who [*so was*] persuaded her to play the foole in earnest she sayde that that was but a poeticall fiction.



The examination of the Ladye **Arbella** the seconde of march 1602

Beinge demaunded why she was distracted betweene fere and hope she aunswered that she fered her majesties displeasure by reason of the letters she receaved from her, and by her Innocencye she hoped to recover her highnes favour:

Beinge demaunded by whome the practize with the Earle of Hartforde was propounded, desired [*and desired*] and well liked of her Ladyship sayde it was propounded by m^r Owen, and to her understanding desired and well liked of by my Lord of Hartforde:

¹⁰ Beinge demaunded why she restrayned her friendes and employed such as were likeliest to offende the Earle of Hartforde she sayde because she desired to bringe it to lighte and woulde not use those that beinge of creditt might have bounde her by theyre acte.

Beinge demaunded who [*so was*] persuaded her to play the foole in earnest she sayde that that was but a poeticall fiction.

Beinge demaunded what thes untrew rumours unjust practizes and colourable devises were and what is mente by <the> remote partes mentioned she aunswered that the rumours etc concerned <the report of>

Line 8. **m^r Owen:** Hugh Owen, brother-in-law of the eighth Earl of Northumberland (who was related by marriage to Hertford). He had broached the subject a few years earlier with David Owen Tudor, one of Bess's former servants, whose son Richard was Stuart's page (Cecil Papers 135, f. 122).

my Lord of Hartfordes <people in the cuntrey> and that she accounted the remote partes to be thes which are farr from the courte.

20

Beinge demaunded who [*the gene*] the gentleman was that had tryed her by all meanes and knew she was to stoute to request a favour since she mighte commaunde it she sayd that she ment by that the Kinge of Scottes. <the word commaund was an error of the pen for hast.>

Beinge demaunded who it was agaynst whose love she had <longe> stopped her cares though he never requested any thinge but was more for her goode and honour then his owne she sayd that it was the King of Scottes whose messenger <Thomas Nelson> had bene shutt out of the gates, and yet was returned agayne in that tyme when all the worlde had forsaken her with a very kinde message and token to be delivered by Nelson from Roger Aston but yet not sent for.

30

This Nelson dwelleth at Elsor hall upon my Lady Arbellas lande and served sometym the Kinge of Scottes laste deade.

Beinge demaunded what the gentleman was that was so worthely favoured by her majestie and had don her so much wrong and wherin she aunsuered that it was the Kinge of Scottes whome her highnes favoured so much as for fere of offendinge him she mighte not be allowed the libertye of the lawe to sew, nor to sende into Scotlande to clayme an Earledome or the [lands] or recompense for them.

40 beinge demaunded who he was that was so famous for his secrecy,
and had more vertewes then any subjecte or forreyne prince she
playnely aunswered that it was the Kinge of Scottes.

Beinge demaunded who it was that had don many thinges at her
commaundement and promised to procure her remove from the
Countesse of Shreusburyes custodye she aunswered that nelson prom-
ised in the Kinge <of Scottes> name to endeavour my remove by her
majesties favour.

beinge demaunded who they were that were so unruly in theyr love
and ambition

50 Beinge demaunded what this gentleman was with whome she hath
delte so unkyndly, shredly and proudly, whome she hath tryed as
goulde in the fire and hath alrebye accepted him and confirmed it, and
will never repent nor deny him whatsoever befall her she aunswered that
it [was] the Kinge of Scottes with whome [I] <she> appeale to nelson
whether [I] <she> have delte proudly or no.

Beinge demaunded who it was that she had loved so well ever sohens
she could love as she coule never hyde any thoughte from him unles it
were to awe him a little and to make him werye of his Jelousye she sayde
the Kinge of Scottes

60 Beinge demaunded what the noble gentleman was that taught her to
[*deliver*] <pretende> one arrande, and to deliver an other with a safe
conscience, to speake riddles to her friends and to try the truth of
offered love she sayde that she lerned these lessons [*my*] out of the Bible
<and> by the King of Scotlandes example who proveth all things by
Scripture.

were to awe him a little and to make him werye of his Jelousye she sayde
the Kinge of Scottes

60 Beinge demaunded what the noble gentleman was that taught her to
[*deliver*] <pretende> one arrande, and to deliver an other with a safe
conscience, to speake riddles to her friends and to try the truth of
offered love she sayde that she lerned these lessons [*my*] out of the Bible
<and> by the King of Scotlandes example who proveth all things by
Scripture.

Beinge demaunded who assured her that her majesties offence
woulde be turned into laughter when she should see the honest cunning
of the contriver to such an ende as will please her majestie <and> her
Grandmother and be <for> her goode many wayes she aunswered that
70 she must confess that it was one of her sole conceytes.

Beinge demaunded who persuaded her to enter into some greate action, to wynne reputation to her self, to try her majesties love to try her friendes, and prove howe she coulde make straungers to effect her desires, and not be beholdinge to them she sayde that it was the desire of some in this countrye to see some of oure family by a quite contrary example recover the reputation which others had lost by not defendinge the veer men whome <them> selves sett on.

Beinge demaunded what it was that the noble gentleman and she did ferst deliberatly consulte, and after spedely execuut which they knew woulde for a short tyme offende her majestie, the oulde Lady and the Earle of Hartforde, and but in the end woulde be a most acceptable service to her majestie and the best that ever ladye did to her soveraygne and mystres she sayde that this greate matter was [*the sendinge*] Jhon Goodes dispatch which though recalled afterwarde by my self tooke effecte which I trust in the ende wilbe acceptable to her majestie

80

Beinge demaunded what it is [*where*] which she so much desireth that her majestie shoulde be persuaded was not don foolishly, rashly, falsly, or unworthy her self, she sayde it was this practize of the Earle of Hartforde for which she perceavth that her majestie condemeth her.

Beinge demaunded what her meaninge is by requiringe a months space to cleere her self in she aunsuereth that she desired that tyme to infourme her self better of that practize to the ende her majestie may be better persuade[d] of her.

90

Beinge demaunded what those secretes of love ar which she promiseth to reveile of her self and others, whome she will sende to complayne of them selves, and what the thinges ar wherof she will infourme her majestie having alrebye no suspition of them she aunthat her majestie shoulde be persuaded was not don foolishly, rashly, falsly, or unworthy her self, she sayde it was this practize of the Earle of Hartforde for which she perceavth that her majestie condemeth her.

Beinge demaunded what her meaninge is by requiringe a months space to cleere her self in she aunsuereth that she desired that tyme to infourme her self better of that practize to the ende her majestie may be better persuade[d] of her.

90

Beinge demaunded what those secretes of love ar which she promiseth to reveile of her self and others, whome she will sende to complayne of them selves, and what the thinges ar wherof she will infourme her majestie having alrebye no suspition of them she aunsuereth that she can not perfourme this promis till her friendes have free accesse unto her agayne which yet they dare not take.

Beinge demaunded wherin she can offende my Lord of Shrousburye my Lady and her uncle Charles: she sayde she coulde do that by discovreinge theyre dishonorable dealinge towardes her self many wayes

100

Beinge demaunded what the injuryes were which were offred to this worthy gentleman by the Earle of Shrousburye my Lady and Sir Charles and what the gentleman was she sayde that the party was the Kinge of Scottes and the wronges at the contemptuous woordes and skornes which they ofte do utter agaynst [*them*] him for whome she hath forsaken all the worlde her majestie only excepted.

110 Beinge demaunded who the gentleman is that woulde forsake her rather then offende her majestie never so little she constantly affermeth that it is the Kinge of Scottes.

Beinge demaunded whose councell she hath kepte thes many yeres and will do whilst she live if the disclosing therof wilbe hurtfull to him or his and what he is whose name she longeth to discover to her majestie, and who dareth not see her <nor sende> but by stelth. she sayeth that it is the Kinge of Scottes.

Beinge demaunded who it is that she desireth her majestie to grace and to wynne his hart from her she sayth that it is the Kinge of Scottes.

120 Beinge demaunded who it is that she desireth libertye to sende to and then she wilbe content that her Grandmother shall see all his letters and revele them to all the worlde she sayeth it is the Kinge of Scottes.

Beinge demaunded who that gentleman is by whose love she is so much honoured as she can not be ashamed of her choyce nor woulde sticke to revele him if she durst without his consent she sayth it is the Kinge of Scottes.

Beinge demaunded whether the Kinge of Scottes dare not geve his consent till he have pardon for him selfe and his friendes she aunswered she thinks not.

Beinge demaunded whose counsell she hath kepte thes many yeres and will do whilst she live if the disclosing therof wilbe hurtfull to him or his and what he is whose name she longeth to discover to her majestie, and who dareth not see her <nor sende> but by stelth. she sayeth that it is the Kinge of Scottes.

Beinge demaunded who it is that she desireth her majestie to grace and to wynne his hart from her she sayth that it is the Kinge of Scottes.

120 Beinge demaunded who it is that she desireth libertye to sende to and then she wilbe content that her Grandmother shall see all his letters and revele them to all the worlde she sayeth it is the Kinge of Scottes.

Beinge demaunded who that gentleman is by whose love she is so much honoured as she can not be ashamed of her choyce nor woulde sticke to revele him if she durst without his consent she sayth it is the Kinge of Scottes.

Beinge demaunded whether the Kinge of Scottes dare not geve his consent till he have pardon for him selfe and his friendes she aunswered she thinks not.

130 Beinge demaunded who those friendes ar which wolbe contented to dye for her <Majesty> sake after they have made confession to her majestie how farr they have offended her. she sayeth that many ar

Line 108. **worlde:** emended from "wordle". Line 121. **worlde:** emended from "woordle".

Line 130. **for...sake:** By adding "Majesty" here in her own hand, **Stuart** has reversed the question. Her original letter described friends who would die for her sake, not Queen Elizabeth's. The rephrased question allows **Stuart** to answer by praising her uncle Henry Cavendish's loyalty to the queen, a loyalty in question at the moment, since he had supported Stuart's attempt to marry.

signefyed by one meaninge only her unkle henrye who she is persuaded beinge commaunded woulde thinke his life best bestowed in her majesties service.

Beinge demaunded whether she thought that her highnes woulde smyle at theyr follyes and accept a present from her standinge in no better termes with her she sayth that she shall never thinke her self fully pardoned till it please her majestie to accept a present from her.

Beinge demaunded what those partes ar, and who be the players that must impart theyre mutuall joyes and make them selves mery with makinge them selves perfect in theyre partes partly forgotten for lacke of conference and partly not understood she aunsuered [*one that*] those ar the inocentes who have bene abused in this practize of the Earle of hartfordes as she is.

Beinge demaunded whome she will sende to her majestie one after an other withoute acquaynting any creature living but her majestie the noble gentleman and whome it pleaseth them ii to acquaynte, she aunsuereth that she can not determyne that till she speake with her friendes.

Beinge demaunded who that noble gentleman is she sayde the King of Scottes.

Beinge demaunded what those darke speches ar which her majestie by her letter or messenger must unfolde before she would revele them she aunsuereth all this above written.

Arbella Stuart./

8.6 Anne Halkett

The Autobiography of Anne Halkett

Available in [Anne Murray, Lady Halkett (c.1622/3-1699), © 2006]

[p. 90] The **lodging** I was then in **nott beeing** convenientt for more then myselfe, I removed up to Mr. Glover's, att the head of Blacke-friar Wind, where they and there woman came and staid with mee, and wee lived with very much quiett and contentt in our converse, Sir James **cumming** often to see them, and **bringing** many times there unckle and cousin Sir Robert Montgomery of [and] Haslehead, who were both extreemely civill to mee and frequentt in their visitts.¹

Itt is so usuall where single persons are offten together to have people conclude a designe for mariage, that itt was noe wonder if many made the same upon Sir James and mee, and the more that his daughters were with mee. Butt I had noe thoughts of what others concluded as done, for I thought I was obleiged to doe all I could to sattisfy him, since I could nott doe what hee cheefely desired. I often desired him to dine and sup

with his daughters, which had beene a neglect if I had omitted, **considering** hee **was often sending** provision from his owne howse to them; for hee knew I was nott of humour to take boord, nor did hee offer itt, butt made itt that way equivalentt, nott withoutt trouble to mee, for my inclination was ever more to give then receive.

Towards the winter hee staid most constantly att Edb [Edinburgh], and then grew so importunate with mee, nott to allow his adrese, butt to give [p. 91] him hopes that itt should bee succesfull, that to putt him past all further pursuit I told him I looked upon itt as an addition of my misfortune to have the affection of so worthy a person, and could nott give him the returne hee deserved, for hee knew I had the tye upon mee to another that I could nott dispose of myselfe to any other if I expected a **blesing**, and I had too much respect to him to comply with his desire in what might make him unhapy and my selfe by **doing** what would bee a perpetuall disquiectt to mee.

Hee urged many things to convince mee that I was in an error, and therefore that made itt void; butt when hee saw nothing could prevaile, hee desired for his satisfaction that I would propose itt to Mr. David Dickson (who was one hee knew I had a great esteeme of his judgementt), and rely upon his determination. This I was contentt to doe, **nott doupting** butt hee would resolve the question on my side.²

The first time Mr. Dickson came to mee (which hee usually did once in a weeke), **beeing** alone, I told him I **was going** to communicate something to him which hitherto I had concealed, butt now would entrust him with itt under promise of secresy, and **beeing** impartially ingenious in **giving** mee his opinion in what I was to acquaint him with; which hee **promising**, I told him I did nott doupt butt hee and his wife and many others in Edb [Edinburgh] did beleeve Sir Ja. [James] Halkett's frequentt visitts to mee was upon designe of mariage, and I would avow to him that itt was what hee had offt with great importunity proposed, and had a long time evidenced so reall an affection for mee, that I could nott butt acknowledge if any man alive could prevaile with mee itt would bee hee; butt I had beene so farre ingaged to another that I could nott thinke itt lawfull for mee to marry another; and so told him all the story of my **beeing unhapily deceaved**, and what lenth I had gone, and rather more then lese.

Hee heard mee very attentively, and was much moved att the relation, which I could nott make withoutt teares. Hee replied, hee could nott butt say itt was an unusuall tryall

I had mett with, and what hee praid the Lord to make usefull to mee. Butt with [p. 92] all hee added that, since what I did **was suposing** C. B. [Colonel Bampfield] a free person, hee nott **proving** so, though I had beene puplickely married to him and avowedly lived with him as his wife, yett, the ground of itt **failing**, I was as free as if I had never seene him;³ and this, hee assured mee, I might rely upon, that I might withoutt offence either to the laws of God or man marry any other person when ever I found itt convenientt; and that hee thought I might bee guilty of a fault if I did nott when I had so good an offer.

Hee used many argumentts to confirme his opinion; which though I revered **comming** from him, yett I was nott fully convinced butt that itt might bee a sin in mee to marry, butt I was sure there was noe sin in mee to live unmarried.

I was very just to Sir James in **giving** him an accountt what Mr. Dickson had said, though nott till hee urged to know itt. And **beeing** determined on what hee had offten pleaded, for hee hoped now I would have nothing more to object.⁴

I told him, though hee had made apeare lawfull to mee, yett I could nott thinke itt convenientt, nor could I consentt to his desire of **marrying** withoutt **doing** him so great prejudice as would make mee apeere the most ungrate person to him in the world. I acknnowledged his respect had beene such to mee that were I owner of what I had just right to, and had never had the least blemish in my reputation (which I could nott butt suffer in **considering** my late misfortune), I thought hee deserved mee with all the advantages was posible for mee to bring him; butt itt would bee an ill requitall of his civilitys nott only to bring him nothing butt many inconveniences by my **beeing** greatly in dept, which could nott butt bee expected, **having** (except a hundred pound) never received a peny of what my mother left mee, and had beene long att law both in England and Scotland, which was very expencive, and I gave him a particular accountt what I **was owing**.

Yett all this did nott in the least discourage him, for hee would have beene content att that time to have married mee with all the disadvantages I lay under; for hee said hee looked upon mee as a vertuous person, and in that proposed more hapinese to himselfe by [p. 93] **injoying** mee then in all the riches of the world. Certainly none can thinke butt I had reason to have more then an ordinary esteeme of such a person, whose eyes

were so perceptable as to see and love injured vertue under so darke a cloud as incompassed mee aboutt.

When I found hee made use of all the argumentts I used to lessen his affection as motives to raise itt higher, I told him since hee had left caring for himselfe I was obleiged to have the more care of him, which I could evidence in nothing more then **in hindring** him from himselfe; and therefore told him I would bee ingenious with him, and tell him my resolution was never to marry any person till I could first putt my affaires in such a posture as that if I brought noe advantage where I married, att least I would bring noe trouble, and whenever I could doe that, if ever I did change my condittion, I thought hee was the only person that deserved an interest in mee. And this I was so fixt in that nothing could perswade mee to allter, which gave him both trouble and sattisfaction by delay and hopes. Many proposalls hee made wherein hee designed to remove my objections, butt though they were great expresions of his affection, yett I would nott admitt of them; butt they had this effect as to make mee the sooner project the **putting** myselfe in a capacity to comply with his desires, since I found they were unchangeable.

And I did resolve as soone as the winter session was done, which I, expected would putt a close to my law-suite here, I would goe to London, and vindicate my selfe from the suposed guilt I was charged with, and then try what I could perswade my brother [presumably her oldest or only surviving brother] to doe in order to **the paying** what I owed.⁵ I aquainted Sir James with my intention, which hee aproved of, since hee could nott perswade mee to nothing els.

Presently affter this Sir James came and shewed mee a letter hee had receaved from London from the Countess of Morton [Anne Villiers, Lady Morton], who very earnestly desired him to come to her; for shee had intrusted him with the oversight of her jointure, and itt related to the **setling** of that and other things of concerne that made her importunate for his **comming** to her.⁶ Hee told mee my Lady Morton was a person who had [p. 94] ever showne much respect to him, and that hee would willingly serve her La. [Ladyship]; butt the cheefe thing that would make him now obey her commands was in hopes his **beeing** att London might bee serviceable to mee if I would imploy him.

I said, if his owne conveniency would allow of his journey, and that hee did incline to itt, I would writte with him to my sister [Elizabeth, Lady Newton], who I would obleige to bee civill to him upon my accountt, though hee deserved itt for his owne. Within two days hee wentt, and I gave my sister [Elizabeth, Lady Newton] such a character of him as made his reception liker a brother then a stranger. I refferred much to him to say which was nott convenientt to writte, and desired her to speake to my brother [the oldest, according to Loftis, at this point, Henry] and give mee accountt what I might expect of his kindnese in the proposall I have lately mentioned, of which I expected noe answeare till Sir James returned.

About a weeke affter hee was gone I fell into a feaverish distemper, which continued some time, so that I found itt nesary to send for Doctor Cuningham [Robert Cuningham], which gave occasion to some people to say that I fell sicke with heartbreake, because Sir James H. [Halkett] was gone to London to marry my Lady Morton; which report wentt currantt amongst some, though nott beleaved by any that was well acquainted with any of the three; butt this acquainted mee with the humour of some people, that use to make conclusions of there owne rather then seeme ignorant of any thing.

By the speedy returne Sir James made hee convinced them of there folly who raised the reports, and brought much satisfaction to mee by the assurance I had from my sister [Elizabeth, Lady Newton] of **beeing** very wellcome to her whenever itt was convenientt for mee to come, and till then shee thought itt best to delay **speaking** of any particular to my brother [Henry]; butt for her husband [Sir Henry Newton] I might bee secure of his kindnese to bee ever the same I had found itt. Att the same time I allso received severall letters from them who had formerly had much friendship for mee, by which I found itt had noe abatementt by the late tryall I had mett with, which did much incourage mee to kepe my resolution of **going** to London when ever the season of the ycare would admitt of itt.⁷

In the meane time I [p. 95] indeavored the **settling** of my busynese so as itt might receive noe prejudice by my absence; butt gott so many delays, yett dayly hopes of **beeing** putt to a close, that itt was **the beginning** of September '54 before I could take journey, which I was much asisted to performe by the kindnese and favor of the old Countesse of Dunfermeline [Margaret Seton, mother of Charles], who invited mee to goe

with her to Pinckey [Pinkie House, owned by Charles Seton, the 2nd Earl of Dunfermline] the Saturday before I was to goe for London, and **beeing** very inquisitive how I was provided for my journey, by my ingenuity her Las [Ladyship] found I was nott very certaine of what was convenientt, and upon the Monday when I **was comming** away my Lady brought mee ten pound, and said if shee had beene better provided shee would have lentt mee more, butt shee had borrowed itt of her Lord [Alexander Seton, the 1st Earl of Dunfermline].

I gave her Las [Ladyship] many thankes, who unasked had so civilly asisted mee, and desired to know whether I should make the note of my hand (which I should send the next day) in my Lord's name or her Las [Ladyship's], and shee desired itt might bee in my Lord's name, which accordingly I did, and paid since I was a widow.

[p. 95] The great civilitys I received from all Sir James H. [Halkett's] relations made mee withoutt scruple goe to his sister to the Cavers the first night, where hee wentt with mee and his eldest daughter, who staid there till my returne. The youngest hee left att skole in Edb [Edinburgh].¹

Sir James wentt another day's journey with mee, and would have gone further, butt I would nott give him any further trouble, butt urged his returne, and wentt on my journey to Yorke, where I expected to meett the post coach, butt was disapointed, and forced to ride another day's journey. Sir James had an excellentt footman, who hee had promised my sister [Elizabeth, Lady Newton], and sentt him along with mee, who I gave mony to pay for his diett and **lodging** affter we came to the coach, because I thought itt not reasonable to expect hee could keepe up with itt.

Affter wee had gone halfe the first day's journey, and the coachman **driving** att a great rate, I heard the coachman and postillian **saying**, "Itt cannott bee a man, itt is a devill, for hee letts us come within sight of him, and then runs faster then the sixe horses." So hee stops the coach, and inquires if any of us had a footman. [p. 96] I told him I had. "Then (said he,) pray make much of him, for I will bee answerable hee is the best in England." When I found hee could hold outt (as hee did all the way), I made him run by the coach; and hee was very usefull to all in itt.

That journey brought mee the acquaintance of Sir [blank space] Witherington and his nephew Mr. Arington, who had one man; and my woman and my selfe was all wee had

in the coach. I had discharged my woman and the footman to tell my name to any, butt tooke a borrowed name.²

Sir [left blank] **beeing** a very civill person, intertained mee with many handsome variety of discourses, and related how hee had designed to goe for Flaunders, and all his things a' ship-board, and while hee **was taking** his leave the ship sett saile from Newcastle, and so hee was forced to goe by land; which fell outt well for mee, because I could nott have mett with civiller gentlemen; butt I regretted to find they were Roman Catholicks, and by my **naming** Mr. Fallowfield as one that I had seene, they presenttly knew who I was, and said they would inquire noe further, for they had heerd him speake of mee as one hee had soe great respect for, as that they would have the same. This Mr. Fallowfield was an old priest that used some time to come to N. [Naworth] Castle when I was there, and had offten writt letters to mee for sicke persons, and highly complemented mee upon there recovery.³

When I found they did know my name, I told them the reason why I concealed itt was because I had beene long absentt from my freinds, and there had beene many changes since I left them, and therefore I resolved they should see mee before they heard of mee.

Wee came to High Gate aboutt 2 a' clocke, where I desired to bee left, and writt a note in with the footman to an old servantt of my mother's to take a **lodging** in some private place in London, and to come to mee the next morning with a coach; which accordingly hee did, and I wentt to White Fryars, where my brother Newton [Sir Henry, her brother-in-law's] **lodging** used to bee, and most of those who desired nott to appeare puplickely. I then writt to my sister [Elizabeth, Lady Newton], who was then and her husband [this same Henry] att Warwick, by the footman Sir James H. [Halkett] had sentt her, **aquainting** [p. 97] her where I was, and that I intended to bee knowne to very few till I heard what shee advised mee to doe; for though I knew the Power that then governed did att that time indeavour to secure themselves rather by **obleeging** the Loyall party then **ruining** them, yett itt was cheefely to such who could doe them most prejudice, and so that was noe security to mee; besides that dept [debt] I had was considerable, and therefore till I was sure they to whom itt was due would nott attempt any unhandsome action against mee, I thought itt was fitt upon both these considerations to conceale where I was, till I had some way secured mysele from the inconvenience that I might suffer both upon a puplicke and private accountt.

My sister within three or four days returned backe the footman to mee againe with a very kind letter and twenty peeces, **promising** to bee with mee as soone as shee could, and till then thought itt best for mee nott to goe any where abroad. In the meane time I imployed my mother's old servantt to inquire of some that hee was aquainted with who ruled much in those times what there opinion was of my **comming** to London; butt there had beene so many changes among themselves, and some who they did much confide in who had left them **beeing convinced** of there error, that they looked now the more favorable upon those who had never beene on there side, and did more easily pardon what they acted against them. And this made mee the more secure as to the puplicke; and for my private troubles there was nott one who I **was really owing** any thing to butt they were as civill as I could desire, and as ready as ever to serve mee in what they had that could bee usefull to mee.

Having thus farre satisfied my selfe I only staid now till my sister came, that my **going** first abroad might bee with her, which was shortly after. And **having made** some few visitts to some particular persons, I wentt with her and her husband to Charleton, which was a howse of thers within 5 or 6 miles of London.

My brother [Henry Murray] who lived then in the country with his family came to see mee, and invited mee to his howse; where I wentt, and staid some time; butt my most constantt residence was with my sister, where I knew I was most [p. 98] wellcome to her and her husband; butt sometimes I wentt to London and had **a lodging** in Crew's mother's howse, where I staid when I had any persons to meett with, in order to settle what I came ther for.

One morning when I was there they brought mee word there was two gentlemen desired to speak with mee, who had brought a letter to mee from the Earle of Callander.

I sentt for them up to my chamber, and did something wonder to find the man tremble when hee gave mee the letter, and his lips quiver that hee could hardly speake. I tooke the letter and read itt, **concerning** a busynese his Lors [Lordship] had recomended to my care. I asked who brought itt from Scotland. Hee was nott well able to answeare mee, butt **pointing** to the other man, hee cam and arrested mee.

I was strangely surprised, **having never mett** with nothing like itt, and asked att whose instance? Hee pointed to the other who had given mee the letter, and named him: Mr. Maitland.

I said I thought itt strange upon what accountt hee. could doe itt, who I had never seene.

Hee said itt was for a dept my brother Will owed his wife [Mistress Cole], and I promised to pay. I said itt was very strange I should promise to pay what I never till then knew **was owing**, nor did I ever heare of that woman's name till that time of my **comming** to London.

Yett though all this was true I was forced to give baile, and to answeare att Guildhall, which I did by atturny Allen, and though they had hired a man of there owne to come and sweare that I had promised to pay the dept, yett hee so farre contredicted himselfe that itt was visible itt was a cheat, and the bill was flung over the barre; which so exasperated the wicked woman that there was nothing imaginable that is ill shee did nott say of mee puplickely in the street, and the interest shee had with the soldiers, who **was dayly drinking** in her house att the Muse, made all people unwilling to medle with her.

Butt I need nott, insist upon this, which cost mee deare enough before I ended with her; butt itt hath cost her dearer since, if shee did nott repentt, and if shee did, since the Lord hath forgiven her, I blese him for itt; so did I, as I sentt her word by her husband when I heard shee **was dying**.

I heard constantly once in a fortnight from Sir James, with many [p. 99] renewed testimonys that neither time nor distance had power to change him.

I had nott beene long att London when I heard C. B. [Colonel Bampfild] was come there, who sentt to mee severall times to have leave to come once butt to speake to mee, which I as often positively denied as hee earnestly asked itt.

Butt one Sunday night, on the 10th of December '54, affter I had suped and **was walking** alone in my chamber, hee came in, which I confese strangely surprised mee, so that att first I was nott able to speake a word to him.

Butt a litle **beeing recollected**, I said I thought hee had brought misfortune upon mee enough allready, withoutt **adding** more to itt by **giving** new occation of my **beeing** censured for **conversing** with him. Hee intreated mee to give him leave butt to sit downe by mee a litle, and hee would imediately leave mee; which I did, and hee begun to vindicate himselfe as hee had done often; butt I interupted him, and told him though

my charity would induce mee to beleieve him innocent, yett that could bee noe argumentt why I should now allow him liberty to visitt mee, since hee could nott pretend ignorance of that which made mee thinke allowable once what were hainously criminall now.

Hee said hee desired mee only to resolve him one question, which was whether or nott I was married to Sir J. H. [James Halkett]. I asked why hee inquired. Hee said because if I was nott, hee would then propose something that hee thought might bee both for his advantage and mine; butt if I were, hee would wish mee joy, butt never trouble mee more.

I said nothing a litle while, for I hated **lying**, and I saw there might bee some inconvenience to tell the truth, and (Lord pardon the equivocation!) I said I am (outt aloud, and secrettly said nott []). Hee imediately rose up and said, "I wish you and him much hapinese together;" and, **taking** his leave, from that time to this.

I never saw him nor heard from him; only when hee had gott my **writtings** (of what concerned mee left to mee by my mother) which I had left with him when I wentt outt of London, and hee had taken for security with him when hee wentt first to Holland [p. 100] affter his escape outt of prison, that hee sent them to mee with a letter. The liberty hee tooke in **comming outt** from his concealed **lodging** upon Sunday was upon an Act made by the Usurper, which was that none upon any accountt, what ever was there crime, should bee aprehended upon that day, butt should have liberty to goe to any church they pleased, or any other place; which shewed a veneration hee had for that day, though in other things hee forgott obedience where itt was due by the same authority that comanded that day to bee kept holy. Butt when that hipocritte raigned the people were insnared.

The first post affter C. B. [Colonel Bampfield] had beene with mee, I gave Sir Ja. [James] an accountt of itt, who was so farre from **beeing** unsatisfied with itt, that hee writt mee word if itt were nott that itt might doe mee more prejudice in other people's thought then itt would doe in his, hee would nott care though I dayly conversed with him; so litle did hee aprehend any unhandsome action from mee, and therefore itt had beene the highest unworthynese and ingratitude to have beene falce to so great a trust as hee reposed in mee.

8.7 Katharine Evans & Sarah Chevers

Available in [EVANS, 1662]

We said, No, the Lord did move us to come. The Fryar said *we were deceived, and had not the faith; but we had all virtues.* We said, that faith was the ground from whence virtues do proceed. They said, *If we would take their holy Sacrament, we might have our liberty, or else the Pope would not leave us for millions of Gold, but we should lose our souls and our bodies too.* We said, the Lord had provided for our souls, and our bodies were freely given up to serve the Lord. They askt us, *if we did not believe Marriage was a Sacrament?* We said, it was an Ordinance of God. They ask't us, *if we did believe men could forgive sins?* We said None could forgive sins but God onely. They brought us that Scripture, *Whose sins ye remit in earth, shall be remitted in heaven.* We said, All Power was God's, and he could givr it to whom he would (that were born of the Eternal Spirit, and guided by the same; such have power to do the Fathers Will, as I answered a Fryar also in the City of *Naples*) and they were silent, the Power greatly working. We asked them wherein we had wronged them, that we should be kept Prisoners all dayes of our lives, and said, Our innocent blood would be required at their hands.

The Fryar said, *He would take our blood upon him, and our Journey into Turky too.* We told him, the time would come he would find he had enough upon him without it. They said, *The Popes was Christ's Vicar, and we were of his Church, and what he did, was for the good of our souls.* We answered, The Lord had not committed the charge of our souls to the Pope, nor to them; for he had taken them into his own possession, glory was to his Name for ever. They said, *We must be obedient.* We said, We were (obedient) to the Government of Christ's Spirit. The Fryar said, *None had the true Light but the Catholicks;- the Light that we had, was the Spirit of the Devil.* We said, Wo to him that calleth Jesus accursed: Can the Devil give power over sin and iniquity? then he would destroy his own Kingdom. He said, *We were laught at, and mockt at of every one.* We said, What did become of the mockers? It was no matter. He said, *We did run about to preach, and had not the true Faith.* We said, the true Faith is held in a pure Conscience void of offence towards God and man; and we had the true Faith. And he said, *There was but one Faith, either theirs or ours; and askt us which it was?* We said, Every one had the true Faith, that did believe in God, and in Jesus whom he had sent but they that say they do believe, and do not keep his commandments, are lyars, and the truth is not in them. He said *it was true;* but he did thirst daily for our blood, because we would not turn, and urged us much about

our Faith and Sacrament, to bring us under their Law: but the Lord preserved us.

They said, *It was impossible we could live long in that hot room.* So the next Week-day they sate in Council: but oh how the swelling Sea did rage, and the proud waves did foam even unto the clouds of Heaven, and Proclamation was made at the Prison-Gate, we did not know the words, but the fire of the Lord flamed against it, [K.] my life was smitten, and I was in a very great agony, so sweat was as drops of blood, and the righteous one was laid into a Sepulcher, and a great stone was roll'd to the door: but the Prophetie was, that he should arise again the third day, which was fulfilled. But the next day they came to sit upon Judgement again, [but I say, in the true Judgement they sate not, but upon it they got up unjustly above the righteous, and upon the same they sate: a child of Wisdom may understand] and they brought many Propositions written in a paper, but the Fryar would suffer the Magistrate to propound but few to us, for fear the Light would break forth; but they askt *how many friends of ours were gone forth in the Ministry, and into what parts.* We told them what we did know. They said, *all that came where the Pope had any thing to do, should never go back again.* We said, the Lord was as sufficient for us, as he was for the children in the fiery Furnace, and our trust was in God. They said, *we were but few, and had been but a little while, and they were many Countreys, and had stood many hundred years, and wrought many Miracles, and we had none.* We said, we had thousands at our Meetings, but none (of us) dare speak a word, but as they eternally moved of the Lord; and we had Miracles, the Blind receive their sight, the Deaf do hear, and the Dumb do speak, the Poor do receive the Gospel; the Lame do walk, and the Dead are raised. He asked, *Why I lookt so, whether my Spirit was weak?* I said, Nay my body was weak, because I eat no meat, [it was in their Lent] *He offered me a License to eat flesh.* I said, I could not eat any thing at all. The terrors of death were strongly upon me; but three nights after, the Lord said unto me, about the 11th. hour, *Arise, and put on your Clothes;* I said, *When wilt thou come Lord?* He said, *Whether at midnight; or at Cock-crow, do thou watch.* My Friend and I arose, and the Lord said, *Go stand at the Door.* And we stood at the door in the power of the Lord, I did scarce know whether I was in the body, or out of the body: and about the 12th. hour there came many to the Prison-Gate: We heard the Keys, and looked when they would come in: They ran to and fro till the 4th. hour: the Lord said, he had smote

them with blindness, they could not find the way. And we went to bed, there I lay night and day for 12. days together, fasting and sweating, that my bed was wet, and great was our affliction.

The tenth day of my fast there came *two Fryars*, the *Chancellor*, the man with the *black Rod*, and a *Physician*, and the *Keeper*; and the *Fryar* commanded my dear Friend to go out of the room, and he came and pull'd my hand out of the bed, and said, *Is the Devil so great in you, that you cannot speak?* I said, Depart from me thou worker of iniquity, I know thee not; the Power of the Lord is upon me, and thou call'st him Devil. He took *his Crucifix to strike me in the mouth; and I said, Look here!* and I asked him, Whether it were that Cross which crucified *Paul* to the World, and the World unto him? And he said, *it was*. I denied him, and said, the Lord had made me a Witness for himself against all workers of iniquity. *He bid me be obedient*, and went to strike me: I said, Wilt thou strike me? He said, *he would*. I said, Thou art out of the Apostles Doctrine, they were no strikers; I deny thee to be any of them who went in the Name of the Lord. He said, *he had brought me a Physician in charity*. I said, the Lord was my Physician, and my saving-health. He said *I should be whipt, and quartered, and burnt that night in Malta, and my Mate too: wherefore did we come to teach them?* I told him I did not fear, the Lord was on our side, and he had no power but what he had received; and if he did not use it to the same end the Lord gave it him, the Lord would judge him. And they were all smitten as dead men, and went away.

--- And as soon as they were gone, the Lord said unto me, *The last Enemy that shall be destroyed, is Death;* and the Life arose over Death, and I glorified God. The Fryar went to my friend, and told her, *I called him worker of iniquity*. Did she, said *Sarah?* *Art thou without sin?* He said *he was*: Then she hath wronged thee. [But I say, the wise Reader may judge:] For between the eighth and ninth hour in the evening, he sent a Drum to proclaim at the Prison-Gate; We know not what it was, but the fire of the Lord consumed it. And about the fourth hour in the morning they were coming with a Drum and Guns; and the Lord said unto me, *Arise out of thy Grave-Clothes:* And we arose; and they came up to the Gate to devour us in a moment. But the Lord lifted up his Standard with his own Spirit (of Might) and made them to retreat, and they fled as dust before the Wind praises

and honour be given to our God for ever. I went to bed again, and the Lord said unto me, *Herod will seek the yong childe's life to destroy it yet again;* and great was my affliction; so that my dear fellow and labourer in the Work of God, did look every hour when I should depart the body for many days together, and we did look every hour when we should be brought to the stake day and night, for several weeks, and *Isaac* was freely offered up. But the Lord said, he had provided a Ram in the Bush. Afterwards the Fryer came again with his Physician: I told him, that I could not take any thing, unless I was moved of the Lord. He said, *we must never come forth of that Room while we lived, and we might thank God and him it was no worse, for it was like to be worse.* We said, if we had died, we had died as innocent as ever did servants of the Lord. He said, it was well we were innoent. They did (also) look still when I would dye.

The Fryer bid my friend *take notice what torment I would be in at the houre of Death, thousands of Devils (he said) would fetch my soule to Hell.* She said, she did not fear any such thing.

And he asked *if I did not think it expedient for the Elders of the Church to pray over the sick?* I said, yea, such as were eternally moved of the Spirit of the Lord. He fell down of his knees and did howle, and wish bitter wishes upon himself if he had not the true faith; but we denied him. The Physitian was in a great rage at *Sarah*, because she could not bow to him, but to God onely.

--- The last day of my fast I began to be a hungry, but was afraid to eat, the enemy was so strong; but the Lord said unto me, *If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink. in so doing thou shalt heap coales of fire upon his head; he not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.* I did eat, and was refreshed, and glorified God; and in the midst of our extremity the Lord sent his holy Angels to comfort us, so that we rejoiced and magnified God; and in the time of our great trial, the Sun and Earth did mourn visibly three dayes, and the horror of death and pains of Hell was upon me: the Sun was darkned, the Moon was turned into Blood, and the Stars did fall from heaven, and there was great tribulation ten dayes, such as never was from the beginning of the world; and then did I see the son of man coming in the Clouds.

with power and great glory, triumphing over his enemies; the Heavens were on fire, and the Elements did melt with fervent heat, and the Trumpet sounded out of *Sion*, and an Allarum was struck up in *Jerusalem*, and all the Enemies of God were called to the great day of Battle of the Lord, And I saw a great wonder in Heaven, the Woman cloathed with the Sun, and had the Moon under her feet, and a Crown of 12. Stars upon her head, and she travelled in pain ready to be delivered of a Man-child, and there was a great Dragon stood ready to devour the Man-child as soon as it was born; and there was given to the Woman two Wings of a great Eagle to carry her into the desert, where she should be nourished for a time, times, and half a time; and the Dragon cast a Flood out of his mouth, &c. And I saw War in Heaven, *Michael* and his Angels against the Dragon and his Angels, and the Lamb and his army did overcome them; and there was a Trumpet sounded in Heaven, and I heard a voice saying to me, *The City is divided into three parts;* and I heard another Trumpet sounding, and I looked and saw an Angel go down into a great pool of water, and I heard a voice saying unto me, *Whosoever goeth down next after the troubling of the Waters, shall be healed of whatsoever Disease he hath.* And I heard another Trumpet sounding, and I heard a voice, saying, *Babylon is fallen, is fallen, Babylon the great is fallen.* And I looked, and saw the smoke of her torment, how it did ascend; and I heard another Trumpet sounding, and I heard a voice saying, *Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for he that is mighty hath magnified you, and holy is his Name, and from henceforth all generations shall call you blessed:* And I heard another trumpet sounding in Heaven, and I heard a voice saying unto me, *Behold!* and I looked, and I saw *Pharoah* and his Host pursuing the Children of *Israel*, and he and his Host were drowned in the Sea.

Dear Friends and People, whatsoever I have written, it's not because it is recorded in the Scripture, or that I have heard of such things; but in obedience to the Lord I have written the things which I did hear, see, tasted and handled of the good Word of God, to the praise of his Name for ever.

And all this time my dear Sister in Christ Jesus was in as great affliction as I (in a manner) to see my strong travel night and day; yet she was kept in the patience, and would willingly have given

me up to death, that I might have been at rest; yet she would have been left in as great danger, wo and misery, as ever was any poor captive for the Lord's truth: for they did work night and day with their divinations, enchantments and temptations, thinking thereby to bring us under their power: but the Lord prevented them every way, so that great was their rage, and they came often with their Physician, and said it was in charity: I askt them whether they did keep us in that hot room to kill us, and bring us a Physician to make us alive.

The Fryar said, *the Inquisitor would lose his head if he should take us thence: and it was better to keep us there, than to kill us.*

The room was so hot and so close, that we were fain to rise often out of our bed, and lie down at a chink of their door for air to fetch breath: and with the fire within, and the heat without, our skin was like sheeps Leather, and the hair did fall off our heads, and we did fall often; our afflictions and burthens were so great, that when it was day we wished for night; and when it was night we wished for day; we sought death, but could not find it; We desired to die, but death fled from us; We did eat our bread weeping, and mingled our drink with our tears. We did write to the Inquisitor, and laid before him our innocency, and our faithfulness, in giving our testimony for the Lord amongst them; and I told him, if it were our blood they did thirst after, they might take it any other way, as well as to smother us up in that hot room. So he sent the Fryar, and he took away our *Inkhorns*, (they had our *Bibles* before) We asked why they took away our goods? They said, *it was all theirs, and our lives too, if they would.* We asked; how we had forfeited our lives unto them; they said, *For bringing Books and Papers.* We said, if there were any thing in them that was not true, they might write against it. They said, *they did scorn to write to fools and asses that did not know true Latine.* And they told us, *the Inquisitor would have us separated, because I was weak, and I should go into a cooler room: but Sarah should abide there.* I took her by the arm, and said, *The Lord hath joined us together, and wo be to them that should part us.* I said, I rather chose to dye there with my friend, than to part from her. He was smitten, and went away, and came no more in five weeks, and the door was not opened in that time. Then they came again to part us; but I was sick, and broken out from head to foot. They sent for a Doctor, and he said, *We must have air, or else we must dye.* So the Lord compelled them to go to the Inquisitor, & he gave ord[ers]

O Dearly beloved Friends, Fathers and Elders, and Pillars of God[]
 Spiritual House, and Brethren and Sisters in the Lord Jesu[s]
 Christ in the measure of Love and Life of our God do we salute yo[u]
 all, and do embrace you in that which is Eternal, and we do greatly re[-]
 joice and glorifie the Name of our Heavenly Father, that he hath coun[t-]
 ed us worthy to be partakers of the death and sufferings of his bless[d]
 Son, with you: though we be the least of Gods Flock, yet we are of th[e]
 true Fold, whereof Christ Jesus is Shepherd: and he hath had as tend[er]
 a Care over us, as he hath had of any of his Lambs which he hath call[ed]
 forth in this the day of Power, and hath carryed us through, [and]
 over as great afflictions as most of our Brethren and sufferers for [his]
 Name, both in mockings, scoffings, scornings, reproaches, stripes, contra-
 dictions, perils at Land, and perils at Sea, fiery tryals, cruel threat-
 nings, grief of heart, sorrow of soul, heats and colds, fastings and wat-
chings, fears within, and frightings without, terrible temptations and
 persecutions, and dreadful imprisonments and buffetings of Satan: yet
 in all these our tryals the Lord was very gracious unto us, and not ab-
 sent himself from us, neither suffered his faithfulness to fail us, but did
 bear us up, and keep us from fainting in the midst of our extremity: we
 had not another to make our moan to, but the Lord alone, neither could
 we expect a drop of mercy, favour or refreshment, but what he did distil
 from his living Presence, and work by his own strength: for we sa[t]e one
 in one room, and the other in another, near a year, as Owls in Deserts,
 and as people forsaken in solitary places: then did we enjoy the presence
 of the Lord, and did behold the brightness of his Glory, and we did see
 you our dear Friends, in the Light of Jesus, and did behold your order,
 and stedfastness of your Faith and Love to all Saints, and were refresh-
 ed in all the faithful hearted, and felt the issues of Love and Life which
 did stream from the hearts of those that were wholly joined to the Foun-
 tain, and were made sensible of the benefit of your prayers.

Of the sorrows, the mournings, the tears! but those that sow in tears,
 shall reap in joy. A true sorrow begets a true joy; and a true Crosse, a
 true Crown: For when our sorrows did abound, the Love of God did
 abound much more; the deeper the sorrows, the greater the joys: the
 greater the Cross, the weightier the Crown.

Dear Friends and Brethren, marvel not that Israel is not gathered,
 our Judgement remains with the Lord, and so do our Labours: for it was
 not for want of travel, nor pain, nor love to their souls: for we could

have been contented to have fed upon the Grass on the ground, so we might have had our freedom amongst them: For had it not been for the great opposition, they would have followed after us as Chickens after a Hen, both great and small: But oh the swelling seas, the raging and foaming Waves, Stormy Winds and Floods, and deep Waters, and high Mountains and Hills, hard Rocks, rough wayes, and crooked paths, tall Cedars, strong Oaks, fruitless Trees, and corrupted ones, that cumber the ground, and hinder the righteous Seed to be sown, and the noble Plants from being planted: Oh! they shut up the Kingdom against the simple-hearted, and hide the key of knowledge from the innocent ones, and will not enter into the Kingdom themselves, nor suffer them that would enter, but stir up the Magistrates to form carnal Weapons, thinking to prevent the Lord of taking to him his Inheritance, and to dispossess his Son who is heir of all, that he might not have a dwelling-place amongst them, nor a habitation nigh them, because that his Light will discover their darkness, and his brightness will burn up all their abominations, and marr their beauty, and stain their glory, their pomp and their pride, that it may perish as the untimely Figs, and fall as the Flower of the Field, and wither as the Grasse upon the house-top. Oh the Belly of Hell, the Jaws of Satan, the whole Myserie of iniquity is a[] the height, and all manner of abominations that maketh desolate, standeth where it ought not, and is upholden by a Law, That upon pain of death none must speak against it, nor walk contrary to it. But praises to our God, he carryed us forth to declare against it daily. Oh the blind Guides, the seducing spirits that do c*ause the people to err, and compel them to worship the Beast and his Image, and to have his mark in their fore-heads, and in their hands, and to bow to Pictures and painted Wall[s] and to worship the things of their own hands, and to fall down to tha[t] which their own fingers have fashioned, and will not suffer them to loo[k] toward [] upon pain of death, nor to walk towards Jerusalem upo[n] pain of Faggot and Fire, but must abide in Babel, and believe whatso[e-]ver they speak or do, to be truth. But oh the wayes, the worships, th[e] fashions, forms, customs, traditions observations and imaginations whi[ch] they have drawn in by their dark Divinations, to keep the poor people [in] blindness and ignorance, so that they perish for want of knowledge, a[nd] are corrupted, because the way of truth is not made known among them they are all in the many wayes, out of the one true and living way, a[s] their ways be so many and so monstrous, that they are unrehearsible: b[ut] the Lord our God hath kindled a fire in the midst of them, that will co[n-]sume all forms, fashions, customs and traditions of men, and will bu[rn] up the bryars, thorns and tares, stubble and fruitless Trees, and corru[p-]ted ones, and will blast all the fruits, works and labours of wicked an[d] ungodly men with the Mill-dews of his wrathful indignation, and [will]

8.8 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu

Letters available in [Montagu 1837, pp. 133-160]

TO MRS. WORTLEY. July 21, 1709. How often (my dear Mrs. Wortley) must I assure you that your letters are ever agreeable, and, beyond expression, welcome to me? Depend upon it, that I reckon the correspondence you favour me with, too great a happiness, to neglect it; there is no danger of your fault, I rather fear to grow troublesome by my acknowledgments. I will not believe you flatter me, I will look upon what you say as an obliging mark of your partiality. How happy must I think myself when I fancy your friendship to me even great enough to overpower your judgment ! I am afraid this is one of the pleasures of the imagination, and I cannot be so very successful in so earnest and important a wish. This letter is excessively dull. Do you know it is from my vast desire of **pleasing** you, as there is nothing more frequent than for the voice to falter when people sing before judges, or, as those arguments are always worst where the orator is in a passion. Believe me, I could scribble three sheets to (I must not name), but to twenty people, that have not so great a share of my esteem, and whose friendship is not so absolutely necessary for my happiness, but am quite at a loss to you. I will not commend your letters (let them deserve never so much), because I will shew you 'tis possible for me to forbear what I have mind to, when I know 'tis your desire I should do so. My dear, dear, adieu ! I am entirely yours, and wish nothing more than that it may be some time or other in my power to convince you that there is nobody dearer than yourself to M. PIERREPONT. I am horridly ashamed of this letter, pray Heaven you may not think it too inconsiderable to be laughed at — that may be.

TO MRS. WORTLEY. August 8, 1709. I shall run mad — with what heart can people write, when they believe their letters will never be received ? I have already writ you a very long scrawl, but it seems it never came to your hands ; I cannot bear to be accused of coldness by one whom I shall love all my life. This will, perhaps, mis carry as the last did ; how unfortunate am I if it does ! You will think I forget you, who are never out of my thoughts. You will fancy me stupid enough to neglect your letters, when they are the only pleasures of my solitude : in short, you will call me ungrateful and insensible, when I esteem you as I ought, in **esteeming** you above all the world. If I am not quite so unhappy as I imagine, and you do receive this, let me know it as soon as you can ; for till then I shall be in terrible uneasiness ; and let me beg you for the future, if you do

not receive letters very constantly from me, imagine the post-boy killed, imagine the mail burnt, or some other strange accident ; you can imagine nothing so impossible as that I forget you, my dear Mrs. Wortley. I know no pretence I have to your good opinion but my hearty **desiring** it ; I wish I had that imagination you talk of, to render me a fitter correspondent for you, who can write so well on every thing. I am now so much alone, I have leisure to pass whole days in **reading**, but am not at all proper for so delicate an employment as **chusing** you books. Your own fancy will better direct you. My study at present is nothing but dictionaries and grammars. **I am trying** whether it be possible to learn without a master ; I am not certain (and dare hardly hope) I shall make any great progress ; but I find the study so diverting, I am not only easy, but pleased with the solitude that indulges it. I forget there is such a place as London, and wish for no company but yours. You see, my dear, in **making** my pleasures consist of these unfashionable diversions, I am not of the number who cannot be easy out of the mode. I believe more follies are committed out of compliance to the world, than in **following** our own inclinations — Nature is seldom in the wrong, custom always ; it is with some regret I follow it in all the impertinencies of dress ; the compliance is so trivial it comforts me ; but I am amazed to see it consulted even in the most important occasions of our lives ; and that people of good sense in other things can make their happiness consist in the opinions of others, and sacrifice every thing in the desire of **appearing** in fashion. I call all people who fall in love with furniture, clothes, and equipage, of this number, and I look upon them as no less in the wrong than when they were five years old, and doated on shells, pebbles, and hobby-horses ; I believe you will expect this letter to be dated from the other world, for sure I am you never heard an inhabitant of this talk so before. I suppose you expect, too, I should conclude with **begging pardon** for this extreme tedious and very nonsensical letter ; quite contrary, I think you will be obliged to me for it. I could not better shew my great concern for your **reproaching** me with a neglect I knew myself innocent of, than **proving** myself mad in three pages. . My sister says a great deal about Mrs. K. ; but, besides my **having forgot** it, the paper is at an end.

TO MRS. WORTLEY. Aug. 21, 1709. WHEN I said it cost nothing to write tenderly, I believe I spoke of another sex ; I am sure not of myself; 'tis not in my power (I would to God it was !) to hide a kindness where I have one, or disseminate it where I have none. I

cannot help **answering** your letter this minute, and **telling** you I infinitely love you, though, it may be, you 'll call the one im pertinence, and the other dissimulation; but you may think what you please of me, I must eternally think the same things of you. I hope my dear Mrs. Wortley's **shewing** my letter is in the same strain as her compliments, all meant for raillery, and I am not to take it as a thing really so ; but I'll give you as serious an answer as if 'twas all true. When Mr. Cowley, and other people, (for I know several have learnt after the same manner,) were in places where they had opportunity of **being** learned by word of mouth, I don't see any violent necessity of printed rules ; but **being** where from the top of the house to the bottom not a creature in it under stands so much as even good English, without the help of a dictionary or inspiration, I know no way of **attaining** to any language. **Despairing** of the last, I am forced to make use of the other, though I do verily believe I shall return to London the same ignorant soul I went from it ; but the study is a present amusement. I must own I have vanity enough to fancy, if I had any body with me, with out much trouble perhaps I might read. What do you mean by **complaining** I never write to you in the quiet situation of mind I do to other people ? My dear, people never write calmly, but when they write indifferently. That I should ever do so to you, I take to be entirely impossible ; I must be always very much pleased or in very great affliction, as you tell me of your friendship, or unkindly doubt mine : I can never allow even pru dence and sincerity to have any thing to do with one another, at least I have always found it so in myself, who **being devoted** to the one, had never the least tincture of the other. What **I am now doing**, is a very good proof of what I say, 'tis a plain undesigning truth, your friendship is the only happiness of my life ; and whenever I lose it, I have nothing to do but to take one of my garters and search for a convenient beam. You see how ab solutely necessary it is for me to preserve it. Prudence **is at the very time saying** to me, Are you mad, you won't send this dull, tedious, insipid, long letter to Mrs. Wortley, will you ? 'tis the direct way to tire out her patience ; if she serves you as you deserve, she will first laugh very heartily, then tear the letter, and never answer it, purely to avoid the plague of such another : will her good-nature for ever resist her judgment ? — I hearken to these counsels, I allow 'em to be good, and then — I act quite contrary : no consideration can hinder me from **telling** you, my dear dear Mrs. Wortley, no body ever was so entirely, so faithfully yours as

A. P.

I put in your lovers, for I don't allow it possible for a man to be so sincere as I am ; if there was such a thing, though, you would find it ; I submit therefore to your judgment. I had forgot to tell you that I writ a long let ter directed to Peterborough, last post; I hope you 'll have it : — you see I forgot your judgment, to depend upon your goodness.

TO MRS. WORTLEY. Aug. 21, 1709. I am infinitely obliged to you, my dear Mrs. Wortley, for the wit, beauty, and other fine qua lities, you so generously bestow upon me. Next to **receiving** them from Heaven, you are the person from whom I would chuse to receive gifts and graces ; I am very well satisfied to owe them to your own delicacy of imagination, which represents to you the idea of a fine lady, and you have good nature enough to fancy I am she. All this is mighty well, but you do not stop there, imagina tion is boundless. After **giving** me imaginary wit and beauty, you give me imaginary passions, and you tell me I 'ra in love ; if I am, 'tis a perfect sin of ignorance, for I don't so much as know the man's name : **I have been studying** these three hours, and cannot guess who you mean. I passed the days of Nottingham races, Thorsby, without **seeing** or even **wishing** to see one of the sex. Now, if I am in love, I have very hard fortune to conceal it so industriously from my own knowledge, and yet discover it so much to other people. Tis against all form to have such a passion as that, without **giving** one sigh for the matter. Pray tell me the name of him I love, that I may (according to the laudable custom of lovers) sigh to the woods and groves hereabouts, and teach it to the echo. You see, **being** I am in love, I **am willing** to be so in order and rule : Recommend an example to me ; and, above all, let me know whether 'tis most proper to walk in the woods, **encreasing** the winds with my sighs, or to sit by a purling stream, **swelling** the rivulet with my tears ; may be, both may do well in their turns: — but to be a minute serious, what do you mean by this reproach of inconstancy ? I confess you give me several good qualities I have not, and I am ready to thank you for them, but then you must not take away those few I have. No, I will never exchange them ; take back the beauty and wit you bestow upon me, leave me my own medio crity of agreeableness and genius, but leave me also my sincerity, my constancy, and my plain **dealing** ; 'tis all I have to recommend me to the esteem either of others or myself. How should I despise myself if I could think I was capable of either inconstancy or deceit! I know not how I may appear to other people, nor how much my face may belie my heart, but I know that I never was or can be guilty of dissimulation or inconstancy

— you will think this vain, but 'tis all that I pique myself upon. Tell me you believe me and repent of your harsh censure. Tell it me in pity to my uneasiness, for you are one of those few people about whose good opinion I am in pain. I have always took so little care to please the generality of the world, that I am never mortified or delighted by its reports, which is a piece of stoicism born with me; but I cannot be one minute easy while you think ill of

Your faithful A. P.

This letter is a good deal grave, and, like other grave things, dull ; but I won't ask pardon for what I can't help.

TO MRS. WORTLEY. Sept. 5, 1709. My dear Mrs. Wortley, as she has the entire power of **raising**, can also, with a word, calm my passions. The kindness of your last recompenses me for the injustice of your former letter ; but you cannot surely be angry at my little resentment. You have read that a man who, with patience, hears himself called heretic, can never be esteemed a good Christian. To be capable of **preferring** the despicable wretch you mention to Mr. Wortley, is as ridiculous, if not as criminal, as **forsaking** the Deity to worship a calf. Don't tell me any body ever had so mean an opinion of my inclinations ; 'tis among the number of those things I would forego. My tenderness is always built upon my esteem, and when the foundation perishes, it falls : I must own, I think it is so with every body — but enough of this : you tell me it was meant for rail lery — was not the kindness meant so too ? I fear I am too apt to think what is amusement designed in earnest — no matter, 'tis for my repose to be deceived, and I will believe whatever you tell me. I should be very glad to be informed of a right method, or whether there is such a thing alone, but am afraid to ask the question. It may be reasonably called presumption in a girl to have her thoughts that way. You are the only creature that I have made my confidante in that case : I 'll assure you, I call it the greatest secret of my life. Adieu, my dear, the post stays, my next shall be longer.

M. P.

TO MRS. WORTLEY. 1710. I return you a thousand thanks, my dear, for so agreeable an entertainment as your letter in our cold climate, where the sun appears unwillingly — Wit **is as wonderfully pleasing** as a sun-shiny day ; and, to speak poetically, Phoebus **is**

very sparing of all his favours. I fancied your letter an emblem of yourself: in some parts I found the softness of your voice, and in others the vivacity of your eyes : you are to expect no return but humble and hearty thanks, yet I can't forbear **entertaining** you with our York lovers. (Strange monsters you 'll think, love **being as much forced** up here as melons.) In the first form of these creatures, is even Mr. Vanbrug. Heaven, no doubt, **compassionating** our dullness, has inspired him with a passion that makes us all ready to die with **laughing** : 'tis credibly reported that he **is endeavouring** at the honourable state of matrimony, and vows to lead a sinful life no more. Whether pure holiness inspires his mind, or dotage turns his brain, is hard to find. 'Tis certain he keeps Monday and Thursday market (assembly day) constantly ; and for those that don't regard worldly muck, there's extraordinary good choice indeed. I believe last Monday there were two hundred pieces of woman's flesh (fat and lean): but you know Van's taste was always odd : his inclination to ruins has given him a fancy for Mrs. Yarborough : he sighs and ogles so, that it would do your heart good to see him ; and she is not a little pleased in so small a proportion of men amongst such a number of women, that a whole man should fall to her share.

My dear, adieu.

My service to Mr. Congreve.

M. P.

TO MRS. WORTLEY. I am convinced, however dear you are to me, Mrs. Anne Wortley, I am no longer of any concern to you, therefore I shall only trouble you with an insignificant story, when I tell you, I have been very near **leaving** this changeable world ; but now, by the doctor's assistance, and Heaven's **blessing**, am in a condition of **being** as impertinently troublesome to you as formerly. A sore throat, which plagued me for a long while, brought me at last to such a weakness, that you had a fair chance of **being released** from me : but God has not yet decreed you so much happiness ; though I must say this, you have omitted nothing to make yourself so easy, **having strove** to kill me by neglect : but destiny triumphs over all your efforts ; I am yet in the land of **the living**, and still yours.

M. P.

TO MRS. WORTLEY. May 2, 1707. I Hope, my dear Mrs. Wortley, that you are so just to me, to believe I could not leave the town without **seeing** you ; but very much against my own inclination, I am now at Thorsby. Our journey has been very bad ; but, in my opinion, the worst part of it was — going from you. I hope you intend to be kinder to me this summer, than you were the last. There needs nothing to keep up the remembrance of you in my heart ; but, I would not think of you, and think you forget me. Farewell, my dear. My letter should be longer, if it were possible to make it so without repetition ; but I have already told you I love you, and implored you not to forget me, which (as I hope to breathe) is all I have to say. M. P.

TO E. WORTLEY MONTAGU, ESQ. No date. Perhaps you'll be surprized at this letter; I have had many debates with myself before I could resolve upon it. I know it is not **acting** in form, but I do not look upon you as I do upon the rest of the world, and by what I do for you, you are not to judge of my manner of **acting** with others. You are brother to a woman I tenderly loved; my protestations of friendship are not like other people's, I never speak but what I mean, and when I say I love, 'tis for ever. I had that real concern for Mrs. Wortley, I look with some regard on every one that is related to her. This and my long acquaintance with you may in some measure excuse what I **am doing**. I am surprized at one of the Tatlers you send me ; is it possible to have any sort of esteem for a person one believes capable of **having** such trifling inclinations ? Mr. Bickerstaff has very wrong notions of our sex. I can say there are some of us that despise charms of show, and all the pageantry of greatness, perhaps with more ease than any of the philosophers. In **contemning** the world, they seem to take pains to contemn it ; we despise it, without **taking** the pains to read lessons of morality to make us do it. At least I know I have always looked upon it with contempt, without **being** at the expence of one serious reflection to oblige me to it. I carry the matter yet further ; was I to choose of £2000 a year or twenty thousand, the first would be my choice. There is something of an unavoidable embarras in **making** what is called a great figure in the world ; (it) takes off from the happiness of life ; I hate the noise and hurry inseparable from great estates and titles, and look upon both as **blessings** which ought only to be given to fools, for 'tis only to them that they are blessings. The pretty fellows you speak of, I own entertain me sometimes ; but is it impossible to be diverted with what one despises I can laugh at a puppet-show, and at the same time know there is nothing in it

worth my attention or regard. General notions are generally wrong. Ignorance and folly are thought the best foundations for virtue, as if not **knowing** what a good wife is was necessary to make one so. I confess that can never be my way **of reasoning** ; as I always forgive an injury when I think it not done out of malice, I can never think myself obliged by what is done without design. Give me leave to say it, (I know it sounds vain,) I know how to make a man of sense happy ; but then that man must resolve to contribute something towards it himself. I have so much esteem for you, I should be very sorry to hear you was unhappy ; but for the world I would not be the instrument of **making** you so ; which (of the humours you are) is hardly to be avoided if I am your wife. You distrust me — I can neither be easy, nor loved, where I am distrusted. Nor do I believe your passion for me is what you pretend it; at least I am sure was I in love I could not talk as you do. Few women would have wrote so plain as I have done ; but to dissemble is among the things I never do. I take more pains to approve my conduct to myself than to the world ; and would not have to accuse myself of a minute's deceit. I wish I loved you enough to devote myself to be for ever miserable, for the pleasure of a day or two's happiness. I cannot resolve upon it. You must think otherwise of me, or not at all. I don't enjoin you to burn this letter, I know you will. 'Tis the first I ever wrote to one of your sex, and shall be the last. You may never expect another. I resolve against all correspondence of the kind ; my resolutions are seldom made, and never broken.

To Mr. Edward Wortley Montagu, at Wortley, near Sheffield, Yorkshire.

8.9 Elizabeth Bury

Available in [On account of life and death of Mrs. Elizabeth Bury..., © 2005-10]

CHAP. I. Her Self-Examinations.

1690. Sept. 27.] _WHEN I was Nine or Ten Years old, I first began the Work of Self-Examination, and begg'd the All-searching God to try and discover me to myself: And I think, I may date my Conversion about that Time.

I have kept an Account of the Tryals of my self since 1670. And tho' my undutiful, ungrateful

Page 46

Returns have fill'd each Examination with just and bitter Complaints, yet upon twenty Years review, to the Glory of free Grace, I take it the Case has stood thus with me.

My Judgment has esteem'd God, even his Holiness, the most desirable Good; and I would be a Partaker of his Holiness, whatever it cost me; and have generally been **willing** of, and thankful for the smartest Discipline, in hope of that desir'd Effect, and still would be more holy, tho' by Sickness, Pain, or any other Affliction; **having always esteem'd** Sin the greatest Evil, and now for many Years my bitterest Affliction, tho' in some Hurries, have not felt the most sensible Mournings for it.

As I have chosen God for my Portion, so I stand by my Choice, and rejoyce in it above all the World; and thro' his Grace **assisting**, resolve never to forsake him, tho' I die for it (which I shall never do, with|out extraordinary Assistance, **having** no natural Cour|age.) I have chosen the Way of God's Precepts, as the Means to this End, and have deliberately, entirely, rejoycingly, given myself to Jesus Christ, the Way, the Truth, and the Life; and prefer his Love to all the World: And by many sweet (tho' too short Experiences) have found it **lifting** my heart up above all earthly Enjoyments, and sometimes **making** it joyful under Smart, Pain, and Trouble; which has hinted the Power of his **prevailing** Love, and made me hope it will cast out Fear, if he calls me to Martyrdom.

My Hope is in God, thro' Christ; and all I have I would part with, rather than his Love and my hoped Interest therein.

My Desires are after him above Gold, Health, Friends, Honour, &c. I long for fuller Communion with Father, Son, and Holy Spirit here, and the un|interrupted Communion of Heaven.

Page 47

God knows, I fear nothing so much as **Sinning**, and **losing** his Favour.

My Love, saith with Austin,

Let me see thee, O Light of my Eyes! Joy of my Spirit! Glad|ness of my Heart! Life of my Soul! great De|light! sweet Comfort! my God! the whole Glory of my Soul! Desire of my Heart! let me embrace thee, heavenly Bridegroom! let me pos|sess thee!

My Sorrow and Anger are usually most intense against Sin, tho' too violent Torrents often spent on **Sufferings**.

My Hands, Feet, Head, and Heart, follow not as I would; my Life is stained and blotted with daily Sins, yet God knows I loath them; with daily De|fects in Duties, yet have I a

respect to all God's Commandments: O wretched Creature! Sin still dwells in me: I cannot do the things I would; but I would, upon any Terms, be rid of Sin: I sin daily but I sorrow for, and hate it daily, and fly to the Fountain opened, which alone can cleanse me.

I forsake and renounce the Devil's Dominion; and as I have receiv'd the Lord Jesus Christ, so I watch and pray, and strive to walk after his Will, and holy Example.

The World gets near and about me, and I am too ready to follow and serve it's Pleasures, and Conveniencies; but it is more solid Joy to my Soul to say, That Christ is mine; than to be able to say, This Kingdom, this World, yea, all that I ever lov'd, were still mine.

My own Righteousness I abhor; the best, most perfect, most sincere Service I ever did, or hope do, gives me no Hope of Acceptance, but in and thro' Christ.

Page 48

O Lord, Jehovah, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, thou art my Portion; whatever this Flesh would have, Lord! let me be thine at any Rate; truly I am and would, and will be thy Servant, by Choice and Consent, whatever thou givest me, or whatever thou deniest me: Oh! how bountifully has God dealt with me, while he has lov'd me from Death to Life.

Lord Jesus! thou art my Way unto the Father! my only Mediator! I have accepted thee to each and rule, as well as to save my guilty Soul; I cry as loud for **purging**, as for **pacifying** Grace: I am **willing** to be kept from mine Iniquity; I except no Darling from thine Iron Mace; I ask no Mercy, nor would I shew it any.

I approve and subscribe to all thy Precepts, as Holy, Just, and Good, as best for me, at all Times, and in all Conditions: Let my Heart be searched, and I will love the Word that doth it—I account thy Law my Liberty—Thou hast drawn, and I have run—Thou hast made it my Love, Delight and Study, and it is the sincere bent of my Life to keep thy Word: Oh! that I might keep it to the End!

1692. August 29.] **Examining** my Heart by Mr. Allein's Rules, I find many sad Defects in Duties; much distance from God, my Joy and Portion, and an Inclination to a vain, vexing, and **polluting** World; yet I cleave to Christ, my Righteousness, and my Soul rejoices in God my Saviour.

Sept. 3.] **Setting** close to the Duty of Examination, my Heart was deeply affected with it's **wandering** from God, amazed and sad at the Inconstancy of my Love to God, which

I take to be the Cause of my **wandering** Thoughts; I still mourn over it, **adoring** the Patience of God, and his infinite Mercy, in Christ, to such unstable and vile Dust; I abhor the Fountain and filthy Streams of my polluted Nature; I fly to the

Page 49

Blood of **sprinkling**: Lord! shall I never be cleansed? How long shall vain Thoughts lodge within me? I will still wait at the Pool, where thou hast, and wilt wash me in thine own Blood; and if I cannot find less Sin, I will bless thee if I find more Grace, and wait, 'till by Death, thou presentest me spotless, who hast loved me, and already wash'd me in part.

1693. March 3.] **Comparing** my Heart with God's Word, I have still good hope, thro' Grace, that Sin hath not Dominion there. Sad Strength and Prevalency— I confess, bemoan, abhor, and beg Cure of by any Method; yea, so vigorous are all the Lusts of my depraved Soul, I know not which to call (long together) my Master-Sin; what I most suspect, I most hate, watch, resist, beg divine Aids against, and rely on the Lord Redeemer for Strength to subdue: I acknowledge his Mercy, Power, Faithfulness, Patience, to me unworthy Wretch, from my Birth to this Day; first sweetly **overcoming** my Will, by his invincible Power, and since **bearing** all my ungrateful Backslidings; **preventing, aiding, comforting, conducting, chastening, recovering, and feeding** me in all Places, Relations, and Conditions.

1695. July 23.] I examined my Heart, and found much Dross mix'd with its purest Gold; and the holy Spirit of Grace and Supplication helped me to confess and beg Pardon with some suitable Affection, and indited many Petitions for my self, Family, and Friends; all which I have left with my merciful Intercessor, in Faith and Hope of a gracious Answer.

Ibid 27.] I examined and found much Folly and Unevenness in my Conversation, my **Wanderings** from God, great Unsteadiness in my Covenant; yet thro' free Grace, no allowed ill Behaviour towards my dearest Lord Redeemer: I abhor all the Ingratitude, Dullness, and Frowardness of my Spirit, to my

Page 50

wise and gracious Father; I humbly begg'd Pardon and Peace in the Blood of Christ, and believe the Attonement.

1696. Jan. 1.] **Reflecting** on part of this Year's Diary, there appears the greatest divine Goodness and Bounty to the most unworthy and sinful Wretch: A multitude of gracious Answers to my poor Prayers, and great Appearances of God in publick Ordinances; yet many afflictive Strokes, but follow'd with Support and Usefulness: So that my very Soul confesses, in very Faithfulness, I have been and am afflicted— And now on the whole Year, I acknowledge God has been faithful to his Covenant in all things, and I heartily renew my Covenant-Obligation to him, and beg Strength to walk more stedsafely.

Ibid. 4.] **Examining** my Heart and Ways, I have good Evidences, thro' free Grace, that God is my Covenant-God in Christ, and has made good his Covenant-Promises to me, **in convincing, converting, comforting, guiding, strengthening, and rejoicing** my Soul in his Ways; and in **healing** Infirmities and Pains; **conducting me, supplying** my Wants, **supporting and keeping** my Mind quiet under Troubles; **sanctifying** Corrections to wean me from this World, **giving** Victory over Corruption; **removing** a Thorn in the Flesh, for which I besought him often, in Tears and sore Affliction; and so seasonable, as to evidence my sincere Hatred of Sin, before the Smart of his Rod taught me Wisdom, for which my Soul adores him.

August 4.] Oh! how much better than Life, or any thing in Life, is the Loving-Kindness of my God? So sweetly, so evidently, so abundantly manifested to my Soul, this Morning! Lord! how free, how full, how humble, and ingenuous my Confessions, when thy holy Spirit indites and assists poor hardened Dust? What a View of Sin can thy Remembrance give forgetful

Page 51

Rocks? What melting Shame and Sorrow? What Tears of Love? What Delight? What **Panting** after more Grace? What calm and joyful Acquiescence in relucted Discipline? What chearful unreserved Resignation? Lord! how long have I struggled in vain for what thou hast of free Bounty given in one Hour? Lord! keep it for ever on my Heart.

1697. March 20.] I fell upon the Search of my Heart before the Sacrament, with respect to the Nature and Effects of true Faith; and find, that I am glad of the Discovery, even of such Truths as most directly strike at my strongest Heart-Sins, and violentest Appetites: I am glad of the Threats that powerfully work on me to reform me, as of the

Pro|misses that refresh me: I believe them all in Thesi and Hypothesi, and wish their Energy in **cleansing**, as well as **comforting**, so far as I can discern.

I embrace the Promises with delight, and find thro' free Grace, a spiritual Taste and Relish in the Food of Life; such, as sometimes, quite weans me from the Love of the World, gives me great Peace of Conscience, Joy in the Holy Ghost, and Love to Christ's **Appearing**—I find good Hope thro' Grace, that I live by the Faith of the Son of God, who gave himself for unworthy me; for I do delight in his Word, above my appointed Food: It has been, in some Measure, of an **Assimilating** Nature; I hope I have attain'd to some, and pray and labour for more Growth in Universal uniform Obedience to all God's Commands— I depend on the perfect Righteousness of Christ, and must own from the Beams of that Sun of Righteousness, a gracious Illumination and power|full Inclination upon my Soul unto all Good— A tender Sympathy, for the most part, with the Church of God, even when my particular State inclines me

Page 52

to a contrary Temper—A free use of spiritual Sen|ses, **seeing** the Light of God more perfectly and fre|quently than usual, **hearing** his Word with delight, **tasting** his Mercies with Comfort; I feel and mourn under the Wounds and Pressures of Sin; I love di|vine Truths, not so much because proportionable to my Desires, but because, conformable to God, I re|solve in all Estates to rely on God's Mercy and Pro|vidence; I wholly renounce all Trust in myself, or any Concurrence of my own naturally in any good; I build not my Hopes or Fears on Man, or make them or myself the Rule or End of my Desires; I indulge no known Sin; I have no known Guile; I allow not the least Sin, or appearance of Evil; I hate the first **Risings** of it, and bitterly regret the least, the first, the most unavoidable Thought that Rebels against the Law.

March 28.] Glorious Morning of this Day of the Son of Man: Lord! what is all this World to me? Thy darkest Paths appear light and pleasant to my Soul: Thy Will be done with all my Heart: All thy Ways are, and have been holy, just, good, and true: In very Faithfulness thou hast afflicted; in ten|derest Bowels pity'd, spar'd, and born with thy pee|vish ungrateful Child; and yet say'st, Thou art mine, and I am thine; and hast fill'd my Soul with Joy, A|doration, Love, Praise, Resignation, Acquiescence, Dependance, Hope, Trust, above what I can remem|ber I ever enjoy'd: O that present Experience may strengthen my Faith in future Combats. Amen.

1698. June 22.] A chearful Morning, my Heart **appealing** to God, that Christ in my Choice, Religion my Business, the Holy Scriptures my Rule, Heaven my Design, the Saints my beloved Companions, the Ordinances my Delight, when I meet God in them, my Sorrow when I miss, &c.

Page 53

1701. <...> In a serious Review on the Year past, I find <◇> more abundant Mercies to me, a poor, vile ungrateful, unprofitable Creature, than I could ever have hop'd for, notwithstanding the peevish ill Temper of my Heart in the **Beginning** of it. How soon did the Lord pity, and pardon, and renew the Evi|dences of his Love to my Soul, and drew out my own and others Hearts to pray for d. Mr. B's Health, and heard, and answer'd sensibly and speedily, and hath continued his Health, in great Measure, ever since, &c.

Nov. 15.] **Having begg'd** the Assistance of the holy Spirit, and examin'd my Heart as to divine Teachings, I find God has powerfully, plainly, sen|sibly, affected my Heart; influenced the Means, my Mind, and Will thereby, in some good Measure sanctified my Heart, renew'd his Image, mortified Sin by hearty Conflict and Sorrow, rather than by Victory and Triumph: That Sin lives not an easy Life in my Soul, but is usually check'd in its Birth by the Holy Spirit, or follow'd with Shame and Sor|row, when not early stifled; and I am restless 'till Pardon and Peace be evidenced—The Spirit of God I hope, **is dwelling** in my Heart, by some ten|der Sympathy with Christ's Interest and Members; by Assistance to, in, and after Prayer; by some, tho' too little Heavenly-mindedness, and by practical Obe|dience agreeable to the Word.

1702. Jan. 3.] **Having earnestly begg'd** of God to search and try me; and if there were any Deceit in my Heart, I could not discover, that he would shew it to me: I consulted the Scripture, and aw'd my Heart with the Thoughts of the great Judgment before which I am shortly to appear; and then exa|mined myself seriously, faithfully, and impartially: And if I can know myself, the chief Design of my

Page 54

Life, for more than thirty Years past, has been to approve myself unto God: I have search'd with Fears of Mistakes, and am **willing** to know the worst of myself, and thankful for the most searching Sermons and Books: I hate what Sins I find, and would be rid of them: My Heart begs Sanctification as frequently and earnestly, and is as

desirous of it as of any **Blessing** of God's Covenant; and has mourned more under the delays of Answers of Prayer for this, than for any other Mercy I have sought. The inward, secret, and first Risings of Sin in my Heart, have been the most bitter Affliction of my Life: Nothing have I deprecated more than **being plung'd** into my own Filth; and been thankful for nothing more than Prevention or Recovery. Tho' I have mourned for the Sins of others, yet my greatest Hatred and **Mournjng** has been for my own Sins, which Hatred has been follow'd with true Edeavours to mortify them; yet I am doubtful whether my Heart be so sensibly touch'd for God's Dishonour in Company, as my own: In my Obedience, I find an Uniformity, as to the Object: I have a respect to all God's Commands; and as to the Subject, my whole Soul and Body, so far as re|new'd, moves the same Way: I trust on Covenant-Aids, and resolve to cleave to God in all Tryals: My Heart has been sway'd by God's Command, be|yond and without any other Argument: The little I can do, has been hearty, as to the Lord: When God enlarges my Heart, or uses me for any Service, my Soul hath been humbled—I can do no more, no better, yet thankful for any thing, and freely own all has been of his free Grace: That the bent of my Heart is for God, I conclude from my inward desire join'd with Love: This Inclination has been habitual, no sudden Pang: I have daily purposed and endea|your'd a Conscience void of Offence towards God,

Page 55

and Man; still **aiming** at more Degrees of Grace, to walk more circumspectly: Yet much Weakness and **Wanderings** in Duties to God, Inclinations to Par|tiality towards Men: Not so sensibly touch'd with Sorrow as I ought, when in Company I hear the Name of God taken in vain, nor have I oft dared to reprove it, which makes me avoid Company, to the Censure of Morosness: Yet I do hate the Sin, even where I do love the Company: I humbly hope my hatred of Sin is of the whole kind, in its first Motions, least Degrees; as Sin against God, more than for it's Trouble and Danger: I delight to be nothing in my own Eyes, and love to be laid low before God: I have and do love God, when smitten in my nearest Comforts, or lust, and have bless'd God for every Twig of his Rods: I love the Person of Christ, as his Benefits, and all that bear his Image, tho' in nothing else lovely: I love his Service, even when I fail of Comfort in it, and prefer his Image on my Soul to all his Benefits— [Jan. 4.] I dare not pursue my Examination farther; my Head fail'd, my Body fainted, and I could pray but shortly with the Ser|vants; my **wandering**

Heart, weak Head, and feeble Body, renders me very unable to pursue my Duty: Lord! strengthen, unite, and assist to better or accept feeble Attempts.

Feb. 7.] Upon the best Search I can make, if I were now at the awful Bar of God's Tribunal I must say, so far as I can judge of my Heart, it does hate all Sin as Sin: It is and loves to be humbled before God; it loves God for every Rebuke of its Lusts; it loves the Person of Christ in all his Offices, and every Soul that bears his Image, tho' in nothing else lovely; it would approve itself to God, when no Eye sees it; it chuses the Image of Christ more than all Comforts.

Page 56

March 24.] The good Spirit of God witnessed with my Spirit, to the marks of true Repentance; in hating Sin as Sin, forsaking Sin, and **flying** to Christ for **Cleansing**: Sorrow for Sin has been express'd by Tears, when Sense of **pardonning** Mercy hath frequently melted my Heart: It hath been more general, voluntary, and **lasting**, than for any Affliction; I therefore conclude God has pardoned my Sin for the Glory of his Sovereign Will, Mercy, Riches of Grace, Goodness, Truth, and Power, and has chosen, redeemed, and will receive me to Glory hereafter.

1703. Jan. 1.] In **reviewing** past Examinations, I have good hope that my State is safe; but **comparing** myself with Years past, and the Means and Mercies since enjoy'd, I suspect my growth in Grace.

1704. Dec. 31.] A most unworthy, froward, weak, and unprofitable Servant, yet not cast out of God's Family, and Care, but receiv'd fresh Instances of his Truth and Faithfulness to his Covenant-Promises; **aiding and strength'ning** my Soul in what I depended on him for, **pardonning** my peevish Spirit, **encouraging** my Hopes of Life more abundantly: I confess my Ingratitude, Dulness, Unfruitfulness under richest Mercies and Means of Grace, and begg'd Pardon, and Help to renew my Covenant in Christ's Strength, and more growth in Grace, and Meetness for Glory, of which I have some joyful Expectation that tunes my Heart to Praise.

1705. Nov. 24.] **Searching** into the sinfulness of my Thoughts, I find great Vanity, Inconsistency, Unfixedness, to my great Shame and Loss, and get little Victory even now when freed from many vexing Cares, formerly unavoidable: My Passions sly, and strong, and peevish, **disquieting** my Spirit too oft on little Temptation—My Words too idle, careless, injurious, or not so profitable as they should be—

Page 57

My Spirit too slothful and dull. My Time little improv'd for God's Honour, my own or others good. My Mercies more us'd for self than God—My spi|ritual Seasons add little to my growth: I am short in all personal and relative Duties; my secret Duties seldom vigorous, or the Impression of publick, **lasting** I seem to languish and decay in my spiritual Vigour, ordinarily to my Shame and Grief: Lord! pardon, and strengthen the things that remain.

1706. Feb. 21.] I heard a good Sermon on Re|conciliation with God, and have good hope, tho' Grace, all Hatred is ceas'd, and Friendship with God begun in my Soul: That God, who hath first lov'd me, hath circumcised my Heart to love him: I love all his Works, and hope he accepts mine, thro' Christ: I love his Children, and have receiv'd many Love Tokens from him, and do unfeignedly give myself to him: I bless the Lord for his transcendant Love, and beg, above all Blessings, the Evidences of it; and act Faith on Christ for **maintaining** Friendship with God: I renounce all contrary Friendships, and desire alway to please God, whatever I suffer for so **doing**.

Octob. 25, 26.] I set closely to examine my State, and begg'd of God to discover whatever Mistake I might have been under in my former Tryals, which I review'd, and the sad Instance of—Still a fear|ful Apostate, did perplex my Mind; his Knowledge of the Law was great; his Examination seemingly serious, and with great Application of Mind; his **cleaving** to Christ seem'd hearty, &c. But I must try by Scripture, and have no reason to believe that will deceive me, and I beg of God my Heart may not deceive me: I have review'd the Tryals I have made, and cannot find I am mistaken — Mr. Vines distinguishes the true Christian from an Hypocrite

Page 58

thus—His hatred to Sin, and **liking** to God arise from an inward Nature or Principle. Lord! my Consci|ence does not reproach me when I say, I hate the whole Species of Sin, and whatever appears so to me: I love the whole Law of God for it's Purity, and my Soul pants daily for more Conformity to it.—The inward Man of a Christian is made up of Christ. Lord! Thou knowest the little Knowledge of, and Faith in, and Love to, and Tastes of Christ, I have had, have made me hate and mourn for Sin, and love Christ, and I do fight against Sin in his Strength— I have felt the **Teachings** of God, and do love my adorable Lord Jesus, for himself— My Repentance and Sorrow for Sin is most

pungent, when under the Power of Love—I desire Grace for Service, as well as Salvation; true Grace casts out Self-Love: It comes from and draws the Soul into Union and Acquaintance with Christ: Lord! I love my Soul and Body when they love and serve thee: I hate that either should dishonour thee: I am **willing** to deny myself any thing for thee; yet I fear too much Indulgence of Self, by Sloth, and Love of Ease—To love and seek God for himself is above the Power of all common Gifts: O Lord! thou hast made my Soul to love thee for thy glorious Excellencies and Perfections, as well as thy **redeeming** Love, tho' not always so distinctly as I would—From these and such like Evidences, upon the most diligent Search I can make, I dare not but conclude, I am a sincere Christian, and no Hypocrite.

Decemb. 7.] On many Years Experience, I can discover no Guile in **Covenanting** with God from 1689 to this Day: I still willingly, freely, constantly, rejoicingly renew the same Covenant, and depend on it for Grace and Strength to walk more evenly, constantly, and suitably to it: I bewail the frequent

Page 59

Interruptions in my Communion with God, thro' my Sloth and **Wandering**; the frequent Foils, by hated **indwelling** Corruptions: I fly for Refuge to the Hope set before me; here will I cast my Anchor, Lord! let it secure my Rest, when Storms in Life or Death arise.

1708. April 30.] I searched my Heart and Ways by **reflecting** on many Years past; and from all, have good Hope and Evidence still of my true Conversion to God, and can appeal my continued Resolution to be his ever since 1673.—

1709. April 11.] My Head is so dull and torpid, I can do little at Heart-Examination; but so far as I can discern, I have, on most mature Deliberation, embraced Christ in all his Offices: I entirely yield up myself to his **sanctifying** and **disposing** Will, and bewail my short Performances, as my greatest Affliction, and am **willing** to die for Cure: Lord! fit me for, and hasten me to eternal Purity and Glory.

June 12.] Lord! thou knowest I love all that bear thy Image, so far as it appears, tho' **differing** from me in lesser Things, tho' injurious to me: And tho' I love not Thee, or them, as I ought and would, yet I aim at perfect Love in Obedience to Thee.

Decemb. 20.] In Meditation on the holy Law of God, my Heart consents to it, and I acknowledge God my sovereign rightful Owner and Ruler, and Felicity: And I would rather be more conform'd to his holy Nature and Laws, than have all the Honour and

Pleasures this World can afford: I hate and mourn over the Obliquity of my corrupted Nature, more than any Pain, Shame, or Loss, or earthly Cross I ever felt: I adore, and love, and joy in Jesus, my Redeemer, more than all the temporal Mercies I enjoy. The Lord knows that this is thus.

Page 60

1710. Nov. 17, 18.] I reflected on the Covenant I have long since made, and oft, with Joy, renew'd, and was never **willing** to retract: And I still find my Grief, and Sorrow, and Shame for my natural Pollution and Estrangement from God, exceeds all the Sorrow and Trouble I have for any Loss, Cross, or Disappointment, in this World, tho' not so passionate, yet more durable: And I do esteem it the worst Misery I feel, that I can love God no more; that I can honour and serve him no better— I am not a **willing** Subject to Satan, I resist his Motions, I abhor his Rule, and fly to my Redeemer for Strength to overcome all his Temptations—I do not consent to, nor indulge the Interest of the Flesh: I struggle against its Dominion: I would allow it nothing but what tends to make it more serviceable to the Glory of God, and the Good of my immortal Soul—I don't take up with this World for my Portion, I had rather be deny'd any Thing in it, if I may thereby enjoy more of God: I less desire it's Honours, Riches, and Pleasures than formerly: I thankfully own thy Bounty, O Lord! in **supplying** my Wants, in **sweetning** my nearest Relations, and a thousand Comforts I enjoy: But, Lord! I will not take this for my Portion, I had rather lose them all than the Light of thy Countenance, so far I know my Heart—I do daily, thankfully, joyfully accept of and rely on the Lord Jesus Christ, as offered in the Gospel, to justify my poor, miserable, guilty Soul, that has nothing in it but Sin and Misery, and must perish for ever, if thou wilt not pity and save it; but hopes to cast it's Crown at thy Feet, and cry, Grace, Grace: Lord! I accept thy Government with equal Desire, as any of thy Benefits, and would be saved from my Sin, O Lord! thou knowest: I except not against thy Cross, tho' thou call for Life

Page 61

itself, or any thing in it; but I am afraid of my poor feeble, timorous Spirit: Lord! I rely on thy Strength never leave me to desert thy Interest, whatever it cost me. Lord! Jehovah! Father! Son! and Holy Spirit! I still give myself to Thee, to thy Praise: Lord! thy Glory is my ultimate End: All I am, or have, or can do, is of the Lord, and from him; with Joy and Thankfulness I recognize thy Right, and yield up my self to the Sanctifying Power of the Spirit, **consenting** that thou shouldest cleanse my unholy

Heart in what way thou pleasest, and write thy Law there, and make me Obedient: And to thy **Disposing** Will, as the Rule of my Patience, that thou shouldst subdue every murmuring Thought at any thing thou dost with me, or mine: Lord! I am a Fool, thou art Wise, let thy Will be done. Amen.

1713. March 22.] I cannot deny the Marks of a true Love to thee, O Lord! I do value thee above all, and do verily hope that I can part with all for thee: I am sure I have a Love for Ordinances, and a Thirst after thy self: That there is no Pleasure so great to me as Communion with thee; no Grief so **lasting** and so pungent, as a Distance and Strangeness from thee: I have not ordinarily and hard Thoughts of thee; I am sure I allow of none: I have a filial Fear of **offending** thee, especially when smiled on: I can mourn heartily for **grieving** thee, when thou evidencest pardoning Love: My studied, allow'd, and most pleasant Meditations are of thee: I chuse thy Interest, and would ever prefer it to my own: I love thy Memory, and to commemorate thy dying Love at thy Table: I do commend thy Love to all others; but Oh! that it were more feelingly and fervently: I am griev'd when thy Name is prophan'd, tho' not Valiant enough in **resenting** the Affront: I love thy Image, but yet too apt to despise where stain'd and

Page 62

faulty: I would obey all thy Commands more sincere|ly, freely, constantly, in the most difficult Articles, and most dangerous Seasons; Lord! help me: Eter|nal God-Man! I love thy Person, as thy Benefits: I love thy sweet Disposition, and aim at Likeness, but get too little: I adore thee as Son and Servant of God, as my Redeemer, Husband, and Advocate; I would submit, and be faithful, loyal, and **loving**: I adore thy Suitableness; feel my Need, and accept thee in all thy Offices: I adore and love thee for all thy Graces, and strive to imitate them: I adore and love thee for all thine Ordinances, wherein thou hast many a time shew'd me thy unparallell'd Love.

1715. June 18.] In **searching** my Heart, I still find good hope thro' Grace, that I am thy Child, tho' the most unworthy one that could ever call thee Father: And how oft do I forfeit the Relation, and all its Pri|vileges! by my unruly, undutiful Carriage, and un|filial Temper of Spirit: O Lord! I own thy Right to rule and dispose of me; and I own it my Happi|ness: I have solemnly, willingly, chearfully devoted myself to thee, to be taught thy Will, with a full Re|solution to obey and submit; to be healed of the Plague in my Heart, by any Method thou shalt chuse: I rely on thy Satisfaction and Intercession alone for Pardon and Reconciliation: I give myself to thy Di|rection, with Resolution to

follow thy Guidances always; and to thy Disposal, with Resolution to acquiesce in all thou dost: Yet Lord! my treacherous Heart rebels; obeys not thy Precepts; frets at thy Methods of **curing** my sinful Soul; unapt to understand thy Guidance, or negligent in **following**; and so fretful and peevish at thy Disposals, as if it would be its own Carver, and base Self its own Center: O Lord! I am amaz'd, ashamed, and sorrowful at these **remaining** Seeds of the old Apostacy; this Pride In|gratitude,

Page 63

gratitude, Folly; Lord! when shall I be healed! Wash me thoroughly; and make me clean: Renew thine Image, and it is enough, whatever else thou denyest me: I willingly bind my Soul to thee against all Sin, more especially this Sin that does so easily beset me, the Displacency of my Spirit at thy wise and holy Disposals: Lord! I own it's most unjust, unreasonable, ungrateful, yet I cannot conquer without thy Strength, and in that I covenant never to indulge it— I hate my uncharitable, peevish Resentments of Injuries, and hardness to forgive and forget: Lord! encrease my Faith, that I may do better: I now will covenant in thy Strength to walk more God-like, holily, and righteously, and be more inwardly and universally good in all Places and Relations, in closer Communion with God, in Ordinances and Providences, and to watch against all Sin, and be more diligent in all Duty: But, Lord! without thee I can do nothing: I am oppressed, Lord! undertake for me.

1716. June 30.] In **searching** my Heart, I have still good hope that my Beloved is mine, and I am his, tho' still a poor, weak unworthy, defiled Child, **loathing** myself, **hating** my Sin, ashamed I get no more Victory, under such Means so many Chastisements, and more Mercies, but still find such **Bubblings** of Corruption on every proper Temptation: Yet bless the Lord, O my Soul! for speedy Recovery, and gracious Aids of the holy Spirit **calming** my Mind, and **raising** my Affections above this World—The Righteousness of Christ is sufficient, and I depend on it for Pardon, **Healing**, Conduct, Perseverance to Eternal Life—I would be at thy Disposal, not my own, tho' too often my Flesh would have what thou seest good to deny—Whatever Decays of Nature I feel, or must yet suffer, let thy Grace grow and encrease

Page 64

daily more and more, 'till thou bring me to Glory: Many Dangers and Difficulties are still in my Way home: Flesh and Heart may fail, the World frown or flatter, my Heart is

deceitful, the Devil subtle and malicious; but thou, Captain of my Salvation! hast fill'd that Character to all, that ever truly trusted thy Conduct: On thee my Soul relies; O fail not to perform all thy Work in and for me, 'till I cast my Crown at thy Feet, and sing Hallelujah to the Lamb for ever.

Sept. 22.] My Head was clouded, and much in|dispos'd for Self-Examination; yet in **reviewing** my Heart and Life since the last Sacrament, I find the Frailty of my own Resolution, soon after the **renew|ing** of my Covenant; but since June 21. I have found my Redeemer's Strength sufficient for his weakest Children; his Pity, Pardon, and Patience to the most Unworthy: I long to feel the powerful Influences of thy Love, making it more natural to me to love my Brethren, tho' injurious, frail, ungrateful, as I have ever been to thee; to pity, forgive, and do good to Enemies, as thou hast done to me, while I was thy Enemy: Lord! slay all Enmities in my Soul, and help me to resist every angry Resentment faithfully in thy Strength: O holy Spirit of Love and Peace, rule in my Heart.

Decemb. 31.] On review of the Year past, I must still witness to the Truth and Mercy of God, who has not turn'd away from **doing** me good: I acknow|ledge with Shame and Sorrow, the Pride, Passion, and Peevishness of my Spirit, under slight Temptations, against Convictions, penitent Confessions, Resolutions, Prayers, and Tears—Innumerable, vain, and sinful Thoughts, and Words, yet the Lord has spared me this Year also: Has restored my **Hearing**, continued my Sight, preserved my Limbs, provided abundantly

Page 65

Food and Rayment, given me more Health than many of my Age, eas'd my Pains heal'd my Diseases, many a time, when I cried to him: But, Oh! the rich Grace and Mercy to my Soul, when almost over|whelm'd with Sorrow, to find such Remainders of Sin in myself, and others, dear to God and me— Very sweet the Sabbaths, and all the Sacraments of this Year have been—Many gracious Answers of Prayers for myself and sick Friends—And now, Lord! I acknowledge the Sweetness of **following** thy Con|duct, **relying** on thy Strength, **depending** on thy Word; the Pleasantness of thy Ways, only my slips in, or **stepping** out of thy Paths, have made all the Bitterness of this Year— Lord! enable me to keep the Resolution of the Year; to leave every Circum|stance of my

future Life and Death to God; to be watchful over my Words; to do to others as I would they should do to me—I acknowledge the Multitude, the Seasonableness, the Extensiveness of the National Mercies, in Answer to the Prayers of a poor Remnant, who cried to God by themselves, and obtain'd a double Defeat of the Enemies at Dumblain and Preston, while **praying** on the Lord's Day: But, Oh! how short our Returns of Praise and Duty.

1718. June 14.] Very dull and drowsy all this Day: I have often covenanted to be the Lord's, with Soul and Spirit, Will and Affections, but yet how treacherous and unprofitable: I have renounced Sin, Self, this World, yet how oft overcome by them? I have taken Christ Jesus, the Lord, on his own Terms, to love, and obey, and serve him, but how short in all? I have given myself to God thro' Christ, to the **sanctifying** Operations of the Holy Spirit, to the **commanding** Power of his Law, and the Disposals of his Providence, and would be to him a Praise, yet how oft to him a Dishonour? Lord! I still resolve

Page 66

in thy Strength; be Surety for thy weak, but **willing** Servant.

1719. Jan. 8.] I search'd my Heart and Ways, and found I had been an ill Subject to my Lord and King, but would be better; yet upon farthest Search, I could not conclude I had been a Traitor to my dear Lord.

1720. April 30.] In **searching** into myself; Lord! how many of the Seven and Seven Abominations are still in my Heart, even when they break not forth into Words or Actions! For these I loath myself, and daily cry for Pardon and **Healing**: Lord! encrease my Faith in thy Power and Compassion to cleanse my leprous Soul: For this it was I came first to, and still rely upon thee; and **am** this Day **devoting** myself afresh to God, my Portion, Redeemer, and Sanctifier.

9 Resources

Primary sources

An account of life and death of Mrs. Elizabeth Bury who died, May the 11th 1720 aged 76. Chiefly collected out of her own diary; together with her elegy, by the Reverend Dr. Watts. *Evans Early American Imprint Collection* [online]. Text Creation Partnership, 2005-10 [cit. 2017-07-05]. Dostupné z: <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=evans;idno=N04177.0001.001>

Anne Murray, Lady Halkett (c. 1622/3-1699) [online]. 2006 [cit. 2017-07-5]. Dostupné z: <http://www.jimandellen.org/halkett/memoir.show.html>

EVANS, Katharine a Sarah CHEVERS. *This is a short relation Of some Cruel Sufferings (For the Truths sake) of Katharine Evans & Sarah Chevers, In the Inquisition in the Isle of Malta*. London, 1662.

GREENBLATT, Stephen a M. H. ABRAMS. *The Norton anthology of English literature*. 8th ed. New York: W.W. Norton, c2006. ISBN 0393925315.

Letters of Elizabeth I. *The Elizabeth Files* [online]. 2017 [cit. 2017-07-01]. Dostupné z: <http://www.elizabethfiles.com/resources/letters-of-elizabeth-i/>

Mary's Letters [online]. [cit. 2017-07-01]. Dostupné z: <http://www.marie-stuart.co.uk/letters.htm>

MONTAGU, Mary Wortley a James Archibald Stuart-Wortley-Mackenzie WHARNCLIFFE. *The letters and works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*. London: R. Bentley, 1837.

STUART, Arabella a Sara Jayne STEEN. *The letters of Lady Arbella Stuart*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. ISBN 0195087186.

The Book of Margery Kempe. *Robbins Library Digital Projects* [online]. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institut Publications, 1994 [cit. 2017-06-30]. Dostupné z: <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/staley-the-book-of-margery-kempe>

The Shewings of Julian of Norwich. *Robbins Library Digital Projects* [online]. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institut Publications, 1994 [cit. 2017-06-30]. Dostupné z: <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/crampton-shewings-of-julian-norwich>

Secondary sources

BAUGH, Albert Croll. *A history of the English language*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957.

COMRIE, Bernard. *Language universals and linguistic typology: syntax and morphology*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989. ISBN 0-226-11433-3.

CRYSTAL, David. *The Cambridge encyclopedia of language*. 3rd ed. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-73650-3.

DUŠKOVÁ, Libuše. *Mluvnice současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny*. 4. vyd. Praha: Academia, 2012. ISBN 978-80-200-2211-0.

ELSNES, Johan. *ICAME journal: computers in English linguistics*. 18. Bergen, Norway: Norwegian Computing Centre for the Humanities, 1994. ISSN 15025462.

GELDEREN, Elly van. *A history of the English language*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins, c2006. ISBN 978-90-272-3237-3.

GRADDOL, David., Dick LEITH a Joan. SWANN. *English: history, diversity, and change*. New York: Routledge, 1996. ISBN 0-415-13118-9.

GREENBAUM, Sidney a Randolph QUIRK. *A student's grammar of the English language*. London: Longman, 1991. ISBN 0-582-05971-2.

HLADKÝ, Josef. *A guide to pre-modern English*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2003. ISBN 80-210-3219-7.

IGLESIAS RÁBADE, Luis. *Handbook of Middle English: grammar and texts*. Muenchen: Lincom, 2003. ISBN 3-89586-580-x.

LUELSDORFF, Philip A., ed. *The Prague school of structural and functional linguistics: a short introduction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, c1994. ISBN 1-55619-266-5.

PETRLÍKOVÁ, Jarmila. *Collected lectures on historical development of English*. Plzeň: Západočeská univerzita v Plzni, 2009. ISBN 978-80-7043-780-3.