

NEWDIGATE NEWSLETTERS
NUMBERS 1 THROUGH 2100
(3 JANUARY 1673/4 THROUGH 11 JUNE 1692)

TRANSCRIBED AND EDITED BY
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THE NEWDIGATE NEWSLETTERS

INTRODUCTION

This is a printed version of the first 2100 manuscript newsletters in the Newdigate series. The whole collection has 3950 such letters, most of them addressed to Sir Richard Newdigate (d. 1710), Arbury, Warwickshire; they date from 13 January 1673/4 to 29 September 1715 and are now at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D. C. They were issued on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays by the Secretary of State's office and were usually written on three sides of a bifolium--the first recto, then first verso, then second recto. The scribe next turned the sheet sideways and filled the left margins of the three pages in inverse order, ending on the first recto (except in the very few cases when

letters continued through the upper third or--rarely--upper half of the second verso). He then folded the letter in thirds and addressed it on the (usually) blank second verso. Letters in the present edition come up through 11 June 1692.

These letters are especially valuable as primary-document sources, with much matter of intrinsic interest on the Stuart courts and those of most of Europe; on social, diplomatic, and military history; parliamentary news; commercial and maritime relations, particularly those with the colonies in North America and the Indies, West and East. They report on the whole history of the Popish Plot. They have seventeen items, from 29 December to 15 March, on activities on the River Thames during the Great Frost of 1683-84. They cast light on the early history of the press in England. Indeed, they cover nearly all the period from the Restoration to the Hanoverian succession, when newsletters began in

Britain on a regular basis and then became the most important medium for domestic news, their spread much stimulated by the coming of the penny post in 1680.

My intention has been to let the worth of these unedited letters speak for itself, to change as little of the original spelling and punctuation as possible so as to preserve content, style, tone, and linguistic integrity. In fact, this edition began as an aid to readers of the handwritten letters. The collection is readable and clear in such a printed form. I have thus made a good road through the often difficult, crowded, and faded "terrain" of the several handwritings, enabling a reader to examine not eight or ten letters per day but perhaps seventy-five or more. If the problem has been that until recently few scholars could find a sufficient number of newsletters to study, this edition makes such a collection both accessible and easy to read.

Since sentences in the letters frequently lack terminal punctuation, I have been very careful to observe an interval of two spaces between sentences; I omit the address to Newdigate on the second verso, and from the relatively few letters that have them I omit salutations (usually "Sr" or "Sir," often elaborately written). Others of my editorial rules are:

-I indent the first line of paragraphs as the scribes do--three spaces or five (usually five)--and regularize larger indentations at five spaces.

-I use the plus sign (+) to show the start of a new paragraph when the scribes do not indent, as they frequently do not at the beginning of letters and at the start of a paragraph at the top of a verso or new folio.

-I note, usually at the start of letters, changes in handwriting since most changes occur there. In very few cases changes come within a letter, but almost never more than once. Some evidence emerges that letters were at least slightly edited, for at times a word is added or an error corrected in another contemporary hand.

-I omit catchwords and words clearly repeated in error.

-When it is necessary to omit a blotted or illegible word or phrase, I note the size of the omission. (An example is in the first paragraph of Letter 1.)

-When a whole letter, a paragraph, or a sizable part (usually three or more lines) is identical with or very similar to an earlier part, I so note and omit the repetition. (An example is in Letter 56.)

-I omit hyphens often placed on each side of written numbers

(e. g., "-2-", "-5-").

-I regularize when in doubt that a letter is upper or lower case.

-I put editorial notes in the text and then only when absolutely

necessary. In the notes the phrase "outside of letter" is

interchangeable with "second verso."

-I make three small concessions to modern technology:

1. I regularize superior letters.
2. I omit punctuation marks under such letters.
3. I omit the few circumflexes over vowels (e. g.,

"th", "thr",) and print dates in this form--

"Sept. 12/22" or "Dec. 20/30"--that the scribe
— — — —

writes "Sept. 12" or "Dec. 20."

Dates on the letters are all old style. The Folger Library's call

numbers for the letters start at L. c. 1 and end at L. c. 3950. I use this system to number the letters in this edition.

These letters cover more years than does Narcissus Luttrell's "Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs" (6 vols., Oxford, 1857, reprinted Wilmington, Del., 1974), which extends from late September 1678 to 1 April 1714. The works have many items that are similar but never identical; Luttrell's are usually briefer, less specific, and often of later date, at times appearing to be from the same source as Newdigate's but edited. Also, gaps occur in both series, Newdigate's having fifteen of from a month to almost four years:

-22 May--23 June 1674

-11 December 1684--18 February 1685/6 except for one letter on

9 January 1685/6

-24 March 1687/8--23 October 1688

-26 September 1689--10 November 1691 except for single letters

on 16 and 30 January, 20 March 1689/90, and 7 February 1690/1

-7 January 1691/2--4 June 1692

-23 June--20 August 1692

-23 March 1696/7--18 January 1700/1

-20 March 1700/1--30 May 1704 except for an undated letter and

other single letters on 5 July 1701, 14 May, 9 July, 20 August,

and 13 and 20 October 1702

-27 June--19 September 1704

-2 February 1705/6--30 March 1706

-8 May--1 July 1707

-6 September 1707--10 February 1707/8 except for single letters

on 8 October and 6 December 1707 and two letters on 1 January

1707/8

-30 July--17 September 1709

-22 December 1709--2 April 1712 except for single letters on 16

March 1709/10 and 8 June 1710 and an undated letter

-11 August--15 October 1713

(See below, pp. 9-11, for a different presentation of these gaps.)

Luttrell's work has only two such gaps, 31 March 1711 to 1 January 1711/2

and 9 February 1711/2 to 25 March 1714. But since he has entries for

only seventeen days in January and early February 1711/2 and four days

in late March 1714, his coverage in effect ends with 31 March 1711.

(Similarly, the two largest gaps in Newdigate, March 1696/7 to January

1700/1 and March 1700/1 to late May 1704, connected by only the twenty-

six letters of January, February, and March, 1700/1 and the seven others

until almost June 1704, make in effect a "crater" of more than seven

years in the coverage of this series.) Of course, both works have dozens

of smaller gaps.

Further as to two gaps in Newdigate cited above, the second one shows that the collection is silent upon the last two months of Charles II's reign, his final illness and death, and the first year of James II's reign. Even so, more than 340 letters are dated within the rest of James's tenure, and the letters feature no one or nothing more than they do the sovereign. And a note in Newdigate's hand on the second verso of Letter 230 shows that he knew of the first gap:

R. H. Newes being a transcript of

Sr Joseph Williamson from ye 13 of Jan: 73/4

at wch time I began to have them untill the

1st of Oct 75. but many are wanting viz

all May June 74 & Mar. 75 and many others.

But this note raises confusion too: the collection has ten letters from

May 1674 (including two each on 2 and 9 May) and three from late June.

And from March 1674/5--to which the note must refer--the collection has fourteen letters (including two on 18 March) with only one four-day gap; from March 1675/6--which is later than the last date in the note--it has eleven letters (including two on 4 March) and one six-day gap; even in March 1673/4 it has eleven letters (including two on 14 March) and a four-day and an eight-day gap. So which March is meant? Perhaps the letters from "Mar. 75" were acquired later since it is very unlikely that those from Williamson are just part of the collection. Or perhaps the note-writer has made an error. (Williamson was Under-Secretary of State, 1660-74; Secretary of State, 1674-79; and Keeper of State Papers and of the Royal Library, 1661-1701.)

Other good points are made in the next five indented paragraphs and list of letters per month, 1674-1715, quoted from the Folger Library's

brief "Key" to the series, although some points have to do with letters

later than June 1692. The "Key" also uses the note just discussed

above:

That these were at the beginning the official Newsletter of

Sir Joseph Williamson is shown by the pencilled note in Sir

Richard Newdigate's hand on the verso of L. c. 230, 28 Sep. 1675.

That at least two other newsletters are included is suggested by

the following evidence:

a. Letters of Henry Muddiman: L. c. 1411, 2 Aug. 1683 gives proof

through the note on its verso that Sir Richard also subscribed

to the letters of his personal friend, Muddiman. (The Whitehall

heading is, in itself, sufficient identification.) These letters

ran regularly for a period of several months. Now and then they

appear at other times ... as may be seen in ... L. c. 2317, 28 Apr.

1694....

b. In 1708 and 1709 a second series of letters appears once again.

Letters received during that period were dated and identified on

the verso, one of the following codes being usual: nNl, oNL, WNL,

DNL. On L. c. 3271 and 3272, however, is found "6 nov 1708 News

old" and "Nov 6: 1708 new N'let." News old is equal to oNL which,

in turn, is equal to W[for Williamson]NL. The identification of

the DNL is still in doubt, at least from the evidence of the

letters alone. Williamson's letters were franked, while those of

"D" were paid.

That the newsletters were usually sent out with a one page

printed advice ("The Gazette"?--see L. c. 2360 which is the only

printed matter in the collection) is easily seen by the frequency

of faint fresh ink transfers on the first page.

Ordinarily ... 12, 13, or 14 [letters were sent] each month. In some periods two were occasionally sent on the same day, and for a time during 1708 and 1709 this became common practice (there being 22 letters each for June and October 1708). In all parts of the 42-year span there were small irregularities in the spacing. ...also, letters appear to have been lost, so that there are many gaps.... It is impossible to determine how many of these losses occurred after Newdigate received the letters and how many, if any, resulted from loss in transit. It is possible also that for some periods, long or short, the letters were not sent. There are indications, however, that losses did occur after receipt. The total of the gaps may be appreciated by calculating that 13 letters per month would have amounted to 6500 letters over the whole period, while what we have

are 3950, or approximately 60 percent.

In the list below, for each month the date of the first letter is given, followed by the Folger serial number. From these numbers it will be apparent how many letters will be found for any month. ... for ... simplicity the dates are [here] modernized. Undated letters (of which there are perhaps a score) remain in the positions in which they were found in the bound volumes.

| 1674 | 1675 | 1676 | 1677 | 1678 |
|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Jan 13 1 | Jan 2 128 | Jan 1 270 | Jan 3 418 | Jan 3 571 |
| Feb 3 11 | Feb 2 141 | Feb 2 283 | Feb 3 430 | Feb 2 585 |
| Mar 3 24 | Mar 1 151 | Mar 4 295 | Mar 1 442 | Mar 2 596 |
| Apr 2 35 | Apr 1 165 | Apr 1 306 | Apr 1 456 | Apr 4 610 |

| | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| May 2 43 | May 1 177 | May 3 320 | May 4 470 | May 2 621 |
| Jun 23 53 | Jun 1 189 | Jun 2 330 | Jun 1 481 | Jun 1 635 |
| Jul 4 56 | Jul 1 200 | Jul 4 343 | Jul 3 496 | Jul 1 648 |
| Aug 1 67 | Aug 5 209 | Aug 1 356 | Aug 4 509 | Aug 1 662 |
| Sep 3 78 | Sep 4 221 | Sep 1 369 | Sep 7 522 | Sep 2 676 |
| Oct 1 88 | Oct 2 232 | Oct 3 383 | Oct 3 534 | Oct 3 689 |
| Nov 1 102 | Nov 2 246 | Nov 1 392 | Nov 1 546 | Nov 1 699 |
| Dec 1 114 | Dec 2 259 | Dec 1 405 | Dec 1 559 | Dec 2 713 |

1679

1680

1681

1682

1683

| | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|
| Jan 2 727 | Jan 1 881 | Jan 4 1028 | Jan 3 1168 | Jan 2 1319 |
| Feb 1 740 | Feb 2 895 | Feb 1 1036 | Feb 2 1179 | Feb 1 1332 |
| Mar 1 753 | Mar 1 907 | Mar 1 1048 | Mar 2 1188 | Mar 1 1344 |
| Apr 3 767 | Apr 1 919 | Apr 2 1060 | Apr 1 1200 | Apr 3 1358 |
| May 1 779 | May 1 929 | May 3 1071 | May 4 1214 | May 1 1370 |
| Jun 2 792 | Jun 3 942 | Jun 4 1083 | Jun 1 1224 | Jun 2 1384 |
| Jul 3 805 | Jul 1 954 | Jul 2 1095 | Jul 1 1236 | Jul 3 1397 |
| Aug 2 818 | Aug 3 968 | Aug 4 1108 | Aug 1 1252 | Aug 2 1410 |
| Sep 1 829 | Sep 7 979 | Sep 1 1119 | Sep 2 1269 | Sep 1 1427 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|
| Oct 2 | 843 | Oct 2 | 990 | Oct 1 | 1132 | Oct 3 | 1282 | Oct 2 | 1444 |
| Nov 1 | 856 | Nov 1 | 1002 | Nov 5 | 1144 | Nov 2 | 1295 | Nov 1 | 1458 |
| Dec 1 | 868 | Dec 1 | 1015 | Dec 1 | 1155 | Dec 2 | 1307 | Dec 6 | 1464 |

1684

1685

1686

1687

1688

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|------|--|--|--------|------|-------|------|--------|------|
| Jan 1 | 1472 | | | Jan 9 | 1626 | Jan 1 | 1755 | Jan 3 | 1903 |
| Feb 2 | 1491 | | | Feb 18 | 1627 | Feb 1 | 1768 | Feb 2 | 1916 |
| Mar 1 | 1504 | | | Mar 2 | 1631 | Mar 1 | 1779 | Mar 1 | 1922 |
| Apr 1 | 1517 | | | Apr 1 | 1642 | Apr 2 | 1792 | | |
| May 1 | 1530 | | | May 1 | 1654 | May 3 | 1804 | | |
| Jun 3 | 1544 | | | Jun 1 | 1665 | Jun 2 | 1815 | | |
| Jul 1 | 1556 | | | Jul 1 | 1676 | Jul 2 | 1828 | | |
| Aug 2 | 1570 | | | Aug 3 | 1690 | Aug 2 | 1838 | | |
| Sep 2 | 1583 | | | Sep 2 | 1703 | Sep 1 | 1851 | | |
| Oct 2 | 1596 | | | Oct 2 | 1715 | Oct 1 | 1864 | Oct 23 | 1932 |
| Nov 1 | 1609 | | | Nov 2 | 1728 | Nov 1 | 1877 | Nov 8 | 1933 |
| Dec 2 | 1621 | | | Dec 2 | 1742 | Dec 1 | 1889 | Dec 1 | 1942 |

| 1689 | 1690 | 1691 | 1692 | 1693 |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| Jan 1 1955 | Jan 16 2068 | | Jan 2 2095 | Jan 3 2123 |
| Feb 2 1967 | | Feb 7 2071 | | Feb 2 2134 |
| Mar 2 1983 | Mar 20 2070 | | | Mar 2 2146 |
| Apr 2 1997 | | | | Apr 1 2159 |
| May 2 2010 | | | | May 2 2172 |
| Jun 1 2023 | | | Jun 4 2098 | Jun 6 2182 |
| Jul 2 2035 | | | | Jul 1 2193 |
| Aug 1 2047 | | | Aug 20 2105 | Aug 1 2203 |
| Sep 3 2059 | | | Sep 13 2106 | Sep 2 2217 |
| | | | Oct 4 2111 | Oct 3 |
| 2229 | | | | |
| | | Nov 10 2072 | Nov 3 2115 | Nov 2 |
| 2242 | | | | |
| | | Dec 1 2081 | Dec 6 2119 | Dec 2 |
| 2254 | | | | |

| 1694 | 1695 | 1696 | 1697 | 1698 |
|------------|------------|------------|------------|------|
| Jan 2 2268 | Jan 1 2415 | Jan 2 2567 | Jan 2 2716 | |
| Feb 1 2281 | Feb 2 2429 | Feb 1 2579 | Feb 2 2729 | |

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|
| Mar 1 | 2294 | Mar 2 | 2441 | Mar 3 | 2591 | Mar 2 | 2745 |
| Apr 3 | 2308 | Apr 2 | 2454 | Apr 2 | 2604 | | |
| May 3 | 2318 | May 2 | 2467 | May 2 | 2617 | | |
| Jun 2 | 2330 | Jun 1 | 2480 | Jun 2 | 2631 | | |
| Jul 3 | 2342 | Jul 2 | 2491 | Jul 2 | 2644 | | |
| Aug 4 | 2355 | Aug 1 | 2502 | Aug 1 | 2652 | | |
| Sep 1 | 2366 | Sep 3 | 2516 | Sep 1 | 2663 | | |
| Oct 2 | 2378 | Oct 1 | 2528 | Oct 1 | 2676 | | |
| Nov 1 | 2392 | Nov 2 | 2542 | Nov 3 | 2690 | | |
| Dec 1 | 2404 | Dec 3 | 2554 | Dec 1 | 2702 | | |

1699

1700

1701

1702

1703

Jan 18 2755

Feb 1 2761

Mar 1 2772

May 14 2782

Jul 5 2781

Jul 9 2783

Aug 20 2784

Oct 13 2785

| 1704 | 1705 | 1706 | 1707 | 1708 |
|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | Jan 2 2837 | Jan 1 2963 | Jan 2 3092 | Jan 1 3157 |
| | Feb 1 2850 | Feb 2 2977 | Feb 1 3104 | Feb 10 3159 |
| | Mar 1 2862 | Mar 30 2978 | Mar 1 3117 | Mar 2 3166 |
| | Apr 3 2874 | Apr 4 2979 | Apr 5 3131 | Apr 1 3171 |
| May 30 2787 | May 1 2881 | May 4 2986 | May 3 3133 | May 1 3173 |
| Jun 3 2788 | Jun 2 2890 | Jun 1 3000 | | Jun 1 3185 |
| | Jul 5 2903 | Jul 2 3014 | Jul 1 3136 | Jul 13 3208 |
| | Aug 2 2912 | Aug 1 3027 | Aug 5 3143 | Aug 5 3216 |
| Sep 19 2794 | Sep 1 2923 | Sep 3 3041 | Sep 6 3154 | Sep 4 3232 |
| Oct 3 2800 | Oct 2 2935 | Oct 1 3053 | Oct 18 3155 | Oct 2 3247 |
| Nov 2 2812 | Nov 1 2947 | Nov 2 3066 | | Nov 2 3269 |
| Dec 2 2824 | Dec 6 2957 | Dec 3 3079 | Dec 6 3156 | Dec 2 3286 |
| 1709 | 1710 | 1711 | 1712 | 1713 |

| | | | | | |
|--------|------|--------|------|--------|------|
| Jan 1 | 3297 | | | Jan 1 | 3557 |
| Feb 1 | 3319 | | | Feb 3 | 3571 |
| Mar 1 | 3335 | Mar 16 | 3454 | Mar 3 | 3583 |
| Apr 2 | 3357 | | | Apr 2 | 3457 |
| | | | | Apr 7 | 3598 |
| May 3 | 3376 | | | May 1 | 3460 |
| | | | | May 2 | 3609 |
| Jun 2 | 3399 | Jun 8 | 3455 | Jun 3 | 3471 |
| | | | | Jun 2 | 3622 |
| Jul 5 | 3415 | | | Jul 1 | 3481 |
| | | | | Jul 2 | 3635 |
| | | | | Aug 5 | 3493 |
| 3648 | | | | Aug 4 | |
| Sep 17 | 3435 | | | Sep 2 | 3505 |
| Oct 11 | 3436 | | | Oct 2 | 3518 |
| | | | | Oct 15 | 3651 |
| Nov 5 | 3438 | | | Nov 1 | 3531 |
| | | | | Nov 3 | 3659 |
| Dec 1 | 3452 | | | Dec 2 | 3544 |
| | | | | Dec 1 | 3671 |

1714

1715

| | | | |
|-------|------|-------|------|
| Jan 2 | 3685 | Jan 1 | 3840 |
| Feb 2 | 3698 | Feb 1 | 3852 |
| Mar 2 | 3710 | Mar 1 | 3863 |
| Apr 1 | 3723 | Apr 2 | 3875 |

10 Oct 1745 is to be found as

L. c. 749 -- it is not a newsletter.

May 1 3736 May 3 3888

Jun 1 3748 Jun 2 3901

Jul 1 3762 Jul 2 3914

Aug 3 3776 Aug 2 3927

Sep 2 3789 Sep 1 3940

Oct 2 3803

Nov 2 3814

Dec 2 3827

I find few works that comment very much on newsletters: a biography of Sir Richard with much matter from these newsletters and his other papers; a biography of Henry Muddiman, perhaps the best writer of newsletters from 1667 to 1689, when he ceased writing; a work on the gathering of official intelligence by the two Secretaries of State and their network of correspondents (especially Williamson's); an article on John Dyer (d. 1713), "the best-known and most influential newswriter" from the Revolution of 1688 to the Hanoverian Succession; and three notes

that record items on the theater, actors, playwrights, and entertainments from the collection. The first four of these works have good information on the period, and the careers of Henry Muddiman and John Dyer cover all but two years of the Newdigate series. But newsletters of the time as a genre need more studies with penetration and studies on the many other aspects of the subject; newsletters are part of the history of journalism.

1. Lady Newdigate-Newdegate's "Cavalier and Puritan in the Days of the Stuarts" (London, 1901), the life of Sir Richard, also has information from his diary and his account books. For her the collection dates from only 1675 to 1712. After citing five "momentous events" from 1685, a year of "overwhelming interest to Protestant England," she gives a political explanation for the "ominous" second gap in the series:

"Charles II's sudden illness on ... February 2, ending in his death four

days later; James's accession to the throne; the subsequent risings in Scotland and England, headed respectively by the Earl of Argyle and the Duke of Monmouth; their speedy suppression; the capture of the two leaders, followed by their death upon the scaffold.... It was probably due to necessary precaution" that no newsletters were kept at this time.

"... with his pronounced opinions and well-known championship of ... Monmouth, [Sir Richard] could hardly have escaped being a marked man.... Suspicion was rife on all sides, and ... warned by previous experience," he may have feared a raid on his papers. "Otherwise we cannot suppose that he voluntarily dispensed with ... intelligence which was afterwards resumed and continued for many years...." She also regrets the third gap (of seven months in 1688): "In this last year of James II's reign we are left in ignorance of the newsmen's version of the crisis ... impending. They give us no subtle indications of the slumberous discontent which was

shortly to be roused" and which ended the Stuart kings' rule. "Nor have we any record of the ... advent of a Prince of Wales [and] ... disbelief in the genuineness of the royal babe." Not until October when Prince William arrived "with a small following, to be rapidly increased in his progress ... [do] the news-letters recommence...." (x, 263-64, 264-65)

2. J. G. Muddiman's "The King's Journalist, 1659-1689: Studies in the Reign of Charles II" (London, 1923; reprinted New York, 1971) is on Henry Muddiman and his newsletters, which were "in a class apart" since he wrote "with privilege" as the King's journalist, and which are easily identified by the heading "Whitehall" that was reserved for him. The author discusses Muddiman's relations with Sir Joseph Williamson at length. Muddiman kept his monopoly of issuing the written news until the end of 1687. He kept drafts of all his newsletters with dates in a "continuous journal from 1667 to 1689" The author says of the

journal that it "is the only complete record extant of the reigns of the last two Stuart kings" and of Muddiman's newsletters that they "are one of the most valuable records" of James II's reign. Since practically no state papers exist for that reign, the newsletters for those three years "ought to be printed almost in their entirety." Up to the Revolution of 1688 the "London Gazette" has little domestic news; "... Muddiman's news-letters took its place." Newsletters competed so well and so long with printed news, particularly the "London Gazette," because the prints could not carry without permission the votes and proceedings of the House of Commons; newsletters had no such stricture. To show Muddiman's influence at Court, the author cites Sir Richard's asking Muddiman in 1677 for aid in declining a baronetcy that the King was to confer on him.

(vi, 125, 187n, 195, 204, 207, 245)

3. To Peter Fraser in "The Intelligence of the Secretaries of State,

1660-1688" (Cambridge, 1956) the great value of newsletters of the time is that "they record the immediate reaction of the Secretaries or their subordinates to the events of the day." Until 1688 the two Secretaries had a monopoly of licensed news, and up to 1676 only official newsletters circulated, "each Secretary sending about a hundred of these per week to a select list of domestic and foreign correspondents...." In this medium Henry Muddiman was famous as the most reliable source of news, many people taking him in error as an independent journalist. "... Williamson repaid his correspondents in kind" by having a newsletter compiled that took the best from the weekly letters of some fifty correspondents "from all over the kingdom, added news of his own such as official appointments and parliamentary proceedings, employed ... four or five clerks to multiply the copy ... and sent out these newsletters every week as a 'quid pro quo' to all his correspondents and to ... 'country friends,' who [paid] 5 p. a. for the privilege." Money thus raised covered the

wages and upkeep of the office. So no profit was made; the "chief purpose was to get intelligence, not to sell it." The best news usually went to the newsletters to raise their value in exchange for other (especially foreign) newsletters. Abraham Casteleyn, who founded the "Haarlem Gazette," put his best domestic news in his newsletters and sent copies only to foreign newswriters who he thought could "send him a newsletter of equal quality." In fall 1674 Henry Ball, who managed Williamson's "paper office," reported that he had four clerks who on post days copied the letters. Each man copied some with a week's news and other short letters "with two days' news for ... correspondents who [received] three newsletters weekly. Late at night the letters were sent, with a list of [addressees] to ... the Post Office." Fraser roughly analyzes the domestic correspondents of 1667-69:

1. Lieutenants and titled persons in the counties who wrote only on

| | |
|--|----|
| extraordinary occasions and paid œ5 p. a. for the newsletters.... | 37 |
| 2. Customs officers, naval storekeepers, and others in the ports.... | 35 |
| 3. Postmasters and others inland..... | 23 |
| 4. Governors of garrisons, commanders of fleets, etc..... | 9 |
| 5. Williamson's personal friends..... | 9 |
| 6. Privy Councillors and office-holders in London..... | 6 |
| 7. Unidentified persons..... | 3 |

After 1676 unlicensed newsletters grew in volume, sold by professional newswriters, which the Secretaries tried to stop together with unlicensed printed journals that spread with the Popish Plot. Whig newsletters (that sprang up at about that time) "were in general restricted to much the same classes who paid for the Secretaries' newsletters, the nobility and gentry in the counties, and the merchants, lawyers, and professional men in the City. The exception was that copies of Whig newsletters were

also by then bought by London coffeehouses and "reached a wide general public." (1-2, 8, 28, 30, 32-33, 34, 40, 44, 127)

4. Henry L. Snyder, "Newsletters in England, 1689-1715, with Special Reference to John Dyer--A Byway in the History of England," in "Newsletters to Newspapers: Eighteenth-Century Journalism," ed. Donovan H. Bond and William R. McLeod (Morgantown, W. Va., 1977), 3-19. Dyer, a Tory who lived about sixty years, "seems to have begun ... his newsletter soon after the Revolution" and was well known by 1693. The Newdigate series has more than 150 of his newsletters. (4, 5, 7)

5. John Harold Wilson's two articles in "Theatre Notebook," "Theatre Notes from the Newdigate Newsletters," 15, 3 (1961), 79-84, and "More Theatre Notes from the Newdigate Newsletters," 16, 2 (1961-62), 59, have a total of 59 references to the theater, actors, playwrights, and entertainments of the time.

6. My "Theatre Items from the Newdigate Newsletters," "Theatre Notebook,"
39, 2 (1985), 76-83, has 76 such entries, including 23 from Luttrell.

If the heading "Whitehall" safely identifies Henry Muddiman's
newsletters (see above, p. 13), then in this edition five early letters--
239 and 240, 19 and 21 October 1675; 331, 3 June 1676; 416, 30 December
1676; and 464, 17 April 1677--are his. Other letters through 464 have
only a date at the top. From that point through 751, 24 February
1678/9, more than two-thirds (about 195) of the letters are headed
"Whitehall." Then "Whitehall" disappears, with no change in handwriting
at first, and is not used for four and a half years. Nearly all letters
from 800 to 960 are headed "London"; handwritings then change, but
"London" heads nearly all letters through 2100. However, from 1411, 2
August 1683, a Thursday, until the next 7 February Sir Richard received

on Thursdays letters headed "Whitehall" with the "W" written elaborately.

In fact, from 25 October to 20 December 1683 the series has only letters

so headed, including one--1460, 10 November, a Saturday. These 29

letters, in my opinion, are the most likely of all to be Muddiman's.

(There are perhaps 20 to 24 different handwritings through 2100. One--

"Ra: Hope"--prevails through 250; another clearer, easier-to-read hand

prevails from 548, 8 November 1677, to 962, 17 July 1680, and from 1467,

22 December 1683, to 2070, 20 March 1689/90, almost half the letters in

this edition.)

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former students, all of which I gratefully acknowledge. I wish especially

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