The Landscape of Sir Thomas Parkyns of Bunny 1662-1747: Emotions, Identity, Status.

By

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Abstract

In the forty years since Laurence Stone opened historical enquiry into the early modern family, research examining the formation and operation of the household

family has expanded considerably. Most recently, cross disciplinary insights have enabled historians to investigate the emotional connections forged in the experience of family life, the contentious central issue of Stone's original thesis, and by this means bring historical actors from all social ranks more fully to life. This study is based on a central character, Sir Thomas Parkyns, a local patriarch around whom extended family, tenants and servants orbited in the course of their lives. Evidence of expressed and experienced emotional transactions is extracted from a rich and diverse body of source material, primarily personal correspondence, published writings and family papers. The imprint of his personality on the physical landscape of his home, estate and community is also considered. Sensitive and detailed analysis of the evidence makes it clear that, for Sir Thomas, emotion, whether affirming or damaging, was both a physiological and psychological experience. Both consciously and unconsciously, the practice of emotion, it will be shown, was reflected in language, and more typically for the period, conveyed in deeds. In turn, Sir Thomas read the emotions of others through their speech and actions. This research asserts that he moderated his emotions in acts of self-discipline to fit within internalised conceptions of social and gender norms. Sir Thomas's experience of family and friendship indicates that, while both institutions imposed separate emotional constraints, they were also an emotional refuge.

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Acknowledgements

This thesis had a long evolution; its origins located in second year undergraduate essay preparation when I noticed the phrase 'history of the emotions' in Vic Gatrell's classic text *The Hanging Tree*, that struck an immediate chord. But it was many years before translating instinctive recognition into a doctoral research project became a realistic possibility. Even then, having failed to conform to the standard pattern of academic development at an earlier stage of life before the pleasures and pains of family life filled the horizon, completing my PhD developed into marathon rather than sprint, as the competing demands of family and teaching occasionally overwhelmed my research and writing. During that extended period I have often speculated what it would feel like to arrive at the point where writing my acknowledgements was the only part of the process left to do. Now that I am there, I realise that this particular Roll of Honour; those individuals to whom a debt of gratitude is owed for their varied and valuable contributions, is substantial.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

The institution of the early modern family has been a staple of academic enquiry over four decades; research into its function as an economic, political and religious unit has incorporated examinations of the discrete roles fulfilled by husbands, wives and children. This approach has naturally placed emphasis on the life cycle stages by which families are constituted: courtship, marriage, the birth of children and dissolution of family ties either in family breakdown or death.[1] Other studies have focused on individual families or family groupings with a shared religious or political identity.[2] Further approaches mapped kinship networks which made visible the significance and role of the extended family, whilst examining the operation of the household, revealed the flexibility of the family unit as it expanded to encompass non-kin members such as servants and apprentices.[3]

Research has advanced as historians utilised a wider range of sources and approached the available evidence in ever more imaginative ways. Since familial relationships are the most intimate of human connections, the obvious sources that inform our ideas about the experience of family life in the past are those that are

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[1] For example: Peter Earle, *The making of the English Middle Class. Business, Society and Family Life in London 1660-1730* (Methuen: London, 1991); Amy Louise Erikson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (Routledge: London, 1993); Christopher Durston, *The Family in the English Revolution* (Wiley Blackwell, 1989); Ralph Houlbrooke, *The English Family1450-1700* (Longman: London, 1984); David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death. Ritual, Religion and the Life Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1997).

[2] Miriam Slater, 'The Weightiest Business: Marriage in an Upper Gentry Family in Seventeenth Century England', *Past and Present*, No.72 (1976), pp.24-54; Miranda Chaytor, 'Household and Kinship: Ryton in the Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *History Workshop Journal,* No.10, 1980, pp.25- 60.

[3] Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter. Women's Lives in Georgian England* (Yale University Press, 1998).

personally generated, such as letters, diaries and wills. In elite and gentry families particularly, large collections of family papers typically include deeds of settlement and marriage contracts, documenting the economic consequences of marriage and inheritance practice for wives and children. Contemporary interest and concerns with family constitution and operation were reflected in a wide range of prescriptive literature that constructed idealised norms of family life to advise husbands, wives, children and servants on the fulfilment of their duties and obligations. Analysis of court records exposed crisis points in family life; the reasons for marital breakdown and the social responses to spouses in conflict.[4] More latterly, physical survivals such as tombs, epitaphs and family portraiture have been added to the pool of primary sources, thus allowing historians to further expand our understanding of the form, function and experience of life in the early modern family.[5]

Taking its lead from a number of respected studies focussed on a single family, of which Miriam Slater's study of the Verney family is an example, this thesis focuses on a Nottingham gentry family, the Parkyns of Bunny; specifically the extended family of the second baronet Sir Thomas Parkyns.[6] This research will expand the historiography of the affective family, adding weight to those contributions challenging the representation of the early modern family as a primarily pragmatic rather than an emotional unit. While this historiography will be used throughout, the thesis also draws Keith Thomas's proposition; that late seventeenth and early eighteenth century men and women consciously sought to

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[4] Joanne Bailey, *Unquiet Lives Marriage and Marriage Breakdown in England 1660-1800* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge,2003).
[5] Jean Wilson, 'Icons of Unity', *History Today,* No.43 (1993), pp.14-20.
[6] Slater, 'The Weightiest Business', pp.24-54.

live lives that were emotionally satisfying, and considered marriage and parenthood avenues to achieve this.[7] However, rather than establish this argument by simply concentrating on detecting the presence of emotion, as opposed to its absence, as has generally been the case in previous studies of familial relationships, the thesis will explore as fully as the sources will allow, types and degrees of feeling visible in interactions with near and extended kin.[8] Additionally, since individual emotional connections encompass more than just blood and affinal relationships, this study will also examine how emotions underpinned early modern friendship networks.

This approach has been chosen to substantially contribute to current knowledge of the early modern family by utilising the increasingly important investigative approach of the history of emotions. By simultaneously widening and narrowing the focus of investigation, this study will extend the existing historiography in two key directions. While Sir Thomas's marital and parental relationships will be an important theme throughout, rather than be restricted to these already well examined roles this study will also reflect the emotional experiences of Sir Thomas as a son, brother, grandfather and uncle, thereby expanding current understandings of individual roles within the family. At the same time, concentrating on the significance, manifestation and representation of

[7] Keith Thomas, *The Ends of Life: Roads to Fulfilment in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2009).

[8] Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, Mary Floyd Wilson(eds) *Reading the Early Modern Passions. Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion* (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 2004), p.1; Susan Karant-Nunn, *Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford University Press: New York, 2010), p.5.

experienced emotion, will focus on a particular aspect of these relationships that has received relatively little attention in the historiography thus far.[9]

Development of emotions history: historiography, challenges, examples.

Although now considered a burgeoning field in early modern history, in historiographical terms, over the course of the twentieth century history of emotions has for the most part received short shrift. The earliest recognition of the significance of human emotion in history was offered in Johan Huizinga's survey of life in the Middle Ages when he characterised the period as emotion writ large. According to Huizinga, 'we can scarcely form any idea of the exaggerated nature of emotions in medieval times.'[10] In a somewhat overblown description he argued that the particular conditions of life in the period created a society 'So violent and motley that it bore the mixed smell of blood and roses…. always running to extremes.'[11] The emotional motif of medieval Europe presented thus by Huizinga was subsequently endorsed by Norbert Elias.[12] However, during his study of contemporary conduct literature, Elias noted a change in behavioural ideals; specifically, a diminution in the spontaneous eruption of violence in favour of greater restraint, a change he accounted for by identifying two major drivers. The first of these was the replacement of feudalism by absolutist states that assumed 'the monopolisation and centralisation of taxes and physical force'.[13] The societies that developed from this shift Elias argued, tended to be functionally highly

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[9] Linda Pollock, 'Anger and the negotiation of relationships in early modern England', *The Historical Journal*, 47, 3 (2004), p.571.
[10] Johan Huizinga: *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (Edward Arnold: London, 1963), p.1.
[11] Huizinga, *Waning,* p.18.
[12] Norbert Elias, *The Civilising Process: State Formation and Civilisation* (Basil Blackwell: Oxford, 1982)Translated by Edmund Jephcott.
[13] Elias, *Civilising*, p.229.

differentiated, which effectively multiplied the number of people on whom an individual depended in order to fulfil their own social role. At the same time, the state established 'a stable monopoly of force' that in effect, removed interpersonal violence as a permissible reaction to slight or setback, thereby privileging cooperation and diplomacy to achieve conflict resolution. [14] As a consequence, successful social relationships became contingent on curbing hitherto uninhibited emotional display, and therefore required self-restraint.[15] Taken together these changes informed what Elias termed 'the civilising impulse' that led to a 'transformation of conduct' manifested in 'the moderation of spontaneous emotions' and the 'tempering of affects'.[16]

This interpretation made little initial impact until the text was brought to the attention of a wider audience by its translation into English in the 1970s. But meanwhile, in the intervening period the inherent relevance of this line of enquiry had also been recognised by Lucien Febvre who appealed for the study of emotions to be included within the lexicon of historical approaches. Against the backdrop of World War Two he reminded historians that turbulent emotions sat at the heart of the conflict cutting a swathe through the lives of millions of people. It was above all actions driven by 'hate, fear, cruelty and love' that 'will tomorrow finally have made our universe into a stinking pit of corpses.'[17] For Febvre, the concomitant death and

[14] Elias, *Civilising*, pp.231,235.
[15] Elias, *Civilising*, pp.232,233.
[16] Elias, *Civilising,* p.236.
[17] Lucien Febvre, 'Sensibility and History: how to reconstitute the emotional life of the past' in Peter Burke, (ed) *A New Kind of History from the writings of Lucien Febvre* (Routledge and Kegan Paul: London, 1973), p.26.

destruction of total war made emotion not just a legitimate, but a vitally important area of study.

Essentially this call went unanswered until developments in the field of psychology advanced concepts and definitions that facilitated the study of emotions within the context of history. Two dichotomous causal explanations of emotion emerged - naturalist and cognitive- and were subsequently utilised in historical analysis. Early modern explanations of emotions referenced Gallenic medical theory in which the body was constituted by four humours; blood, bile, choler and phlegm.[18] Physiological well-being was predicated on maintaining the humours in equilibrium, therefore episodic ill health was treated by measures such as purging or bleeding, in order to correct the existing imbalance and restore health. As Nancy Sirasi explained, as individual personality traits were attributed to the dominance of one or other of the primary humours, the humoral model connected the physiological with the psychological; the one reflected the other.[19]

Early modernity therefore understood emotions as wholly natural, non-cognitive phenomena defining them as passions or affects, an approach that retained currency well into the twentieth century.[20] Robert Soloman labelled this approach the 'hydraulic model', a descriptor that aptly captured contemporary perceptions of emotion as turbulent bodily fluids seeking release, 'liable to disrupt any civilised

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[18] Nancy Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine. An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (University of Chicago Press: London and Chicago, 1990), pp.104-106.
[19] Fay Bound Alberti, *Medicine, Emotion and Disease 1700-1950* (Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke,2006), p.1.
[20] Rom Harre, *The Social Construction of Emotions*. (Basil Blackwell: Oxford and New York,1986), pp.2,3.

order, unless they were tamed, outwitted, overruled or seduced.'[21]Advocates of this school consider the human expression of emotions to be a universal, biological manifestation and therefore see a phenomenon that is largely unchanged over time and impervious to social or geographic influence.[22]

However, this naturalist, universalist interpretation was challenged by cognitivists who subscribed to the Stoic contention that 'men are not disturbed by things, but of the views they take of them'.[23] Emotion and rational thought have long been commonly held to be mutually exclusive, and yet Soloman argued that the two are in fact closely and logically related. In a similar vein William Reddy considers that emotions are not 'radically different' from reason or thought.[24] Cognitivists argue that emotion is generated as a consequence of a thought process, invoked as individuals assess the potential consequences of any situation they face, a process Martha Nussbaum terms 'cognitive appraisal or evaluation'.[25] Once the appraisal has taken place, emotional signals are generated to prompt action, either to avoid or embrace the event according to whether the consequences are judged beneficial. While these emotions can be manifested as physiological, or somatic, such symptoms are nevertheless primarily generated in the cognitive process that precedes their appearance, rather than simply being a biological response.[26]

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[21] Robert Soloman, *The Passions* (Anchor Press/Doubleday: New York,1976); Susan James, *Passion and Action. A Study in Seventeenth Century Philosophy* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1997), p.1.
[22] Jan Plamper, *The History of the Emotions: An Introduction* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2015), p.5.
[23] Epictetus, *The Enchiridion* translated by Elizabeth Carter http://classics.mit.edu/Epictetus/epicench.html accessed 16/12/2015.
[24] Solomon, *Passions*, p.87, William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling. A Framework for the History of the Emotions.* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2001), p.94.
[25] Martha Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought. The Intelligence of Emotion.* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2001), p.4.
[26] Harre, *Construction*, p.3.

Early criticism of the naturalist model was posited by Rom Harre who took the view that physiological manifestation of emotions that were a consequence of cognitive judgements, cannot in themselves be considered emotions. A symptom, for example trembling, might be associated with the feeling of fear, but equally it could be a manifestation of anger or even love. Harre studied anthropological investigations that assessed the impact of the cultural diversity of language on expressed emotions, considering this evidence in the light of experiments developed by Nadja Reissland. One aspect of Reissland's work demonstrated that where subjects were unaware of the prevailing norms of behaviour, they were hesitant to identify and interpret emotional responses.[27] These twin strands of evidence led Harre to conclude that emotion was socially constructed and therefore 'culturally idiosyncratic'.[28] Claire Armon Jones went on to establish a connection between cognition and constructivism, by arguing that the exercise of cognition was a necessary element in the process of identifying what constituted appropriate, socially constructed emotional responses.[29]

In the social constructionist viewpoint advocated by Harre and Armon-Jones emotional expression is an active, prescriptive and functional process. Rather than a simple biological response to stimuli, emotional behaviour is a dynamic, cognitive subscription to culturally negotiated values that become individually internalised through exposure. The established social script clearly validates certain emotional expressions as acceptable and thus, by implication, defines those considered

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[27] Harre, *Construction*, p.6.
[28] Catherine Lutz, 'The Domain of Emotion Words on Ifaluk' in Harre, *Construction*, pp. 267-289.
[29] Claire Armon- Jones, 'The Thesis of Constructionism' in Harre, *Construction*, p.33.

undesirable. Individuals signal their understanding and acceptance of these cultural values by displaying their emotions in socially appropriate ways, in turn further reinforcing the underpinning rationale to ensure that undesirable emotional behaviour is curtailed, thus preserving communally held value systems.[30]

Using these later understandings of the nature of emotions historians began to shape frameworks to incorporate their study within the academic discipline of History. The cultural scripting of emotions, favoured by Harre, underpinned Peter and Carol Stearns development and advocacy of a distinct approach they termed 'Emotionology'.[31] Considering individual emotional experience too problematic to recover with any credibility, the Stearns centred their approach on uncovering collective, social attitudes to emotions registered in culturally appropriate emotional expressions. They considered that this approach offered two clear methodological advantages. In the first instance they argued it offers a more effective tool for accounting for the variants that influence individual emotional attitudes such as age, gender or class. Secondly, as this approach dispenses with the hitherto automatic conflation of cultural emotional norms and individual emotional experience, they consider that emotional expressions can be interpreted with greater precision.[32] Although conceding that the work of the Stearns constituted 'the most significant research in the history of the emotions to date', Barbara Rosenwein took issue with their periodization and challenged the rationale for their selection of the sources on

[30] Armon- Jones, 'The Thesis of Constructionism', p.33.
[31] Peter and Carol Stearns, 'Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 90, No. 4 (October 1985), p.827.
[32] Stearns, 'Emotionology', pp.828,834.

which their interpretation was based.[33] However, her principal objection lay in the Stearns adoption of the Elias paradigm: that 'overwrought emotionalism' was replaced by increasing restraint.[34] Rosenwein believed that adhering to the hydraulic model of emotions that informed Elias's interpretation was no longer tenable in the light of the theoretical shift proposed by cognitivists and social constructionists.[35]

Nevertheless, despite these criticisms, she considered these later approaches raised complementary issues that offered a more useful direction for future work. Since in both cases the context within which emotions were expressed was of paramount importance, Rosenwein proposed that the natural next step in enquiry was the exploration of 'emotional communities'; defined as groups of individuals with a common interest sharing a discrete set of emotional norms as a consequence.[36] As everyone will belong to a number of different emotional communities through family, occupation, religious confession or recreational interests for example, this approach implies that each individual will assume a number of distinct emotional profiles that, in Rosenwein's experience, may evidence contradictory values.[37] This investigative focus has already been adopted by Melissa Raine to suggest how the text of Lydgate's *Dietary*, a fifteenth century guide to health, invoked a 'meaningful affective response' from communities of medieval readers in England.[38] Susan Karant-Nunn also applied this theoretical concept to

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[33] Barbara Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *The American Historical Review,* Vol.107, No.3 (2002), pp.824-826.
[34] Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions', p.829.
[35] Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions', p.836.
[36] Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions', p.842.
[37] Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions', p.845.
[38] Melissa Raine, 'Searching for Emotional Communities in Late Medieval England' in Lemmings, David; Brooks, Ann, *Emotions and Social Change: Historical and Sociological Perspectives* (Taylor and Francis: Hoboken, 2014), p.76.

contrast the separate and distinct emotional goals pursued by Catholic, Lutheran and Calvinist ecclesiastical
leaders during the early years of the Reformation.[39]

William Reddy used a different approach based on a proposition originally articulated by sociologist Arlie Hochschild, and then by anthropologist Unni Wikan; who both considered that emotion was neither wholly socially constructed or entirely biological.[40] In this line of argument the significance of emotion doesn't lie in its origin, but in its management; that is, how individuals navigate between socially constructed norms and their own experience to achieve socially 'sanctioned emotional states.'[41] Reddy's contribution to the debate was to modify J.L Austin's 'speech act theory' dividing emotional language into two distinct categories: *constative*, where the purpose is to describe emotion, and *performative*; an expression formulated to accomplish a distinct, emotional objective.[42] Reddy recognised that language may also be used reflexively, as a way to examine the legitimacy of emotional declarations, leading him to suggest a third category; a group he designated *emotives*, that is, expressions that test the validity of experienced emotion and therefore have a self-reflective or self-altering affect.[43] The implication of this refinement is that any emotional expression, whether written or verbal, cannot be

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[39] Karant-Nunn, *Reformation of Feeling,* p.12.
[40] Arlie Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialisation of Human Feeling* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1983), p. 27.; Unni Wikan, 'Managing the Heart to Brighten Face and Soul: Emotions in Balinese Morality and Health Care', *American Ethnologist*, 16 (1989), pp.294-312.
[41] William Reddy,' Sentimentalism and its Erasure: The Role of Emotions in the Era of the French Revolution', *Journal of Modern History*, Vol.72, No.1(March 2000), p.113.
[42] J.L. Austin, J.O Urmson, Marina Sbisa, *How To Do Things With Words* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1976), pp.3-7.
[43] Reddy, *Navigation,* pp.98-100.

automatically understood as a reflection of an experienced emotion, but could equally be a rhetorical examination of its validity.

All these developments are evidence of a mounting confidence that the emotions constitute an entirely legitimate area of historical investigation requiring 'no justification as a subject in their own right.'[44] Supporters of this approach recognise the paradox that exists between the centrality of emotion in human experience and its continued consignment to the periphery of historical enquiry.[45] Whilst this group of historians acknowledge the manifold difficulties inherent in any study of emotion, they have also defended its legitimacy by emphasising the impact of emotion in all aspects of life. Ute Frevert, for example, considered 'every decision, even the most rational one... is based, at least partly, on emotion.'[46] As Febvre had previously done, Penelope Gouk and Helen Mills also recognised emotion as being 'at the heart of controversies over human nature, social governance, morality and identity.'[47] Since in all fields of human experience it would appear that 'emotions are not optional' then, as George Turski argued, 'neither therefore is our obligation to seek clarity about them.'[48] Recognising this has led some to urge consideration of the impact of emotions in major fields of human activity.

Although political events and their consequential changes have engaged the attention of researchers, until relatively recently the emotional drivers that

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[44] Kern Paster, Rowe, Floyd Wilson, *Reading the Early Modern Passions,* p.3.
[45] Joanna Bourke, 'Fear and Anxiety: Writing about Emotion in Modern History', *History Workshop Journal,* No. 55 (2003), p.112.
[46] Ute Frevert, *Emotions in History – Lost and Found* (Central University Press, 2011), p.21.
[47] Gouk and Hills, 'Towards Histories of Emotions' in *Representing Emotions: New Connections in the History of Art, Music and Medicine* (Ashgate Publishing: Aldershot, 2005), p.19.
[48] W.G Turski, *Toward a Rationality of Emotions: An Essay in the Philosophy of Mind* (Ohio University Press, 1994), p.22.

precipitated and sustained those changes have been largely ignored. Significant studies that have begun to redress this balance include Reddy's rejection of the notion that the French Revolution could be regarded as 'merely a political crisis', pointing to the prevalence of rhetoric emphasising the cultivation of feeling as the bedrock on which future virtuous public behaviour would rest.[49] For Reddy, 'emotions are of the highest political significance', an understanding used first by Nicole Eustace and later Sarah Knott, to make similar arguments in the case of the American Revolution.[50] Connecting emotion with a visible, contemporary appetite for equality and natural rights they argued, provided the foundation for the resulting political institutions of the newly independent American republic.[51]

Even in the field of law, where the emphasis placed on objectivity and impartiality make it an unlikely institution to count emotion among its founding principles, legal and social historians have been able to establish that emotion underpinned the formulation of the legal code. On reflection, there is an obvious logic to this as law is the premier mechanism to regulate and redress harm in the entire range of human relationships. Robert Bartlett demonstrated the scope and application of the legal principle of enmity in medieval legal codes that determined when physical harm might be done to an enemy without leading to judicial punishment. [52] Michael Clanchy addressed an historiographical imbalance that

[49] Reddy, 'Sentimentalism', p.120.
[50] Reddy, *Navigation*, p.124.
[51] Sarah Knott, *Sensibility and the American Revolution* (University of North Carolina Press, 2009), p.4; Nicole Eustace, *Passion is the Gale: Emotion, Power and the Coming of the American Revolution* (University of North Carolina Press, 2008).
[52] Robert Bartlett, 'Mortal Enmities' The Legal Aspect of Hostility in the Middle Ages' in Tuten and Billado: *Feud, Violence and Practice: Essays in Medieval Studies in Honour of Stephen D. White* (Ashgate Publishing: Surrey,2010), pp.197-212.

focused on the legal code as a set of rules imposed by authority and drew attention to the simultaneous operation of a complimentary process based on 'a bond of affection, established by public undertakings before witnesses and upheld by social pressure.' [53] After examining the high proportion of litigants in defamation cases who settled disputes through arbitration, James Sharpe concluded that whilst resolving conflict with satisfaction to the parties involved was regarded as important, preserving the existing emotional connection between litigants from further damage was viewed as equally desirable by early modern society.[54]

Extending Febvre's observation that the realism of fifteenth century art was intended to invoke an emotional response that would generate piety, the exploration of the influence of emotion in different avenues of cultural expression began with Gouk and Hills pointing to the origins of opera lying in the efforts of sixteenth century composers ability to manipulate music's capacity to stimulate emotion.[55] Throughout time human responses to the triumphs and tragedies of life have provided the raw material for poetry, drama and novels. Their enduring appeal is founded on the commonality of our experience as humans, offering an opportunity, albeit vicarious, to allow us some sense of the experience of others. It is no surprise therefore as Peter Burke, Naomi Tadmor and Stephanie Trigg have all noted, that literature has offered the most fruitful field of enquiry to historians seeking to

[53] Michael Clancy, 'Law and Love in the Middle Ages' in John Bossy (ed*), Disputes and Settlements. Law and Human Relations in the West* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1983), pp.47-69.
[54] James Sharpe, '''Such disagreements betwixt Neighbours''; Litigation and Human Relations in Early Modern England' in Bossy, (ed*) Disputes and Settlements,* pp.167-189.
[55] Febvre, 'Sensibility and History', pp.20,21; Gouk and Hills, *Representing emotions*, p.26.

investigate emotional experiences.[56]

Even if restricted to the early modern period, any survey of the study of emotion within the canon of British literary output would be a considerable undertaking. Since the precise purpose here is to demonstrate that emotion has an extensive pedigree as a research theme, a brief survey of some contributions will give a sense of its utility. Jennifer Vaught not only countered the traditional association between immoderate grief and femininity through examination of the range of emotions expressed by male characters in the writings of Shakespeare and Spenser, but then further refined understanding of the register of sanctioned male emotions by suggesting that age, profession and social rank impacted on definitions of masculinity.[57] Barbara Caine used the novels of Jane Austen, specifically, *Emma*, *Pride and Prejudice* and *Persuasion*, to reflect how fictional eighteenth century women accessed emotional support through intense female friendships.[58]Austen's novels also provided Stephanie Trigg with the raw material to consider Austen's use of facial syntax, that is the 'speaking glance' and the 'expressive look', to convey emotional exchanges between her characters.[59] The novels of Samuel Richardson were central to David Garrioch's identification of a trend towards expressing friendship in increasingly sentimental terms during the eighteenth century,

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[56] Peter Burke, 'Is there a cultural history of the emotions?' in Gouk and Hills, *Representing*, p.38. Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth Century England. Household, Kinship and Patronage* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge,2001), p.171.; Stephanie Trigg, 'Faces that speak. A little emotion machine in the novels of Jane Austen', in Broomhall, Susan, *Spaces for Feeling Emotions and Sociabilities in Britain 1650-1850* (Routledge: London and New York, 2005), p.185.
[57] Jennifer Vaught, *Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern English Literature* (Ashgate Publishing: Hampshire, Burlington VT,2008), pp.1,5,6,11.
[58] Barbara Caine, 'Taking up the Pen' in Caine, Barbara (ed), *Friendship, a History* (Equinox: London, 2009), pp.215-222.
[59] Trigg, 'Faces that Speak', pp.185-201.

displacing previously pervasive appeals to Christian values as the basis for friendship.[60]

The realm of imaginative creativity would seem a natural home for emotions long considered as antithetical to reason and logic. This dichotomy however, was questioned by Turski when arguing that the great intellectual movements of the western world, including the scientific revolution, were underpinned by 'an informing set of powerful, essentially emotional understandings of human agency.'[61] The Reformation might similarly regarded primarily as an intrinsically intellectual enterprise to contest competing theological positions, however the incursion of affect in Calvinism was implicit in a process that prioritised emotion over reason in developing faith as William Bouwsma pointed out.[62] This was confirmed by Linda Pollock's work, which argued that the virtuous behaviour Calvinism required from its adherents was primarily cultivated through the experience of the emotions, specifically: shame, fear and despair.[63] Karant Nunn explored this theme further as she considered how preachers from opposite sides of the confessional divide made overt appeal to the hearts, as well as the minds, of their listeners, thus confirming that in the early modern mind, religion should be emotionally experienced as well as intellectually understood.[64]

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[60] David Garrioch, 'From Christian friendship to secular sentimentality; Enlightenment re-evaluations' in Caine, Barbara, (ed) *Friendship a history, critical studies of subjectivity and culture.* (Equinox Publishing: London, 2009), p.197.
[61] Turski, *Rationality,* pp.1,2.
[62] William Bouwsma, *A Usable Past. Essays in European Cultural History* (University of California Press: Berkeley,1990), p.47.
[63] Pollock, 'Anger,' p.570.
[64] Karant-Nunn, *Reformation of Feeling,* p.5.

While this expanding historiography testifies to a developing interest, all historians who have chosen to adopt this approach have had to deal with the inherently problematic nature of analysing something as complex and unstable as human emotions.[65] Before delineating particular challenges in greater detail it is worth considering the cost to the discipline of failing to engage with this field. Michael Roper argued that by presenting history with the emotions left out 'we endorse a profoundly lifeless notion of human existence.'[66] Similarly, Frevert recognised that acknowledging the impact of the emotions is wholly beneficial to academic history, because this approach 'helps retrieve aspects and dimensions of people's actions and mind-sets that have been lost in translating the past to the present' and thereby lends 'colour and taste' to scholarly research.[67] Not to engage therefore would be tantamount to sacrificing potentially significant elements of the historical narrative to obscurity.

Furthermore, Theodore Zeldin argued that incorporating the emotions into historical enquiry would revitalise the discipline by imparting fresh purpose and direction. Rather than continuing to place emphasis on the discovery and analysis of new documents that, in his opinion, confer only an illusion of originality, he challenged historians to 'think freshly about known facts.'[68] In his view this style of history is at least as meritorious as positing new theoretical models, and by fixing on the individual and the subjective, serves as a useful counterpoint to orthodox

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[65] Frevert, *Emotions in History*, p.26.
[66] Michael Roper, 'Slipping out of View: Subjectivity and Emotion in Gender History' in *History Workshop Journal*, No. 59 (Spring 2005), p.70.
[67] Frevert, *Emotions in History*, p.10.
[68] Theodore Zeldin, 'Personal History and the History of the Emotions' in *Journal of Social History*, Vol.15, No.3 (1982), p.341.

analyses of institutions and communities. For Zeldin, history that incorporates emotion evokes the atmosphere of the past and allows historians to 'express in an entirely new way how the past is alive', something which Stearns also regards as crucial to the discipline.[69]

This imaginative approach to writing history necessarily has its detractors who argue that such an undertaking is essentially impracticable. Georg Iggers believes that writing history is fundamentally an enterprise attached to the rational and therefore could properly be regarded as diametrically opposed to any consideration of emotion.[70] Graham Richards argues that, by and large, historians have failed to make a realistic assessment of how far it is possible to understand the experience of past emotion, given that defining emotion is a 'complex and continuous process of verbal structuring, interpretation and categorisation.'[71] Whereas for Roper, it is using an investigative approach that lacks a defining model that renders the study of the emotions problematic. [72] According to Amelie Rorty this could be interpreted as an insurmountable obstacle, since to develop 'a unified theory' would require considerable cooperative endeavour to align all the disciplines whose contributions would be required, especially given that the current state of research may be insufficiently developed to do so.[73]

[69] Zeldin, 'Personal History', p.342; Stearns, 'Emotionology', p.814.
[70] Georg Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Hanover,1997), p.5.
[71] Graham Richards, 'Emotions into Words- or Words into Emotions?' in Gouk and Hills, *Representing Emotions: New Connections in the History of Art, Music and Medicine*, (Ashgate Publishing: Aldershot, 2005), p.52.
[72] Roper, 'Slipping out of View', p.67.
[73] Amelie Rorty, *Explaining Emotions* (University of California Press: Berkeley,1980), p.4.

Nevertheless, notwithstanding the inherent and obvious pitfalls, there is a significant, and indeed expanding, group who defend the validity of this approach. As Febvre observed, studying the emotional life of the past is at once 'extremely attractive and frightfully difficult', but he warned that the challenges should not be used as a justification for non-engagement.[74] Gail Kern Paster considers that 'emotions require no justification as a subject in their own right', while Stearns brands as 'superficial' historical studies, particularly those concerned with links between kin, that do not take emotion into account.[75] Even so, however desirable it may considered to uncover the role of emotions in history, the intrinsic challenges must be acknowledged and addressed, to the extent possible, in order for the resulting accounts and interpretations to meet the demands of intellectual validity. As Peter Mandler warns, even while exercising 'craft and creativity', historians must comply with commonly accepted standards of 'evidence, evaluation and explanation.'[76]

Among the many potential obstacles the most obvious difficulty is one of taxonomy, as Jan Plamper observed; 'The sheer difficulty of defining emotion is often treated as its leading characteristic'.[77] Using the term 'emotion' to refer to heightened mental states is a relatively modern development, one which Roger Smith believes came into use only in the late eighteenth century.[78] Thomas Dixon

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[74] Febvre, 'Sensibility and History', p.19.
[75] Kern Paster, Rowe and Floyd-Wilson, *Reading,* p.3; Stearns, 'Emotionology', p.817.
[76] Peter Mandler, 'The Problem with Cultural History', *Cultural and Social History,*1:1, p.95.
[77] Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*, (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2012), p.11.
[78] Roger Smith, *The Fontana History of the Human Sciences* (Fontana Press: London, 1997), p.60.; See Steven Mullaney's location of an earlier usage of this term in the seventeenth century in Thomas Dixon, *From passions to emotions: The creation of a secular psychological category* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2003), p.14., n29.

explains the timing of this change as a concomitant of the process of secularisation; when the central premise that all feeling was generated as a response to religious thinking lost its currency, a new frame of reference was required.[79] While Dixon considers that something was lost in the process as a highly differentiated typology distinguishing between passion, affect, sentiment and appetite was replaced by the single, overarching category of emotion, nevertheless philosophers, psychologists, ethnographers and anthropologists have considerably expanded the list of mental states that they consider can properly be called emotions from the four Aristotle originally suggested, to one hundred.[80] Such proliferation would seem to suggest an intensely subjective judgement at work that is potentially impacted by a number of variables. It has already been noted that age, gender and class may have a bearing here but also, as Richards noted, changes to social and material conditions introduce new emotion terms, and hence in some sense, raise new emotions.[81]

The notion that new emotions come into being whilst others are lost is already strongly implied within the constructivist approach since if, as this theory asserts, propriety of emotional experience and expression is socially determined, it follows that any alteration of the social landscape will result in observable change in expressed emotion. Frevert elaborated on this theme using the example of 'acedia', an emotion described by Thomas Aquinas as feeling 'the sorrow of the world'.[82] Superficially acedia appears to have some correlation to the modern state of depression, indeed Frevert observes that there are some similarities between the two

[79] Dixon, *Passions,* pp.1,4-6.
[80] Dixon, *Passions,* pp. 14,20,22.
[81] Richards, 'Emotions into Words', p.59.
[82] Frevert, *Emotions in History*, pp.31-35.

as both might typically include feelings of despair, worthlessness and guilt. However, accessing the contemporary understanding of this emotion shows that the excessive feelings of guilt were rooted explicitly in a perception of spiritual failure, thus two overtly similar emotions have very distinctive differences.

This raises another important issue; that of translation. As Richards observed, even selecting the most apposite emotional label to precisely reflect our personal feelings is by no means an entirely straightforward process.[83] Neither can we know beyond doubt what someone else is feeling, nor yet what they mean when they try to articulate their feelings, even those we know intimately.[84] It follows then that the challenge to understand the emotional lives of early modern men and women, people separated from us by time and subscribing to cultural values very different to our own is, as Mullaney says, 'immense'.[85] There is a temptation to simplistically superimpose on the evidence our own experience of an emotion that might lead us to uncritically apply an emotion label based on this personal understanding. Whilst superficially seductive, as David Sabean warned, choosing this option would be counter to the purpose of scholarly research.[86]

Nevertheless, having considered the potential risks, a growing number of historians appear confident that there are grounds to believe that it is possible to at least begin to understand the early modern emotional experience. David Cressy considers that 'in the discourses of Tudor and Stuart England we find traces of

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[83] Richards, 'Emotions into Words', p.49.
[84] John Leavitt, 'Meaning and feeling in the anthropology of emotions', *American Ethnologist*, 23:3 (1996), p.529.
[85] Steven Mullaney, *The Reformation of Emotions in the Age of Shakespeare* (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 2015), p.18.
[86] Hans Medick and David Warren Sabean, *Interest and Emotion. Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship* (Cambridge,1984), p.3.

emotional behaviour similar to our own.'[87] Likewise Hannah Newton, while acknowledging that 'emotions can never be accessed in an unmediated form', is nevertheless convinced that it is 'possible occasionally to catch a glimpse of the feelings of people from the past'.[88] Will Coster, however, is more positive, concluding that 'the warmth of emotion between men, women and children appears to have been very similar to that found in the modern world.'[89]

In any attempt to reflect past emotional experience specific challenges presented by the source material must be addressed. The first problem is common to all areas of historical enquiry in that historical interpretations are contingent on the survival of sources; thus, the type and number of sources available for examination will dictate what can realistically be achieved. Relevant here also is that the survival of sources tends to privilege the experience of the literate elite.[90] The source collection on which this study is based, the correspondence of Sir Thomas Parkyns, precisely reflects these limitations as the majority of extant letters concern the events of a single year and vary considerably as to the amount of detail they contain. However, a close reading of the letters in conjunction with the use of family papers and a wide range of other source material, particularly Sir Thomas's own published writings, has made it possible to draw important insights from even a comparatively small sample.

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[87] Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, pp. 260,261.
[88] Hannah Newton, *The Sick Child in Early Modern England, 1580-1720* (Oxford University Press: Oxford,2012), p.123.
[89] Will Coster, *Family and Kinship in England 1450-1800* (Pearson Education: London, 2001), p.14.
[90] Susan Matt, 'Recovering the Invisible: Methods for the Historical Study of the Emotions' in Matt and Stearns, *Doing Emotions History* (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, Chicago, Springfield, 2014), p.49.

In addition to the limitations imposed by document survival, the issue of subjectivity presents a further complication to the recovery of personally experienced emotions. In the light of Susan Matt's pertinent reminder that in the surviving sources 'nothing is raw and unfiltered, everything is crafted', the question arises as to the extent that the sources be considered a record of authentic emotional experience.[91] Even if, as Rosenwein suggests, this crafting was an unconscious process where even the writer was unaware 'whether what is being written is conventional, idealised, manipulative or honestly felt', this would still imply, as Bound observed, that what is being recovered is 'not a record of individual experience but a record of social practice.'[92]

Recovering emotional experience requires historians to be particularly sensitive to the evidential potential of their sources. Frequently the source will not explicitly label feelings although the manuscript may compensate with contextual clues to the emotional state of the author. It was common practice to describe body language that implied an emotional state; for example, greetings that incorporated references to kissing hands or the description of a posture adopted metaphorically, such as kneeling or prostration, that implied a sense of self-abasement or humility.[93] The physical drafting of the letter itself, down to the minutiae of the presentation, should also be considered to maximise the evidence that can be extracted from the sources. Even the implications of commonplace remarks may be relevant for, as

[91] Matt, 'Recovering the Invisible', p.43.
[92] Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions',p.839; Fay Bound Alberti, 'Writing the self? Love and the Letter in England 1660-1760', *Literature and History*, No.11 (2002), p.5.
[93] Gary Schneider, 'Affecting Correspondences: Body, Behaviour and the Textualisation of Emotion in Early Modern English Letters' in *Prose Studies,* Vol.23, No. 3 (2000), p.38-41.

Richardson notes, comments such as 'isn't it a glorious day' are not simply an observation about the weather, but in some senses are a communication of inner states.[94]

Extensive exposure to the selected sources will almost inevitably increase sensitivity to their fullest evidential potential. Nevertheless, it would be overly optimistic to suggest past emotional experience can be credibly reconstructed, however sensitive the extraction of fragile nuance from sources, if the entire purpose of historical writing was simply to locate 'empirical or analytical truth'.[95] But as Alan Munslow observed, the process of 'writing history does not simply conform to a logic of discovery and reconstruction.'[96] Mandler urged historians not to be deterred from placing emotions in history, even though efforts to 'extract and reproduce meaning from the past are mediated by a host of inadequacies and half understandings', since some understanding of emotions, however flawed, was, in his opinion, better than none.[97] Karen Harvey made a realistic assessment of the potential for extracting emotional experience from source material with her suggestion that this may ultimately rest on the 'utilisation of professional judgement', a process with which historians are very familiar.[98] When underpinned by rigorous scholarship as Harvey implies, Jeanne Clegg is certain that 'an

[94] Richards, 'Emotions into Words', p.58.
[95] Alan Munslow, *The New History* (Pearson Longman: Harlow, England,2003), p.1.
[96] Munslow, *History*, p.2.
[97] Mandler, 'Cultural History', p.95.
[98] Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2012), p.14.

imaginative ability to read between the lines' offers the historian access to 'the feel of the lived experience'.[99]

Contextual historiography

To some degree emotion has been the elephant in the room for much historical enquiry. Even while its viability as an avenue of study continued to be debated it was being utilised as a tool of historical investigation, albeit in a very simple way. When Lawrence Stone constructed a tripartite model of the family spanning three centuries, the emotional connection between family members was a significant component of the changes he extrapolated. In Stone's model the initial phase was marked by a wholly pragmatic approach to marriage and parenthood, the twin pillars of family structure, where men and women endeavoured to protect themselves from the devastation of loss by consciously curbing their emotional investment, so that dynastic ambition and economic security, perceived as more enduring, were more highly prized than feelings.[100] Subsequently, during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century Stone observed a transformation in familial relationships that he explained as a consequence of the erosion of patriarchal ideals that diminished the influence of kinship networks. Familial relationships were now concentrated on the nuclear family which fostered a greater sense of intimacy and dependency that translated into greater warmth and affection.[101]

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[99] Jeanne Clegg, 'Good to Think with: Domestic Servants, England 1660-1750, *Journal of Early Modern Studie*s, No.4 (2015), p.58.
[100] Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (Penguin Books: London, 1979), pp.127-136, 82-7.
[101] Stone, *Family,* pp.149-164.

Stone's case was initially supported by subsequent examinations of marriage practice in a patriarchal society. Edward Shorter depicted marriage as 'usually affectionless, held together by considerations of property and lineage'. [102] Miriam Slater was slightly less pessimistic, and whilst not entirely ruling out the possibility of an affectionate relationship developing, nonetheless did not consider this the primary motivation for marriage.[103] However, the legitimacy of Stone's proposition of the developing dominance of affection within familial relationships was challenged by Keith Wrightson and Alan Macfarlane, among others, both working in the emerging field of social history.[104] Widening research to include analysis of non-elite groups, who up to this point had not been represented in the narrative, posited a direct challenge to the notion of change by questioning the potential for choice; if able to make a free choice of a future spouse it was assumed this was made primarily on the basis of emotional attachment rather than the economic imperative suggested by Stone. Evidence from letters, diaries, wills and prescriptive literature all emphasised continuity in terms of emotional connection, thereby confirming the essential legitimacy of the view that men and women of the early modern period experienced the joys and sorrows of family life in ways that are familiar to us.[105]

Further scrutiny of courtship, marriage practice and parent child relations in non-elite groups added to the evidential basis supporting this conclusion by bringing to light several factors previously unconsidered. Whereas Stone identified parental influence, as opposed to emotional attachment, as the major driver in the

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[102] Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family* (Collins: London, 1975), p.55.
[103] Slater, The Weightiest Business', pp.25-54.
[104] Keith Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1689* (Routledge, 2002).
[105] Alan Macfarlane, *Marriage and Love in England 1300-1840* (Blackwell, 1986).

choice of a marriage partner, subsequent analyses indicated that, in reality, parental influence was weakened in this social group by geographic distance as it was common for young people to leave home in their mid-teens to work as domestic or farm servants.[106] Contrary to Stone's assertion that parents exercised their influence to ensure conformity to their wishes whatever distress may have been caused to the child, research undertaken by Ilana Krausman Ben Amos indicated that few early modern parents were willing to jeopardise their future relationship with their child by being overly insistent on their, rather than their children's, choice of spouse.[107] Whilst an exceptional few attempted to enforce their will, largely through enacting financial penalties, such as disinheritance, in the majority of cases parents accepted their children's wishes; thus ultimately pragmatism yielded place to emotion.

A measure of realism was also visible in the study of marital relationships undertaken by Anthony Fletcher in a study located within the context of patriarchal society.[108] His aim was to assess how a prescriptive regime that relegated women to a subordinate position on the basis of perceived physical, moral and spiritual inferiority, impacted on the development of an emotionally fulfilling bond between husband and wife. Explaining the abundant evidence of emotional attachment that was apparent in elite and gentry correspondence and diaries, he suggested this was

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[106] John Gillis, *For Better or Worse; British Marriage 1600 to the Present* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1985), p.35. Pollock and Foyster each argued that this may not have been as significant as first thought, as parents-maintained interest in their children into adulthood. See Elizabeth Foyster, 'Parenting was for life not just for childhood: the role of parents in the married life of their children in early modern England', *Journal of the Historical Association*, Vol.86, No.283 (2001); Linda Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent Child Relations from 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1983).
[107] Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, 'Reciprocal Bonding: Parents and their Offspring in Early Modern England', *Journal of Family History,* Vol.25, No.3 (July 2000), p.301.
[108] Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800*(Yale University Press, 1995).

a consequence of what he considered a singular virtue of patriarchy: its flexibility.[109] Fletcher contended that married couples tacitly accepted that it was sufficient to fulfil social expectations by a public observance of male authority, but that this could be softened in their private behaviour, thus facilitating and enhancing emotional intimacy.[110]

Although not an explicit objective of his research, the significant presence of potentially turbulent emotions was brought to light in John Gillis's study of marriage through the rituals of insult, teasing and rough play that frequently accompanied the public celebration of betrothal and marriage. As marriage redefined the social and sexual roles of the engaged couple, signifying a fundamental change in their relational positions within family and community, some mechanism was necessary to signal public approval and acceptance of this change that also recognised that the experience of loss was inherently part of this process, especially for parents and siblings, and to some extent friends and former lovers.[111] Gillis concluded that the variety of verbal teasing and practical jokes; 'all part of a well-developed ritual tradition of rough music', served a very clear purpose; to diffuse the social tension generated in the process of change by providing a regulated outlet for negative emotions, like anger, to be expressed without damaging consequences.[112]

Part of the argument Stone martialled to support the apparently unfeeling disposal of children in marriage where consideration of emotional cost simply did

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[109] Fletcher, *Gender*, p.172.
[110] Fletcher, *Gender,* p.191.
[111] Gillis, *For Better or Worse,* pp.54,55,63.
[112] Gillis, *For Better or Worse,* pp. 67-70.

not feature, was that mortality rates rendered emotional investment in children imprudent.[113] However, Linda Pollock countered this claim, arguing that parents did not insulate themselves against possible future grief by distancing themselves from their children, but rather that their familiarity with child mortality made them more, not less, anxious about their children's prospects.[114] Joanne Bailey's examination of marital litigation cases presented to the ecclesiastical courts demonstrated that emotional commitment to children was considered an essential feature of parental obligation.[115] Constructing the ideals of gendered parental roles based on this body of evidence led her to conclude that not only was affection a highly desirable trait in both mothers and fathers, but that its absence was widely regarded as evidence of parental cruelty.[116]

Elizabeth Foyster's study of parental relationships extended historical investigation to examine the extent of parental interest and influence in the lives of adult children.[117] As in many of the texts considered here, whilst the emotional dynamic was not explored explicitly, it was nevertheless obvious in the recorded distress experienced by parents when their adult children faced difficulties. Foyster highlighted examples of material support extended to adult children in periods of financial hardship or at points of crisis in their marital relationship.[118] Ben Amos elaborated further, suggesting that practical support observed by Foyster, went hand

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113 Stone, *Family,* pp.181,183.
114 Linda Pollock, 'Parent Child Relations' in Kertzer, D and Barbagli, M, *Family Life in Early Modern Times* (Yale University Press: Newhaven and London, 2001), p.196; Pollock, *Forgotten Children,* pp. 127-8.
115 Joanne Bailey, 'Reassessing Parenting in Eighteenth Century England' in Foyster and Berry, (eds) *The Family In Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2007), pp. 209-232.
116 Bailey, 'Reassessing Parenting', pp. 220,223.
117 Foyster, 'Parenting', pp.213,14.
118 Foyster, 'Parenting', pp.315,321.

in hand with a 'great deal of emotional involvement.'[119] More recently Newton looked at the very considerable expenditure of physical and emotional resources required to nurse a sick child.[120] Newton's study came closest to looking at parenting from the perspective of emotions as she analysed a range of feelings and reactions expressed by early modern parents when their children were ill, especially the emotional devastation that followed bereavement.[121]

Studied within the practice of death and dying, grief has been one of the most productive studies of emotion. Evidence taken from wills, epitaphs, funeral sermons, tombs and personal accounts in diaries and letters have allowed historians to examine family relationships through the lens of grief, extrapolating the strength of attachment from the degree of emotional loss registered in mourning.[122] Whilst grief was considered a natural and inevitable process, Ralph Houlbrooke, Andrea Brady and Claire Gittings have each drawn attention to how contemporary advice placed emphasis on emotional restraint as any apparent 'bragging of grief' was perceived as insincere.[123] In drawing attention to the gendered nature of grief through 'rival styles of mourning' exhibited by bereaved fathers and mothers, Patricia Phillippy noted that defining excessive grief as the preserve of woman automatically conflated it

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[119] Ben-Amos, 'Reciprocal Bonding', p.295.
[120] Newton, *The Sick Child,* pp.91-120.
[121] Newton, *The Sick Child*, pp.121-157.
[122] For example, John Addy, *Death, Money and the Vultures. Inheritance and Avarice 1660-1750* (Routledge: London,1992), pp.50,55.
[123] Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England 1480-1750* (Oxford University Press: Oxford,2000), p.221; Andrea Brady, 'A share of sorrows'; Death in the Early Modern English Household' in Susan Broomhall, *Emotions in the Household 1200-1900* (Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke,2007), p.185.; Claire Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (Croon Helm, 1984), p.94.

with irrationality, thereby inferring disapproval.[124] Most damagingly of all however, any exhibition of emotional incontinence would be construed as an act of rebellion against the divine will. Indeed, as Anne Laurence commented, for religious puritans like Ralph Josselin, bereavement was to be met as a salutary spiritual experience that properly prompted inner scrutiny with a view to amending any revealed lapses in conduct.[125]

Certainly, grief was frequently experienced as shattering. While Laurence noted the frequency of recording excessive grief as a cause of death in London Mortality bills, Michael MacDonald found that the casebooks of the seventeenth century physician Richard Napier listed bereavement as the third most common cause of mental distress, confirming that for many early modern couples the marital relationship was profoundly emotional.[126] Indeed, using evidence from probate records and parish registers to analyse the incidence of remarriage among Abingdon widows between 1541-1700, Barbara Todd found that for some widows, their emotional attachment to their husbands survived death, making it impossible for them to consider remarriage.[127] Taken together this evidence does not support the characterisation of early modern England as a 'low affect society'.[128]

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[124] Patricia Phillippy,' ''I might againe have been the sepulchre'' Paternal and Maternal Mourning in Early Modern England' in Jennifer Vaught, *Grief and Gender700-1700*(Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke and New York, 2003), p.204.
[125] Anne Laurence, 'Godly Grief: Individual Responses to Death in Seventeenth Century Britain' in Houlbrooke, *Death, Ritual and Bereavement* (Routledge: London and New York, 1989), pp.67-70.
[126] Michael MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam. Madness, anxiety and healing in seventeenth century England* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1981), pp.75,103.; Laurence, 'Godly Grief', p.75.
[127] Barbara Todd, 'The remarrying widow: A stereotype reconsidered' in Mary Prior, *Women in English Society 500-1800* (Methuen: London and New York,1985), p.79.
[128] Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family,* p.224.

Although grief was registered most strongly with the death of a blood relative, the impact of loss was felt beyond the immediate family as Andrea Brady recovered the emotional dynamic of the master servant relationship made evident in bequests made to favoured servants.[129] Since the head of the household was imagined as a father figure responsible for the moral, spiritual and physical welfare of his servants, Brady reasoned that it would follow that servants could experience the death of a master emotionally. Nor does she consider that this emotional response was strictly limited to the confines of the household, pointing to the practice of recording social roles on funeral monuments as evidence that the wider community also registered a sense of loss when one of its number died.[130]

Tombs and monuments, considered by Matt as 'material symbols of emotion', have proved a useful resource to examine family relationships.[131]An extensive analysis undertaken by Nigel Llewellyn furnished examples of inscriptions from memorials that reflect a very personal experience of loss. This study was also notable for taking into account how gestures, facial expression and posture of the statuary all conveyed recognisable expressions of grief and mourning.[132] Jean Wilson also surveyed funerary monuments, similarly noting how devotion and loss were explicitly conveyed both visually and textually.[133] The profusion of funeral sermons and epitaphs that formed the basis of Claire Gittings work extolled the virtues of the

[129] Brady, 'A share of sorrows', p.193.
[130] Brady, 'A share of sorrows', p.188.
[131] Matt, 'Recovering the Invisible', p.51.
[132] Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post Reformation England* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2000), p.51.
[133] Wilson, 'Icons of Unity', pp.14-20.

deceased whilst markedly expressing personal love and loss.[134] Laurence's own study led her to conclude 'there is a striking familiarity in these accounts of the numbness, confusion and despair of grief. These are not people whose feelings are in any doubt'.[135]

Emotional connections were not exclusively restricted to family members but were also manifested in friendships a relationship Randolph Trumbach considered as the most significant of the period.[136] Although scholarly understanding of early modern friendship has progressed beyond Stone's early characterisation of a friend as 'someone who could help one on in life', Lynn Johnson considers that this view of friendship, as a functional rather than emotional relationship, has nevertheless dominated academic enquiry.[137] Certainly Keith Thomas, Karl Westhauser and Eva Osterburg all found clear evidence that social connections were exploited for material and social advantage.[138] However, using the diaries of London shopkeeper Thomas Turner to reconstruct an individual experience of friendship, Naomi Tadmor challenged the notion that friendships were either instrumental or sentimental, arguing that early modern friendship was more often a blend of social advantage and personal attachment.[139]

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[134] Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England (Croon Helm, 1984),* pp.138,144,147,8.
[135] Laurence, 'Godly Grief', p.74.
[136] Randolph Trumbach, *The Rise of the Egalitarian Family. Aristocratic Kinship and Domestic Relations in Eighteenth Century England* (Elsevier Science, 2003), p.64.
[137] Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*, (1979), p.79; Lynn Johnson, 'Friendship, coercion and interest: debating the foundations of justice in early modern England', *Journal of Early Modern History*, No. 8.2 (2004), p.47.
[138] Eva Osterburg, *Friendship and Love, Ethics and Politics. Studies in Medieval and Early Modern History*. (Central European University Press: Budapest,2010) p.74; Karl Westhauser, 'Friendship and Family in Early Modern England: The Sociability of Adam Eyre and Samuel Pepys', *Journal of Social History,* Vol. 27, No.3 (1994), p.526; Thomas, *Ends of Life,* pp.191,192.
[139] Tadmor, *Family and Friends,* p.202.

As Tadmor, and later, Keith Thomas argued, it is too simplistic to consider early modern friendship as a binary opposition of sentimentality and instrumentality.[140] While Osterburg observed that apparent formality in the way emotion is expressed makes it relatively difficult to distinguish between authentic expressions of personal affection and those that simply utilise the vocabulary of affect as a manipulative strategy, Sabean and Medick argue that since 'emotions and material interests are socially constituted and that they arise from the same matrix', the distinction between self-interest and sentiment is effectively redundant in this context. [141] This is relevant to this thesis as it will propose that it is possible to discern the presence of emotion in instrumental friendships in the same way as in those considered to be based in sentiment where the emotional accent is more clearly apparent.

As has been established, a very substantial strand of the historiography of the family has directly criticised the notion of a 'low affect society' by observing the expression of emotion, whether stated or implied, from a range of familial perspectives.[142] Nevertheless to a large degree historians have confined their approaches to simply observing the broad presence of emotion in the evidence. Over time, however, writers have become less circumspect in their approach to emotion and have moved it to the foreground of their studies, so that latterly emotions history has become an approach in its own right. There are several examples where a sustained exploration has been made of key emotions; Pollock,

[140] Thomas, *The Ends of Life,* pp.191-2.
[141] Osterburg, *Friendship*, p.74; Medick, Sabean, (eds) *Interest and Emotion,* p.3.
[142] Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family,* p.224.

Rosenwein and Stearns have each written about anger, Joanna Bourke, fear, whereas Gittings, Houlbrooke, Lawrence and Vaught have focused their attentions on grief. More latterly, Susan Broomhall and others have situated experienced emotions within the domestic context of household and family.[143]

Thesis: context, source evaluation, methodology

The subject of this study is Sir Thomas Parkyns of Bunny (1662-1747), a landowner with extensive estates in the counties of Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Leicestershire. Described by a local antiquarian as 'without doubt one of these whom England delights to honour as the typical Englishman', he served as a Justice of the Peace and Deputy Lieutenant for Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire.[144] In discharging these public roles he took an active and vocal interest in local and national affairs. He impacted on the physical landscape of Nottingham through a successful campaign to defeat the proposal to rebuild the collapsed County Hall and gaol to the 'spacious and well adorned market place'.[145] He expressed his opinions on a number of important contemporary debates, defending the legitimacy of the Glorious Revolution by expressing his support for the impeachment of Anglican cleric Dr Sacheverell in 1710 for 'high crimes and misdemeanours' for example, but also showed his concern to 'maintain social , political and economic stability' in his role as a Justice of the Peace by proposing the social discipline of problematic groups, either in compelling prisoners to work during their confinement as a means

[143] Susan Broomhall, (ed) *Emotions in the Household 1200-1900* (Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2008).
[144] Nottingham Record Office (hereafter NRO), M326, Stapleton, A (ed) *Articles on Nottingham Bibliography. More notes on the wrestling baronet of Bunny,* 1904, p.10.
[145] NRO, RB31, *Queries and Reasons offered by Sir Thomas Parkyns why the county Hall, Gaol should be built in the county of Nottingham*, 1724.

of encouraging habits of independence and industry, or limiting the mobility and suppressing wages of all servants. [146]

His memorial in the parish church at Bunny records an extensive programme of building projects and charitable endeavours on behalf of his tenants and the local community:

> He new roofed this chancel, built the vault and erected this monument, gave the two treble bells to the church, built the schoolhouse and hospital … He gave to the poor widows and widowers of Bunny and Bradmore 4-5s yearly in bread… built the manor houses in Bunny and East Leake… the vicarage house and most of the farmhouses in Bunny and Bradmore.[147]

In one of several county histories complied in the nineteenth century, he was eulogised as 'a man of high probity, considerable learning, an excellent magistrate and a universal good neighbour and as a consequence lived respected and died much lamented.'[148]

Obituaries and memorials present an image for posterity couched in terms of qualities and achievements esteemed by contemporaries, but there was much more to Sir Thomas's life than his self-penned sketch of conventional Georgian gentry suggests.[149] He was no stranger to adversity having narrowly avoided bankruptcy, experienced the death of two sons in early manhood, been deserted by his wife and taken to court by his only grandson and heir; life events that offer fruitful entry points to consider Sir Thomas's interior life. Furthermore, his interests marked him as a singular man; his keen advocacy of the art of Cornish Hugg wrestling earned

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[146] NRO, RB31, *The Observator on the proceedings in parliament against Dr Sacheverell,*1710; *A letter from a Justice of the Peace about an act for setting poor prisoners &C at work 1710, A method proposed for the hiring and recording of servants in husbandry*,1724.
[147] Memorial to Sir Thomas Parkyns, St Mary's Parish Church, Bunny.
[148] NRO, Bailey, *Annals of Nottinghamshire History of the County of Nottingham including the Borough* Vol.II, p.1193.
[149] Thomas, *Ends of Life*, p. 249.

him the soubriquet 'The Wrestling Baronet'.[150] In his insistence on a memorial that paid tribute to 'this ruling passion' he outraged local sensibilities, reaping a whirlwind of clerical opprobrium in the process by erecting a statue 'in the primary posture of wrestling in my chancel at Bunny.'[151] As Zeldin suggested, character and personality are more interesting than policies and campaigns, making the idiosyncratic personality of Sir Thomas an intriguing and valuable case study.[152]

As a man of standing in the local community Sir Thomas claimed friendship with a diverse group of people, from men of substance to some from more humble origins, therefore a further strand of research will concentrate on these relationships. In the third edition of his book *The Inn Play or Cornish Hugg Wrestler*, published in 1727, he included a dedication to Lord Thomas Manners whom he had taught to wrestle. He corresponded with the Duke of Newcastle, the Duke of Kingston and the Earl of Chesterfield. He entertained the Archbishop of York and was able to call on the services of Abel Smith of the well-known Nottinghamshire banking family. He wrote to Marshall de Tallard, the leader of the French army imprisoned in Nottingham after the battle of Blenheim describing himself as 'the very sincerest of your friends and servants.'[153] This correspondence provides a rich base of source material to examine the foundation and operation of friendship networks.

The emotional life of Sir Thomas will be analysed through a collection of approximately 70 personal letters written or received by Sir Thomas from his

[150] NRO, M326, Stapleton, *Articles on Nottingham Bibliography,* 1904, p.1.
[151] Nottingham Subscription Library (hereafter NSL) Sir Thomas Parkyns, *The Inn Play or Cornish Hugg Wrestler,* 3rd ed, 1727, p. vi.
[152] Zeldin, 'Personal History', p.342.
[153] University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections (hereafter UNMASC) Pa C64.

extended family, friends, acquaintances and associates between 1700 and 1740 held in the Family and Estate Collections at the University of Nottingham as part of the Parkyns Collection. Correspondence is a particularly useful resource to study personal relationships at a time when travel was neither cheap nor convenient since letters 'sent and received as imaginative transmitters of face to face contact' were the primary means to maintain communication. As Rosemary O'Day pointed out, our knowledge of family relationships in the past 'depends… on the existence of written correspondence' generated because families often lived at a distance.[154] Gary Schneider considers letters an important historical resource as the 'instruments by which social ties were initiated, negotiated and consolidated'.[155] Roger Chartier concurs, considering that 'the goal of letter writing was to cement, maintain and extend the bonds of social life and solidarity', thus, in his view, the letter is no less than 'an artefact of human relationships'. [156]

Letters offer significant insights into the operation and experience of family life, not least because family news and disputes were relayed by letter and shared between the extended family. The social network formed by the Parkyns family and their neighbours was also partly maintained by correspondence. Here again, although perhaps with different motivations, exchanging family news was an

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154 Rosemary O'Day, *The Family and Family Relationships, 1500-1900. England, France and the United States* (Macmillan Press: Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and London, 1994), p.89.
155 Gary Schneider, 'Affecting Correspondence: Body, Behaviour and the Textualisation of Emotion in Early Modern English Letters', *Prose Studies*, Vol.23, No. 3 (2000), p. 41; Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England 1500-1700* (University of Delaware, 2005), p.27.
156 Roger Chartier, 'An Ordinary Kind of Writing 'in Chartier, Boreau and Dauphin, *Correspondence: Models of Letter Writing from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Polity Press: Cambridge, 1997) p.21; Leonie Hannan, 'Women, Letter-Writing and the Life of the Mind in England, c.1650-1750', *Literature and History*, Vol.22, No.2 (2013), p.2.

important element of letters, especially those written to express condolences to the bereaved. But local and national issues were also referred to; royal births, the depredations of the Scots and economic woes all featured. By means of letters personal advice was offered, common interests were enjoyed, and invitations extended and received.

There is widespread scholarly agreement that 'Letter writing flowered after the Restoration' with some scholars marking the eighteenth century as the time when 'the epistolary genre reached a perhaps unsurpassed sociocultural prominence as a form of communication and expression.'[157] What is of particular importance here, is that not only did the volume of correspondence increase, but the nature of letters changed with the emergence of a more personal epistolary form noted by James Daybell.[158] Houlbrooke similarly regards this as a significant feature of the period where, as correspondence became more widely used, the expression of personal feelings became 'fuller, more explicit and more prominent' a change he attributed to the widespread influence of humanist letter writing manuals.[159]

Whatever the influence at work, considering the communication of feelings to be the primary purpose of letter writing as Pollock also does, seems an inescapable conclusion.[160] Roper agrees that writing letters was principally a psychological activity, concluding therefore that 'letters provide a source of clues as to emotional

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[157] Susan Whyman, ''Paper Visits': the post Restoration letter as seen through the Verney family archive' in Earle, Rebecca, (ed), *Epistolary Selves* (Taylor and Francis, 1999), p.15; Gabriella Del Lungo 'Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern Culture: An Introduction', *Journal of Early Modern Studies*, No.3 (2014), p.18.
[158] James Daybell, *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing 1450-1700* (Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2001), p.2.
[159] Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England 1480-1750* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2000), pp.228, 221; Ralph Houlbrooke, *The English Family 1450- 1700*(1984), p.32.
[160] Pollock, 'Anger', p.572.

states'.[161] In a similar vein Susan Whyman asserts that letter writing styles 'show personalities', therefore individual character may be uncovered by 'decoding unspoken anxieties and interests' present in letters.[162] Together these features make personal correspondence a particularly useful source for the purpose of this study.

If, above all, letters are to be regarded as psychological communications, it would follow that their evidential potential is not solely reliant on the message of the text. Like Roper, Arianne Baggerman and Rudolph Dekker connect the physical act of writing with emotional states and suggest that crossing words out, substituting words or phrases, even ink blots could be considered as potential indicators of altered affective states.[163]Additionally, Jonathan Gibson and Sue Walker drew attention to the significance of the spatial arrangements of letters as a means of acknowledging the relative social status of the writer in relation to the addressee.[164] Daybell enlarged on this to consider the letter as a material artefact where investigating the 'paper, ink, handwriting, physical layout, signatures, seals and fastenings' of letters uncovers 'the social signs inscribed materially' within them.[165] Where they arise, such phenomena offer useful additions to the evidence that can be

[161] Roper, 'Slipping out of View', p.65.
[162] Whyman, 'Paper Visits', p.17.
[163] Arianne Baggerman and Rudolf Dekker, 'The Social World of a Dutch Boy. The Diary of Otto van Eck 1791-1796' in Broomhall, *Household*, p.267; Roper,' Slipping out of View',p.65; Elizabeth Heckendorn Cook, *Epistolary Bodies: Gender and Genre in the Eighteenth Century Republic of Letters* (Stanford University Press: Stanford, CA,1996), p.2.
[164] Jonathan Gibson, 'Significant Space in Manuscript Letters' in *The Seventeenth Century*,12: 1(1997), p.4; Sue Walker, 'The Manners of the Page: Prescription and Practice in the Visual Organisation of Correspondence', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, Vol.66, No.3:4 (2003), pp.307-329.
[165] James Daybell, 'Material Meanings and the Social Signs of Manuscript Letters in Early Modern England', *Literature Compass*, 6:3(2009), p.648; James Daybell, Andrew Gordon 'The Early Modern Letter Opener' in Daybell and Gordon (eds) *Cultures of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain* (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 2016), p.12.

extracted from the text, making the letter a richer source of data than could be gleaned from textual analysis alone.

Amongst the proliferation of print forms during the eighteenth century, Elizabeth Heckendorn Cook regards the letter as the symbol of private, as distinct from public, expression.[166] Pollock suggests that perceiving the letter as an essentially private communication may have encouraged correspondents to be less circumspect in their replies, further adding to the utility of letters as historical evidence.[167] This suggestion was, however, qualified by Chartier who considered that letters to family members and letters to friends served intrinsically different purposes.[168] He believed family letters were intended to reinforce the ties of affinity and were therefore not the appropriate setting for the expression of personal confidences, whereas writing to friends provided refuge from obligation and thus it was here that the subjective voice could be given freer rein.[169]

Although a rich source of material for historians working in the field of emotions, letters are not wholly unproblematic. For example, Fay Bound pointed to the rise of letter writing manuals offering guides to creating letters for every social occasion to support her contention that the representations of emotions in letters cannot be regarded as a record of lived experience, but more realistically understood as a fictionalised space where selfhood is crafted.[170] Susan Whyman, however,

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[166] Heckendorn Cook, *Epistolary Bodies,* p.6.
[167] Pollock, 'Anger', p.572.
[168] Chartier, 'An Ordinary Kind of Writing', p.21.
[169] Chartier, 'An Ordinary Kind of Writing', p.21.
[170] Bound, 'Writing the Self? Love and the Letter in England 1660-1760', *Literature and History,* No.11. (2002), pp.4,5.

dismissed the effect of letter writing manuals considering that they would have made much less impact than had been assumed and that the most commonly followed models of letter writing were other examples of real letters.[171] Nevertheless, Heckendorn Cook also questions the 'truth-value' of letters based on her observance of comments from eighteenth century correspondents like Samuel Richardson who described the letter writing as a process that allowed 'deliberation.'[172] Gibson also agrees with this position advocating that letter writing should be understood as simply a 'practice of convention' with limited utility as a reflection of interiority.[173]

Pollock conceded the validity of these concerns but disputed the significance attached to them by fellow historians. She noted that since emotions were rarely explicitly named within the text of letters, it must have been the case that the writer was articulating emotion in such a way that would be understood by the reader; in essence that both writer and reader were able to access and understand the cultural script employed.[174] Pollock's argument is that this actually represents a positive development for historical enquiry, one that illuminates rather than obscures the potential to understand early modern emotions. Since instances that specifically label feelings are relatively infrequent, insight into the daily experience of emotions can sometimes only be accessed through understanding and interpreting the social script. But even if it is the case that letters tell us more about the cultural models

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[171] Susan Whyman, *The Pen and the People English Letter Writers 1660-1800* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2009), p.28.
[172] Heckendorn Cook, *Epistolary Bodies,* p.86.
[173] Gibson, 'Significant Space', p.6.
[174] Pollock, 'Anger', p.573.

used than about interior thinking and feeling, insofar as this reveals what was commonly accepted as appropriate emotional expression, the Emotionology of the period as Stearns would have it, this enlarges understanding and is therefore, still useful.[175]

Additionally, Schneider demonstrated that any understanding of emotional expressions contained in letters is not entirely dependent on the text as early modern letter writers were alive to the potential for misunderstanding when attempting to convey emotional states at a remove. This led writers to employ rhetorical devices to make good the gaps that would be filled by non-verbal cues in face to face conversation. Moreover, having examined how writers enhanced descriptions of their feelings by referring to their posture, gesture or mood, persuaded him that this was not just a way to minimise potential textual ambiguity, but was driven by a phenomena he termed 'epistolary anxiety' whereby writers endeavoured to overcome the inherent shortcomings of the letter as a medium of expression in order to be fully understood.[176] Essentially, then, spatial positioning, descriptions of demeanour and posture, together with handwriting anomalies represent 'forms of articulation' used by early modern letter writers thereby offering a number of additional ways to recover emotional experience.[177]

Although correspondence is the foundation, the thesis utilises other documents in the collection; predominantly wills, accounts and inventories, as these contribute important additional evidence about significant relationships. Further

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[175] Stearns, 'Emotionology', pp.813-836.
[176] Schneider, 'Affecting Correspondences', pp.31-62.
[177] Walker, 'Manners of the page', p.311.

insights from Sir Thomas's interior world have been gleaned from analysis of beliefs and values articulated in published print from the occasions that Sir Thomas participated in public debate in pamphlets and treatises where he expressed his views of local and national political and social issues.

The books authored by Sir Thomas also proved a valuable resource. Application of his acknowledged expertise as a sportsman culminated in three editions of *The Inn Play*, the first manual to systemise the art of Cornish Hugg wrestling. [178] Each edition contains a selection of letters and poems from admirers and supporters that can be legitimately included in a study largely based on correspondence since Daybell considers 'the verse and dedicatory epistle' another form of epistolary writing.[179] Together with the comprehensive and methodical instruction of the text, the dedications, letters and poems frequently address Sir Thomas's conceptualisation of masculinity, expanding on issues only briefly referred to in his correspondence. A wide ranging intellectual curiosity is also visible in these texts: a distinctive mark of his status as an eighteenth century gentleman. Significantly he incorporated connections he made between diet, health and the inheritability of physical traits, ideas that can appear startlingly modern, to place idealised masculinity within his vision of a distinctively English national identity.

In keeping with its objective of exploring the emotional experience of social and familial relationships to the fullest possible extent this study is not restricted to analysis of textual sources but also exploits physical evidence in several forms,

[178] Nottingham Subscription Library (hereafter NSL), Sir Thomas Parkyns, *The Inn Play or Cornish Hugg Wrestler*. Unless otherwise stated all quotations are taken from the third edition, 1727.
[179] Daybell, Gordon (eds) *Cultures of Correspondence,* p. 8.

notably building survivals, epigraphs, monuments and memorials. Here the latest developments in theoretical approaches to historical emotions are used pioneered by Sarah Tarlow and Sarah Randles who work at 'the intersection of emotion and the material world', to discover how material objects define and change human emotion.[180] The thesis examines how material objects were understood as an index of familial attachment and were deployed through inheritance practice and gift giving to confirm and maintain social networks.

Particular emphasis is placed on examining relationships less well considered in the historiography, such as siblings, grandchildren. Naomi Miller and Naomi Yavneh's analysis of sibling relationships highlighted the discrepancy between the weight of scholarly interest in domestic life and the relative neglect of the lives of 'actual brothers and sisters'.[181] Extracting what can be known about sororal and fraternal relationships using the three sets of brothers and sisters appearing in this study draws from and builds on important studies such as Amy Harris's work on Georgian siblings.[182]

The role of grandparents is a similarly neglected area of research, seen by Ottaway as the result of 'a misconception that grandparents were very scarce in the

[180] Sarah Randles, 'The Material World', in Barclay, de Rosa and Stearns, *Sources for the History of Emotions: A Guide* (Routledge: Abingdon, 2020) ,p.168.
[181] Naomi J. Miller and Naomi Yavneh, Introduction: 'Thicker than Water: Evaluating Sibling Relations in the Early Modern Period', in Miller and Yavneh, (eds)*Sibling Relations and Gender in the Early Modern World (Taylor* and Francis, 2006), p.1,12.
[182] Amy Harris, *Siblinghood and Social Relations in Georgian England: Share and Share Alike* (Manchester University Press: Manchester,2012). See also Sara Mendelson and Mary O'Connor, '''Thy Passionately Loving Sister and Faithful Friend:'' Anne Dormer's Letters to her Sister Lady Trumbull', Miller and Yavneh, (eds) *Sibling Relations*, pp. 206-213.

early modern period.' [183] Bailey also noticed this gap, and called for a 'sustained analysis of parent's roles in their children's and grandchildren's lives.'[184] As Sir Thomas and his mother were both grandparents and indeed great grandparents, the Parkyns family offers potential for progress in this area. From Sir Thomas's assumption of the guardianship of his grandchildren, Thomas and Harriott after the death of their father, there is a great deal of useful evidence showing Sir Thomas as an active grandparent deeply committed to the wellbeing of his grandchildren. This is particularly true with regard to his relationship with his grandson Thomas in whose behalf he dusted off somewhat rusty skills to compile a guide to Latin grammar that reveals much of its authors opinions of contemporary education and of the young who were its primary beneficiaries.[185] Confirmation of a 'powerful bond between grandparents and grandchildren' manifested in practical, financial and emotional support is also visible in interactions between Lady Parkyns and her grandchildren; Rawleigh, Thomas, Carew and Anne Weekes, the children of her daughter Catherine.[186]

A further less well considered theme addressed in the thesis is that of early modern friendship. The socially diverse group of individuals with whom Sir Thomas claimed friendship, provides an entry point from which to expand on the complexities of male friendship, a relationship most recently defined as a blend of

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[183] Susannah Ottaway, *The Decline of Life; Old Age in Eighteenth Century England* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2003), p.157.
[184] Bailey, 'Reassessing Parenting', p.231.
[185] Gillian Avery, 'The Beginning of Children's Reading to c.1700', in Hunt, Peter, (ed), *Children's Literature an Illustrated History* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1995), p.2.
[186] O'Day, *Family*, p.84.

pragmatism and affection.[187] By concentrating on how the obligations of friendship were met in social courtesies, acts of hospitality and gift exchange, the thesis will argue that emotion permeated what may superficially appear as self-interested strategies to demonstrate that men primarily understood and appreciated friendship as an emotional resource, a bulwark against life's reverses.

Whilst bringing into view little considered familial and social roles this study adds to knowledge of already well examined relationships by adopting the underused approach of the emotions. As has been demonstrated in the review of the historiography, the emotional lives of the early modern family alluded to in many major studies have not yet been analysed in a systematic way. Whilst it is true that significant work has been undertaken on major emotional motifs, such as love, anger, fear and grief, this thesis will construct an holistic sketch of emotional experience within the familial and social network of an individual that is sensitive to the entire evidential potential of the selected sources and will therefore present a more nuanced understanding than presently exists.

When considering the impact of marriage breakdown, Ben Amos and Foyster have each highlighted the occasionally significant, economic support parents offered to their married children at times of crisis.[188] Such interventions are presented as evidence of continuing interest in the welfare and well-being of adult children thereby challenging the notion that parental concern in the lives of their children

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[187] For example Tadmor, Naomi, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth Century England. Household, Kinship and Patronage* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2001).

[188] Foyster, 'Parenting was for Life', p.326. Ben Amos, 'Reciprocal bonding', pp. 294-5.

ended at marriage. While this hints at a lifelong investment in the wellbeing of their children, neither historian addresses this explicitly. Furthermore, Fletcher repeatedly references emotions experienced by parents and children at each stage of development; mothers who 'wrote emotional accounts' of having their children inoculated against smallpox, how mothers, fathers and children , particularly boys, 'fulfilled their emotional needs' through letter writing when sent away to school.[189] While these accounts clearly establish that early modern parents were not simply detached observers of their children's lives, the emotions engendered by their concern remains largely untapped, a gap that will be addressed here to enhance current understanding of the parent child relationship.

This study also extends the current appreciation of the significance of gender by interrogating the reflexive connection between women and emotion, a consequence of the link between humoral imbalance and emotional expression established by Galen's presentation of distinctly male and female dispositions. The association of women and emotional indiscipline as a consequence of a lack of capacity for rational, proportionate judgement permeates the historiography where, as Willemijn Ruberg noted, studies of women's emotion responses dominate. [190] Using a male protagonist as the central focus of study will begin to correct this imbalance.

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[189] Anthony Fletcher, *Growing up in England. The Experience of Childhood 1600-1914* (Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 60,181.
[190] Fay Bound Alberti, *Medicine, Emotion and Disease 1700-1950* (Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2006), p.4.; Willemijn Ruberg, 'Interdisciplinarity and the History of Emotions' in *Cultural and Social History,* Vol. 6, No. 4 (2009), p.512.

Roper also called for future research to reach beyond the external codes and structures of idealised masculinity to consider the internal dynamic of men's emotional behaviour.[191] Although more recent studies have accorded masculine emotions slightly wider currency even so, the potential remains untapped. In Karen Harvey's work to recover the connection between masculinity and domesticity, home is recognised 'as an emotionally laden place', but the emotional responses of men within this setting are not addressed.[192] More sustained reference to emotion is visible in Henry French's study of gentry masculinity, particularly in those chapters that pertain to marriage and fatherhood, but even here the analysis tends to rest on dealing with these as a shared, life cycle experience rather than a highly personal experience.[193] Here the aim is to move beyond an orthodox understanding of masculine codes to detail the emotional experience, in terms of personal cost and reward, of the establishment and then lifelong maintenance of masculine honour that was intrinsic to a healthy sense of self-worth and an essential strand of individual identity.

The thesis does not aim to evaluate the validity of arguments as to the nature of emotion posed by psychologists, anthropologists, and more latterly, neurobiologists. To attempt this would require knowledge and skills beyond the scope of historical enquiry. Nor is this strictly necessary since, as Mullaney points out, understanding where emotions come from does little to shed light on the

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[191] Roper, 'Slipping out of View', p.57.
[192] Harvey, *The Little Republic,* p.10.
[193] Henry French and Mark Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities 1600-1900* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2012), pp.186-194.

experience of emotion; the primary focus of this research.[194] Rather than engage in a forensic examination of an emotion to uncover its precise significance, or setting out to define the emotional footprint of a specific period, the overarching objective here is to expand the existing understanding of early modern emotions by mapping the emotional landscape of an individual in its entirety.

While this is not without its difficulties, labelling, interpreting, and assessing the intensity of an emotional experience from source material is already a significant part of the historiography of affective relationships, evidenced by extensive coverage of the presence of emotions within courtship, marriage, the family, household and in friendship. Whilst expanding on that scope and specificity, this study will continue in that established tradition. It will work from the position, argued by Reddy and others, that there is a biological component to some emotions; for example, the attachment facilitated between mothers and babies by the release of hormones during breastfeeding.[195] However, it will also show that emotions are socially constructed and therefore have to be understood within the context of the period in which they are experienced.

The primary methodology employed here is based on the model of textual analysis articulated by Rosenwein and developed specifically with the historical study of emotions in mind.[196]The sources investigated suggest three possibilities to recover emotion. In the first and possibly least problematic case, emotions are either directly expressed or are strongly implied through reference to bodily sensations,

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[194] Steven Mullaney, *Reformation of Emotions*, p.21.
[195] Stearns, 'Emotionology', p.824.
[196] Plamper, Reddy, Rosenwein, Stearns, 'The History of Emotions: An interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein and Peter Stearns', *History and Theory*, 49 (May 2010), p.254.

described gestures, postures or facial syntax.[197] With regard to correspondence specifically, spatial positioning, alterations or emendations to the text are especially pertinent as these suggest a process of reconsideration or moderation.[198] Secondly, noting actions in which emotion is implied. Whether providing materially for family members or charitable giving on behalf of vulnerable individuals in the community, each was understood as symbols of care, and therefore rooted in feeling. Finally, the study will look for emotions that although not directly articulated, inform the emotion expressed. This is common practice in historical study, for example historians have argued that the intensity of grief expressed in bereavement can be taken as a reliable indication of the degree of love and affection within a marital or parental relationship.

Although this is a challenging undertaking, it is made possible by borrowing from other disciplinary approaches where appropriate following Amanda Vickery's advice that recapturing 'the texture of the everyday requires some versatility of approach.' [199] One useful technique is 'empathic recognition', a skill instinctively utilised in personal interactions between family, friends, colleagues, even strangers, where navigating social interactions of varying degrees of importance depends on interpreting emotional signals.[200] This has long been accepted as a valid approach amongst anthropologists whose identification of the cultural relativity of emotions

[197] Gibson, 'Significant Space', p.4.
[198] Schneider, 'Affecting Correspondences', p.41; Baggerman and Dekker, 'Social World', p.267.
[199] Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2009), p.3.
[200] Leavitt, 'Meaning and Feeling', p.530; Rosenwein, 'Worrying about emotions', p.842.

has been influential in opening the way for historical study of this important aspect of human experience. There is no reason to suppose that emotions, whilst privileged or expressed in different ways, have essentially changed.[201]Indeed, if this was not the case much of the existing historiography would be rendered invalid. Furthermore, classical romantic poetry surely retains its cultural significance precisely because articulated emotions remain recognisable to audiences in successive time periods.[202]

In what follows, each chapter has been constructed with Sir Thomas Parkyns as the central figure, considering all other members of the family from the perspective of their relationship to him. In chapter two, Sir Thomas's closest relationships; filial, marital, and parental are the major focus of scrutiny. However, in line with the most recent historiographical studies that demonstrate the inclusion of domestic servants within the early modern household family, the chapter will also address the master servant relationship. The evidence examined gives access to the intimate drama of family life: quarrels, feuds, marital conflict and bereavement, but also reveals how wives, children and aging parents were cared for even though this can often only be understood through the formal transfer of property and other assets in wills and dowries. This chapter will also make apparent how expressions of emotion were mediated to conform to gender and social norms.

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[201] Stearns, 'Emotionology', p.823; Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family,* p.221; Rosemary Mander, Rosalind Marshall, *An historical analysis of the role of paintings and photographs in comforting bereaved parents*. (Elsevier Science Ltd, 2003), p.239.

[202] Carol Stearns, ''Lord Help Me Walk Humbly': Anger and Sadness in England and America,1570-1750', in Stearns, Peter; Stearns, Carol, *Emotion and Social Change: Towards a New Psychohistory* (Holmes and Meier: London and New York,1988), p.40.

The third chapter moves onto the extended family where the focus is the relationship between Sir Thomas and his adult nieces and nephews, their wives and husbands. The relatively few surviving letters create a superficial impression of family and marital relationships where the main driver was economic concerns, however, this chapter interrogates this perception of acquisitive materialism with reference to Craig Muldrew's work that established the foundation of the early modern economy in social relationships firmly rooted in trust.[203] This understanding allows the inheritance disputes that form the staple of this correspondence to be understood in the light of an appeal to kinship bonds based on affection. Nevertheless, Sir Thomas's participation in the lives of his nephews and nieces show that family bonds were a key resource in negotiating life's challenges that younger, subordinate family members had no hesitation in invoking because they were fully aware of the important contribution they made to the collective social credit of the family.

This chapter also explores the theme of early modern grand parenting, primarily focused on predominantly the emotional connections in Sir Thomas's relationship with his surviving grandchildren, Thomas and Harriott. The relationship between Sir Thomas and his grandson has been charted from affectionate beginnings epitomised by his grandfather's efforts to ease his path into school by creating a book of Latin Grammar, through to its later deterioration into animosity in an argument that while ostensibly over property, will also be shown to

[203] Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation. The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 1998).

draw on notions of authority and identity.[204] His sister Harriott's relationship with her grandfather has been approached through an imaginative letter of condolence written by Sir Thomas after the death of her pet squirrel that even while conveying conventional strictures about the need for acceptance and stoicism, in mourning nevertheless demonstrated particularly sensitive care of her feelings. [205]

The final chapter examines the emotional dimension of early modern friendship through a core group of correspondents. Sir Thomas's friendship network was established by eliminating all named individuals appearing in the correspondence if they did not meet one of three key criteria: firstly, non-kin correspondents, including those only mentioned in passing but the context makes clear they were known to Sir Thomas in a more significant way, secondly, named recipients of a mourning gift or other bequest under the terms of his will and finally, clients, patrons and wrestling pupils who appear in the preface and dedicatory clauses in any of the editions of *The Inn Play*.

The interactions between this group have been analysed to establish how the emotional dimension of friendship was fostered and nurtured through reciprocal exchange of news and opinion, social visits, gift exchange, and enquiries after the health and welfare of family, particularly condolences extended after bereavement. Whilst adding to the weight of argument in recent proposals that friendship is more properly understood as a blend of pragmatism and feeling, this chapter argues that as friendship was central in creating and sustaining individual identity and therefore

[204] NRO, RB85, *An Introduction to the Latin Tongue,* 1716.
[205] UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Harriott Parkyns, Letter, 1723.

a healthy sense of self perception, emotions played an important part in all early modern friendships.

It is the opening chapter however that establishes the context for the study. This sets Sir Thomas Parkyns within his familial and social network, analysing his values and beliefs to build a sketch of personal character traits. In many ways Sir Thomas appears a conventional member of the local gentry, keen to establish his pedigree and expand his estates for the future security of his heirs. The counter point to this conventionality was an evangelical zeal for the declining art of Cornish Hugg wrestling, where his advice to wrestlers demonstrated the centrality of vigorous physical activity to his conception of ideal masculinity that he passionately advocated as the solution to a widely perceived crisis of masculinity.

Chapter 2

Sir Thomas Parkyns: Gentleman, Wrestler, Patriot.

The opening chapter of this thesis establishes Sir Thomas Parkyns as an individual at the head of his family and community. From surviving evidence material has been gathered to sketch his main characteristics to give some sense of Sir Thomas as a personality, thereby adding texture and veracity to the analysis of his inner life and relationships that follows. Insights into his values and opinions have been drawn from a range of source types including his personal writing. All three editions of the wrestling manual *The Inn Play or Cornish Hugg Wrestler* have been useful in this regard, particularly the letters and poems written by or presented to Sir Thomas that he chose to include in the dedicatory epistles.[1] Although effectively a textbook for would be wrestlers, the pedagogical approach outlined by Sir Thomas shows the importance he attached to self-discipline and commitment.

This text also reveals Sir Thomas's contribution to an intense, national discussion on the theme of masculinity that portrayed English manhood crumbling under effeminizing influences; internally from the demands the discourse of politeness made of men, and externally from foreign, particularly French influence. The general connections that Sir Thomas established between masculinity, health and physical activity will be examined in detail, however the discussion will also draw on ideas of national identity as the discourse concerning masculinity was specifically informed by widespread concern that the nation's men were incapable of

[1] Nottingham Subscription Library (hereafter NSL) Sir Thomas Parkyns, *The Inn Play or Cornish Hugg Wrestler*. Unless otherwise stated all quotations are taken from the third edition, 1727.

defending the country effectively. This anxiety was particularly sharp in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the period in which *The Inn Play* was published, as the War of Spanish Succession (1702-1713), coupled with near constant expectation of Jacobite invasion, generated a persistent sense of imminent threat.[2]

As print culture assumed a greater importance in marshalling literate public opinion, Sir Thomas participated in local and national debates through published pamphlets.[3]While each pamphlet considered here addressed a specific purpose, each also exposed beliefs, attitudes and values that are crucial to understanding Sir Thomas and his social *milieu*. His first foray into this area was in 1710 with *The Observator on the proceedings in parliament against Dr Sacheverell*, one of 'several hundred pamphlets, sermons and books' that appeared during the controversial impeachment and trial of Dr Henry Sacheverell.[4] The opinions expressed in this context are important predominantly for what they show as to the political and religious loyalties of Sir Thomas, although it will also be used to expand on his conception of patriotism to argue that it is possible to detect a nascent nationalist discourse in Sir Thomas's defence of the Whig government's action against Dr Sacheverell. There is a second section to this pamphlet entitled *A letter from a Justice of the Peace about an act for setting poor prisoners & at work,* that while largely recycling conventional linkages between poverty, idleness and criminality, makes an

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[2] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (Vintage: London, 1996), pp.82-3.

[3] Evan Gottlieb, *Feeling British: Sympathy and National Identity in Scottish and English Writing,1707-1832*(Bucknell University Press, 2007), p.12.

[4] Nottingham Records Office (hereafter NRO) RB31, Sir Thomas Parkyns, *The Observator on the proceedings in parliament against Dr Sacheverell*, 1710; Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and English Society 1695-1855* (Pearson Education: Essex, 2000), p.129.

interesting and specific correlation between physical activity, health and body weight that is also seen in *The Inn Play*.[5]

The final pamphlet to be examined pertains to Sir Thomas's public role as a Justice of the Peace. *Queries and Reasons offered by Sir Thomas Parkyns Why the County Hall, Gaol &C should be built in the county of Nottingham,* was published in 1724 to contest the proposal that the replacement for the old county hall and gaol should be built in Nottingham's market place.[6] Analysing the concerns Sir Thomas raised; the increased cost, the disadvantages of partnership with the Corporation, the practicality of adding more pressure to the already busy environment of the market place, made a very clear statement of the values underpinning his public service.

Funerary monuments have proved useful sources for historians of the period therefore the memorial Sir Thomas designed for himself prior to his death has also been used as evidence.[7] Serving a purpose greater than simple remembrance, monuments and memorials are valuable not just as art works or family records, indeed Anthony Fletcher designates them 'visual propaganda'.[8] As records of 'what should be known about the past', the frameworks of personal, familial and community obligations underpinning early modern society are exposed in statements of lineage continued, estates expanded and charity dispensed. Nigel Llewllyn suggests that epitaphs were a public claim to honourable reputation considered worthy of emulation and preservation in the collective memory that

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[5] NRO, RB31, Parkyns, *The Observator*, 1710.
[6] NRO, RB31, *Queries and Reasons offered by Sir Thomas Parkyns of Bunny, Bart why the County Hall and Gaol should be built in the county of Nottingham,* 1724.
[7] Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Ashgate: England and USA, 2008).
[8] Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800* (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 1995), p.128.

functioned to buttress the prevailing social order. [9] But although Peter Sherlock agrees that commemoration of any individual was not the primary objective, unlike Llewellyn he sees change at work here, arguing that epitaphs were purposefully framed, not just to maintain, but to improve 'the status of the families they represented'.[10] The common element in both arguments is that family history was constructed in line with the values of the period to represent individuals and families to their best advantage.

Gentleman

Sir Thomas's memorial is an imposing monument originally installed in the chancel of St Mary's parish church but then moved in 1912 to its present position on the north wall at the west end of the nave.[11] It comprises an epitaph tablet above which there are two panels surmounted by the family crest. (See Appendix A). On the left-hand panel Sir Thomas is represented in life size effigy in the vigorous and combative 'primary posture of wrestling'.[12] In direct contrast the right-hand panel, which is much more primitive in execution, shows Sir Thomas lying prostrate in the manner of a defeated wrestler having been thrown by a winged figure bearing a scythe representing Time. This panel is completed by a verse that uses a wrestling contest as a metaphor for the Christian triumph over death:

> At length he falls, the long, long contest o'er,
> And Time has thrown, whom none e'er threw before;
> Yet boast not time, thy victory, for he

[9] Nigel Llewllyn, 'Honour in Life, Death and in the Memory: Funeral Monuments in Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol.6 (1996), pp.179,188,190.
[10] Sherlock, *Monuments*, pp.3,21.
[11] Southwell & Nottingham Church History Project, http://southwellchurches.nottingham.ac.uk/bunny/monument.php
[12] Parkyns, *The Inn Play*, p. xii.

At last shall rise again and conquer thee.[13]

This somewhat unorthodox tableau emphasises the importance of wrestling in Sir Thomas's sense of self, whereas his epitaph has much in common with other gentry monuments of the period, shaped around common markers of gentle status entirely consonant with the work on the English gentry undertaken by Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes.[14] These key indicators of social prestige; land, lineage, public service and charity, will be explored in the opening section of the chapter that will show Sir Thomas as a landowning gentleman before moving on to consider how he marshalled his enthusiasm for wrestling to propose a solution to the perceived crisis of masculinity.

Possession of ancient lineage and land, with an obligation to ensure the continuation of the first and expansion of the second were important elements of gentle status. Contracting advantageous marriages gave families the opportunity to expand their estates and widen their influence by connecting their interests to those of other wealthy families. On the memorial of Sir Thomas's mother Anne Cressey 'the sole daughter of Thomas Cressey', was hailed as coming 'a blessing into the family at Bunny whether we consider her birth …or her plentifull estate as an heiress'.[15] Sir Thomas's own first marriage to Elizabeth Sampson was similarly presented as an advantageous match because it brought to her marital family land and money that Sir Thomas had recorded on his memorial in fine detail.

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[13] Sir Thomas Parkyns, Memorial, Nave, north wall, St Mary the Virgin, Bunny, Nottinghamshire.
[14] Felicity Heal, Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales 1500-1700*(Macmillan: Basingstoke, 1994), pp.20,22,340.
[15] Sir Thomas Parkyns, Memorial; Dame Anne Parkyns, Memorial, Chancel, north wall, St Mary the Virgin, Bunny, Nottinghamshire.

Over the course of his life Sir Thomas substantially expanded the estate to include 'the whole tythe of Bradmore, and part of Keyworth ... the manor and estate in Ruddington... the manor and estate in East Leake ...the manors and court leets of Cortlingstock, Whysall, Thorpe and Willoughby .. with other estates in Barrow upon Soar, Gotham and the towns before mentioned'.[16] Acquiring land enlarged both the family estate, and its prestige, therefore in delineating the extent of his landholding, Sir Thomas was also outlining the reach of his authority.

In addition to purchasing land, considerable investment was made in new buildings; the schoolhouse, hospital and manor houses in Bunny and East Leake, in addition to the vicarage and 'most of the farm houses in Bunny and Bradmore' were commissioned by him.[17] This expansion was not just a financial investment; it represented an investment of personal skill as Sir Thomas was proud of his achievement in having drawn all the plans for these buildings 'without an architect'.[18] His understanding that land was not possessed but held in trust for succeeding generations, passing first to his eldest son and then 'to the first son of his body lawfully begotten', was implicit in the wording of specific clauses of his will. To protect the entire estate from 'wilful waste' that would diminish its value, he forbade the indiscriminate felling of timber, unless it 'shall be adjudged necessary by skilful and experienced woodmen'.[19] Sir Thomas also nominated trustees to support his heir in discharging his duties, to prevent 'the contingent estates hereinafter limited from being defeated or destroyed and for that purposes to make entries and

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[16] Sir Thomas Parkyns, Memorial.
[17] Sir Thomas Parkyns, Memorial.
[18] Sir Thomas Parkyns, Memorial.
[19] NRO, PR313, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.3.

bring actions as occasions shall require.'[20] He also advised that that money held in trust be placed out 'upon good security at interest', stipulating that the principal should be called in periodically and reassigned to 'new or other good securities'. Craig Muldrew suggests this was driven by financial necessity as estate holding was becoming increasingly expensive, nevertheless Sir Thomas's willingness to maximise his income using the newly emergent credit markets demonstrates both prudence and a degree of financial sophistication.[21]

Although the Parkyns baronetcy was a relatively recent creation, Sir Thomas's mother Anne 'from ancient family of Cressey of Berkin in Yorkshire' whose ancestors 'came in with William the Norman' added lustre to the Parkyns lineage. As Dame Anne's mother was 'granddaughter to the Earl of Dorset, ..from whom the present Duke proceeds', the Duke of Dorset was therefore claimed as an important family connection, however his inclusion among patrons listed in the dedication of *The Inn Play* was by means of a handwritten marginal note, suggesting an initial omission corrected later when its significance was remembered.[22] This instance serves as a reminder that family reputation was crafted to draw on every possible advantage. Sir Thomas's epitaph traced the successful continuation of the Parkyns line through the births and deaths of two sons from his first marriage, Sampson and

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[20] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will,1735, p.1.

[21] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.6.; Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Palgrave: Basingstoke, Hampshire, 1998), p.96.; Lawrence E. Klein, 'Liberty, Manners and Politeness in Early Eighteenth Century England', *The Historical Journal*, Vol.32, No.3 (1989), pp. 586,593.

[22] Dame Anne Parkyns, memorial. The baronetcy was created by Charles II in 1681, ostensibly in gratitude for the loyalty of Sir Thomas's grandfather Isham Parkyns to the royalist cause. See Bernard Twelvetrees, *Sir Thomas Parkyns of Bunny: Architect and Builder* (B. Twelvetrees: Nottingham, 1973) p.11.; NSL, Parkyns, *The Inn Play*,1727, p. xv.; Eve Tavor Bannett, *Empire of Letters: Letter Manuals and Transatlantic Correspondence 1680-1820* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2006), p.67.

Thomas, and then the births of Thomas, George and Ann from his second.[23] The continuity of the family name was clearly a matter of acute sensitivity to Sir Thomas particularly after the premature death of both his elder sons. While this was first and foremost a personal tragedy, there were also wider implications for the continued survival of the family name, the overriding importance of which can be deduced from Sir Thomas's creation of contingency plan to ensure that should his youngest daughter Ann inherit the estate as a consequence of the deaths of both her brothers, this was conditional on her husband and each of their male children adopting Parkyns as their family name.[24]

Besides actively managing the family estate Sir Thomas's rank dictated he occupy a public role. Thus, he served as 'one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, and Deputy Lieutenant, both of the counties of Nottingham and Leicester.'[25] He used the practical experience of building gained from improving his estate 'to purchase ground for the county as well as projecting and contriving the design and plan' for new buildings to replace Nottingham's county hall and gaol following its collapse in 1724. These plans incorporated a 'large work room under part of the new hall, and three jury rooms... arched with bricks' (a trademark feature of Sir Thomas's buildings) 'to prevent the obstreperous noise of the prisoners'.[26] Two options were considered; either to build on land already purchased by Sir Thomas for that purpose on the outskirts of the town on what is now the Lace Market, or to site the

[23] Sir Thomas Parkyns, Memorial.
[24] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.3.
[25] Sir Thomas Parkyns, Memorial.
[26] NRO, RB31, *Queries and Reasons,* pp.6,10. See Bernard Twelvetrees, Sir Thomas Parkyns and his Buildings, 1970, Unpublished PhD thesis, Nottingham University.

new buildings in the Market Square in the centre of the town, in which case the costs and use of the facilities would be shared with the Corporation. When the justices gathered at Rufford in April 1724 to ratify their choice, Sir Thomas put forward several objections arguing that it made greater financial and aesthetic sense for the new hall to be built away from the immediate centre of the town. His was the sole dissenting voice, but in defending his position a plain statement of the ideals that underpinned his public service emerged. Laying a great deal of emphasis on his lack of self-interest he considered his reason for opposing the plan to be 'an earnest desire to do the best service he can… ever strenuous of serving, and never slipping any opportunity of showing and expressing his willingness and readiness to oblige them to the best of his power.'[27] His record of consistently disinterested, loyal and strenuous service was driven by an emotional connection to the county having 'the benefit and welfare of the town and county of Nottingham much at heart'.[28]

One of the major objections he raised was the consideration of extra cost incurred if the new buildings were cited in the Market Place. Having initially been entrusted to manage the project, Sir Thomas purchased land and prepared a budget based on the cost of labour and materials necessary to build a new hall that was 'firm, strong and lasting'.[29] However, because the project had been delayed, a consequence of 'supine management' in Sir Thomas's estimation, a further thousand pounds had been added to the overall cost as 'the price of labourers and the workmen as well as all other materials' had risen in the meantime.[30] The cost of land

[27] NRO, RB31, *Queries and Reasons*, p.19.
[28] NRO, RB31, *Queries and Reasons*, p.8.
[29] NRO, RB31, *Queries and Reasons*, p.11.
[30] NRO, RB31, *Queries and Reasons*, p.10.

had also increased considerably; the land originally bought for £300 was now, according to Sir Thomas, apparently worth £4,500, therefore to incur additional and unnecessary outlay by a further purchase of land would amount to financial irresponsibility.[31] Sir Thomas's concern was to get the most advantageous financial arrangement for the county and therefore he opposed partnership with the Corporation whose members had already proved themselves unreliable, insofar as it was their delay in completing necessary repairs that ultimately led to the collapse of the old hall, indicating there was a very real likelihood of future disagreements about the cost, necessity and timing of repairs. Furthermore, he anticipated that sharing the facilities might lead to conflict about who took precedence for their use.[32] Whether husbanding family resources or handling public finances Sir Thomas showed prudence and acuity.

In addition to fulfilling the obligations of his rank in public office, the details of various 'Pious and charitable donations' prominently recorded on his memorial are further evidence of his active social role.[33] The sum of £5 4s was bequeathed to provide bread, 'to be made by some baker of Great Leake, Bradmore or Ruddington' to be distributed each week after Divine Service to eight widows or widowers, 'that is to say four of Bunny and four of Bradmore, to each of them who shall come to church or used to frequent the church and are absent only by reason of sickness or some bodily infirmity.'[34] The Bunny schoolhouse, endowed from rental income, had been specifically designed with four rooms to be set aside to house for four poor

[31] NRO, RB31, *Queries and Reasons,* p.10.
[32] NRO, RB31, *Queries and Reasons,* p.7.
[33] Sir Thomas Parkyns, Memorial.
[34] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.12.

widows, with a further sum of forty shillings allocated for providing 'gowns and petticoats for each widow every other year'.[35] Sir Thomas organised free schooling for 'all the children of Bunny and Bradmore', with only parents who paid public levies being charged an initial admission fee of 1s, followed by a quarterly charge of 6d.[36] A further twenty shillings was authorised to cover the cost of 'a Dame or schoolmistress in Bradmore to prepare the children for entry to school.[37] The purpose of this provision was not to initiate social mobility, rather, just enough education was offered in 'true reading, legible writing and vulgar arithmetic' to equip children for their eventual apprenticeship in the 'misteries and trades', commensurate with their rank and gender, thus serving to consolidate the social hierarchy.[38] The large stone epigraphs prominently placed above the entrances to the school and hospital identified the Parkyns family as the source of this provision, a daily reminder for everyone entering or passing.

Lisa Smith has argued that the role of early modern patriarchs included the medical care of the household encompassing not only those decisions perceived as masculine, deciding when a doctor should be called for instance, but also those considered essentially feminine, such as preparing or administering medicine. [39] Through his involvement in competitive wrestling Sir Thomas showed he had become proficient in dealing with injuries incurred in the ring recommending; 'for a broken head… Emplastrum Stypticum, the saving of rotten apples for a black eye

[35] Inscription, Bunny School, Loughborough Road, Bunny, Nottinghamshire. NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.12.
[36] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.12.
[37] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.12.
[38] Inscription, Bunny School.
[39] Lisa Smith, 'The Relative Duties of a Man: Domestic Medicine in England and France, c1685- 1740', *Journal of Family History*, Vol.31, No.3 (2006), pp.237,238.

from a fist, and a belly full of Hasty Pudding to set a rib'.[40] His interest was not restricted to the treatment of sporting injuries however, but extended to the study of 'physic both Gallenic and Paracelsic for the benefit of his neighbours', shown by testimonials to the efficacy of a patent medicine known as Dr Batemans Pectoral Drops initially published in *The London Journal* and subsequently, in *Parkers Penny Post* in 1727. [41] One endorsement came from Gregory Cripwell who had been 'grievously troubled with the rheumatism and had not the least use of one limb or joint insomuch that I have often desired to die to be out of my misery', but after a single dose he 'immediately found ease and was now as well as I ever was'.[42] A further fifteen beneficiaries were listed in *Parkers Penny Post*, all of whom testified to having suffered from a 'violent fever' that had raged in the locality causing sudden deaths in many families, and like Gregory Cripwell, all used the drops on 'the advice of Sir Thomas Parkyns'.[43]

The second account asserted that while traditional treatments such as 'Bleeding, Vomiting and taking the bark' had proved entirely ineffective, 'we have been lately cured, and are now perfectly well of the present raging distemper'.[44] The testimonial credited Sir Thomas with 'having cured hundreds', but even while making some allowance for salesmanship, it seems likely that he widely promoted this particular patent medicine.[45] Sir Thomas's interest is confirmed by his development and prescription of a very specific routine that instructed the drops be

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[40] NSL, Parkyns, *The Inn Play*, p, iv.
[41] Sir Thomas Parkyns, Memorial; British Library Newspapers, Burney Collection, *The London Journal*, Saturday October 14th,1727; *Parkers Penny Post*, London, Friday September 29th, 1727.
[42] *The London Journal,*1727; *Parkers Penny Post,* 1727.
[43] *The London Journal,*1727.
[44] *Parkers Penny Post,*1727.
[45] *Parkers Penny Post,*1727.

taken 'four days together successively, every day at the same time, one spoonful in a glass of soft smooth mild hot ale', to be followed by two rest days and then a resumption 'every other day…til we were perfectly well.'[46] Once recovered, as a precautionary measure 'to complete and perfect the cure', sufferers were instructed to continue the treatment but to take each dose 'four or five hours sooner than we did the first four days'.[47]

Land, lineage, progeny, public service and charitable works were all fundamental components of social reputation, or honour, defined by John Cockburn as the 'esteem or the merit' of the peer group.[48]Acquiring and then maintaining a sound reputation was an active, public process that determined social and, as Muldrew has shown, economic success.[49] The necessity of preserving an honourable reputation was considered a safer guarantee of 'good behaviour than either public law or private and personal obligations.'[50] But in addition to providing the spur to individual virtue, Cockburn connected the 'reasonable desire of honour and the encouragement of it by those in authority' with the 'support of states and societies and the means of their flourishing; for it stirs up to Arts and Sciences, and to everything which is for the public good.'[51]

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[46] *Parkers Penny Post,*1727.
[47] *Parkers Penny Post,*1727.
[48] Early English Books Online (hereafter EEBO), T118651, John Cockburn, *The History and Examination of Duels* (London, 1720), p.146. See also Faramerz Dabhoiwala, 'The Construction of Honour, Reputation and Status in Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol.6 (1996), pp. 201-213.
[49] Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation*, pp.148-172.
[50] EEBO, T118651, Cockburn, *Duels*,1720, p.152.
[51] EEBO, T118651, Cockburn, *Duels*,1720, p.151.

Particularly significant for this study is that, according to Cockburn's treatise, while the acquisition of social credit was an external, public enterprise, it was mirrored by internal, private, emotional satisfaction. Conduct that preserved individual honour was a cause of 'great satisfaction to oneself' resulting in 'inward peace of mind' that consequentially evoked 'a lively cheerfulness' and a 'merry heart' in the virtuous possessor.[52] The certainties afforded by being accounted honourable made it possible to endure 'the difficulties of life', not least as only those who met with social approval could freely access support networks. Conversely, failing 'to study to approve himself to those he lives among', resulted in social isolation since 'the least suspicion of baseness keeps persons at a distance'.[53] Securing the vital approbation of peers depended on conforming to validated social behaviours and fully discharging all social obligations, a process that continued even after death, as Sir Thomas's memorial demonstrated.

Wrestler

Thus far, Sir Thomas's memorial presents him through the achievement of the conventional obligations of his social rank, what remains to be examined is the significance of the visual representation of himself as a wrestler. Choosing to represent himself in this way confirmed that wrestling was integral to his sense of self, as significant as being a gentleman, landowner, husband and father. On his mother's memorial he was particularly distinguished from his siblings by the addition of the hypocorism *Luctator*, or wrestler, to his name.[54] Although frequently

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[52] EEBO, T118651, Cockburn, *Duels*,1720, p.148,154.
[53] EEBO, T118651, Cockburn, *Duels*, 1720, pp.147,151-2,154.
[54] Dame Anne Parkyns, Memorial, Wall tablet.

used in antiquarian accounts of the Parkyns family history it is not clear when or how Sir Thomas came to be known as *Luctator*, although writing about Sir Thomas in 1835, the antiquarian, Captain Barker, wrote that 'it was the appellation he most delighted in'.[55] David Postles has shown that under certain circumstances, an alias could be adopted to obscure identity, as in the case of criminals for example, but as it was used here, in a public statement of self-presentation, it was intended to clarify and amplify identity, a process that necessarily involved 'defining – and knowing- the self'[56] Wrestling was so dominant in Sir Thomas's sense of identity that he used it also as a defining element of his mother's, referring to her as *Luctatoris mater,* mother of a wrestler.[57]

Furthermore, Sir Thomas's resolve to see his memorial erected in St Mary's reveals his determination to shape himself in memory as a wrestler. In 1715, although still 'in perfect health', Sir Thomas was already preparing for his eventual death by 'taking care of my winding sheet and making my monument'.[58] Ostensibly the reason he offered was so as not to 'trouble my executors' with the responsibility, indeed, according to evidence collected by Nigel Llewellyn, approximately 30% of monuments were erected during the lifetime of their subjects, with preventing 'the negligence of heirs' in fully carrying out the wishes of the testator an important

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[55] NRO, DD1330, A Short History of the Parkyns Family of Bunny.; A. H. Barker, *Walks around Nottingham by a wanderer*. (Effingham Wilson: London, 1835), p.210.
[56] David Postles, 'The Politics of Address in Early Modern England', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol.18, No.1/2 (2005), p.104.; Deborah Baker Wyrick cited in, Brant, Clare, *Eighteenth Century Letters and British Culture* (Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2006), p.180.
[57] Dame Anne Parkyns, Memorial, Floor stone.
[58] NRO, M43, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Dr. Knaggs, Letter, 01/10/1715.

motivation.[59] By supervising the installation himself, Sir Thomas was able to defend the monument's design against the ensuing clerical opposition, whilst also pre-empting the possibility, that his heirs were neither negligent, nor pressured into setting his wishes aside.

Sir Thomas's description of being 'attacked by the clergy' suggests that the objections to the monument were strongly voiced. Although it is not clear what they were founded on, it was later suggested that the presence of 'a figure of him in the chancel of a church, in a bruising position', was regarded as being 'unseemly'.[60] The dispute even attracted attention outside of the immediate locality as Francis Hoffman, a minor woodcut artist from London, felt sufficiently interested to write '*A poem in defence of the Marble Effigies of Sir Thomas Parkyns*.'[61] Hoffman's poem traced biblical references to wrestling in the Old Testament from the eviction from heaven of 'the Fall'n Angels for Foul Play', to the Jewish patriarch Jacob 'the first Man of fame and Pow'r/that strove the Art of Wrestling to restore'.[62] Moving to the New Testament Hoffman depicted Christ as wrestling 'with the World and Hell and Sin', before finally citing St Paul as an advocate of 'the Art of Wrestling' from his use of 'Olympic Games for Gospel Ends'.[63] In Hoffman's opinion, such overwhelming scriptural precedent in support of wrestling exposed the objecting clerics as 'impious

[59] Llewllyn, 'Honour in Life', p.191.; Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2002), p.302.; Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post Reformation England* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2000), p. 58.
[60] NSL, Parkyns, *The Inn Play*, p. xii.; J. Throsby(ed), Thoroton's *History of Nottingham*, 1797 cited in Twelvetrees, 'Sir Thomas Parkyns and his Buildings', p.2.
[61] NRO, DDMI 94, Francis Hoffman, *A Poem in defence of the Marble effigies of Sir Thomas Parkyns,* (1705-1792).
[62] NRO, DDMI 94, Hoffman, *A Poem in defence of the Marble effigies of Sir Thomas Parkyns.*
[63] NRO, DDMI 94, Hoffman, *A Poem in defence of the Marble effigies of Sir Thomas Parkyns.*

and bold'.[64] Considering himself similarly 'authorised by St Paul's typical introduction of the Olympic wrestlings into the Church and New Testament', Sir Thomas disparaged his clerical detractors as hypocrites, 'sons of Levi who are too apt to consult, and consider their cloth and humour, more than the scriptures and reason.'[65]

It is true that Sir Thomas articulated a similarly critical view of clerics on other occasions, for example his allegation that 'Popes and Cardinals', as well as 'most of the religious houses in Christendom', were habitual drunkards.[66] Nor were his criticisms limited to restating virulent anti foreign, anti-Catholic sentiment as he was also vocal in his censure of the High Church opinions of Reverend Henry Sacheverell.[67] The key to understanding this dispute seems to lie in the use of the proprietary 'my' in his statement that he had successfully overseen the installation of 'my moralising monument in the primary posture of wrestling…in my chancel at Bunny'.[68] From this perspective, Sir Thomas appears to consider this chiefly as a jurisdictional issue, taking the view that the decision to prevent the installation of the memorial was beyond the clerical remit. His assertion of his right to burial in the church, itself a marker of elite status, with the monument he designed, whatever clerical misgivings were voiced, reflected a precisely defined understanding of the parameters of secular and spiritual authority that Heal summarised as the realities of the power relationship between the local cleric and his landowning patron.[69]

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[64] NRO, DDMI 94, Hoffman, *A Poem in defence of the Marble effigies of Sir Thomas Parkyns.*
[65] NSL, *The Inn Play*, pp. xii, xi.
[66] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.15.
[67] NRO, RB31, Sir Thomas Parkyns, *The Observator on the proceedings in parliament against Dr Sacheverell*, 1710.
[68] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p. xii.
[69] Heal, Holmes, *The Gentry,* pp.323,333.

Sir Thomas was not entirely satisfied with the monument, complaining that the sculptor 'had not drawn the posture sinking or camping low enough in my knees and my hands should have been bending forwards ready to receive an adversary with my elbows forward close to my sides'.[70] This punctilious concern with detail was a recurring theme in Sir Thomas's writings. In a codicil to his will outlining instructions for an annual peal of bells to be rung on 21st December, meticulous directions for this event began with the purchase of a new rope to be attached to the Great Bell a fortnight before. [71] Sir Thomas specified that the peal was to begin 'with six bells called Old Doubles covered with the tenor or Great Bell', followed by six men ringing a peal of 'seven hundred and twenty' changes; the maximum possible number of combinations of six bells. [72] His desire that the peal should be rung 'perfectly well and distinctly' evidenced the attention to detail that was also apparent in his writing and teaching of wrestling. [73]

Although Richard Carew had already described the essential points of Cornish Hugg wrestling in his *Survey of Cornwall* published in 1602, *The Inn Play* published in 1712, 1714 and again in 1727, was the first attempt to apply a methodical explanation to the sport.[74] As suggested by the extended title of the book: 'Digested in a manner which teacheth to break all holds and throw most falls mathematically', the instructions were founded on the use and application of mathematical principles.[75] Sir Thomas's aptitude and interest in mathematics was

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[70] NRO, M43, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 01/10/1715.
[71] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.14.
[72] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will,1735, p.15; https://www.britannica.com/art/change-ringing. Last date of access 14/6/2018.
[73] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.14.
[74] EEBO, 4615, Richard Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall*, (1602), pp.75-76.
[75] NSL, Parkyns, *The Inn Play, title page.*

observed during his studies at Trinity College, Cambridge, leading to the rare distinction of a personal invitation to public lectures given by professor of mathematics Sir Isaac Newton, despite his being only 'a Fellow Commoner, and seldom, if ever any such were called to them'.[76] Sir Thomas claimed a 'competent knowledge of the most part of mathematics especially Architecture and hydraulics', applying this to explain the theory underpinning 'the mathematical twisting of bodies, and of their proper critical turnings in wrestling'.[77] Later editions of *The Inn Play* included 'mathematically delineated' illustrations of the wrestling holds. [78] His rationale for using specialist knowledge in this way was to make it easier to acquire knowledge 'without the usual difficulties to tyros (beginners) and learners'.[79]

Sir Thomas's own wrestling master, Mr Cornish warned Sir Thomas against a vain endeavour as he had 'taught 500 scholars' without encountering anyone able to collate the variety of wresting holds.[80] But Sir Thomas's incentive to embark on this project seems rooted in his own early experience of learning the sport when he found 'so much variety in the several holds that it was impossible to remember half of them without committing them to paper'. [81] But it was precisely these many intricacies that made the project so daunting. Nevertheless, despite the complexity of the subject matter and the difficulties inherent in being the first 'to pitch upon a subject like this', Sir Thomas set out to deliver a comprehensive and systematic study.[82] Each individual posture was to be explained 'clear and plain' and by the

[76] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.12.
[77] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p. xi.
[78] Sir Thomas Parkyns, Memorial; NSL, *The Inn Play*, pp. xi,65.
[79] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p. xi.
[80] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.13.
[81] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.13.
[82] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.21.

third edition, each hold was illustrated by 'two or three copperplates at least'.[83] The aim was to produce 'a complete index', 'a master key.. into the athletic academy' to demystify the sport in order to reverse its decline in popularity by attracting new participants.[84]

As a highly skilled and enthusiastic In Play wrestler Sir Thomas was keen to bring the sport to the attention of a wider audience, using the promotional opportunities afforded by the burgeoning newspaper market to do so.[85] To mark a re- issue of *The Inn Play* in September 1730 an advertisement was placed in *The London Evening Post*, a newspaper credited with being one of the most widely circulated of the time and, crucially, one that 'depended heavily on its country circulation', thus guaranteeing the greatest exposure.[86] Advanced notice was given of a public demonstration to take place at Mr Figg's Amphitheatre on Oxford Road on December 28th, when Sir Thomas undertook to 'exercise over every rule and posture mentioned in his book'.[87] A second advertisement in December's edition of *The Daily Post,* reminded interested readers that: 'The book is to be had of Stephen Austen, Bookseller, at the Angel and Bible, in St Paul's Churchyard.'[88] It is tempting to argue that Sir Thomas was shrewdly exploiting the commercial possibilities of advertising to increase book sales, particularly as he had used this strategy with

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[83] NSL, *The Inn Play,* p.21, xi.
[84] NSL, *The Inn Play*, pp. xv, xvi.
[85] David Cram, Jeffrey L. Forgeng, Dorothy Johnston (eds) *Francis Willughby's Book of Games. A Seventeenth Century Treatise on Sports, Games and Pastimes* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2003), p.291; Barker, *Newspapers,* p.97.
[86] G.A Cranfield,' The London Evening Post,1727-1744: A Study in the Development of the Political Press', *The Historical Journal*, Vol.6, No.1 (1963), pp.20,25.
[87] *The London Evening Post,* 29th September 1730.
[88] *The Daily Post*, Saturday 26th December 1730.

regard to the patent medicine discussed earlier.[89] Whilst plausible, John Brewer's study of the eighteenth century press offers an alternative explanation; that newspapers, printers and booksellers developed a symbiotic relationship to explore ways of simultaneously increasing both newspaper circulation and book sales, in which case, Sir Thomas may not have been involved in the decision to advertise the book's availability.[90]

Furthermore, the evidence from *The Inn Play* would tend to suggest that Sir Thomas was motivated more by zeal for the sport than by any commercial interest. His objective in writing was not only to create 'A correct treatise of wrestling', but in doing so to 'invite many persons to look into it, with an itching curiosity or reading and exercising the whole book frequently through til they are become complete wrestlers'.[91] Whilst the illustrations included in the later edition served the wholly practical purpose of making instruction clearer, and therefore more easily grasped, Sir Thomas was convinced that 'in order the more effectually to animate the rising generation' it was 'absolutely necessary' that the illustrations were 'delineated, by the strongest, most affecting and masterly touches of art'.[92] This confirms that his central concern was to stir his readers to activity, but also demonstrates clearly that not only did he appreciate the emotive power of images, but that he chose to harness this to directly target his readers feelings in order to achieve his objective.

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[89] *London Journal*, London, Saturday, October 14th, 1727, Issue 428.
[90] John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination. English culture in the Eighteenth Century* (HarperCollins: London, 1997), p.133.
[91] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.21.
[92] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p. xi.

The claims Sir Thomas made for the circulation of *The Inn Play* are impressive, it was seemingly 'carried over the greatest part of Europe' being everywhere received with candour and not without a general approbation' but finding particular favour 'among the Italian princes'.[93] Although only one of Sir Thomas's pupils, Lord Thomas Manners, was identified by name, all editions of *The Inn Play* make several references to groups of 'my scholars'.[94] Whilst the second edition was being prepared for publication, Sir Thomas instructed 'at least 15 persons' over the course of several days, and the third edition noted that 'the gentleman soldiers quartered at Nottingham and Loughborough' received personal wrestling instruction at Bunny Park.[95]

Sir Thomas held strong opinions about the quality of wrestling tuition available. He maintained that it was easier to teach 'new beginners, that are altogether ignorant of any holds in wrestling', than to correct the bad habits learned under other masters, as this would incur 'triple the pains to reclaim and bring him off from the ill foundation and method his first master has laid.'[96] He deplored the presumption of those who having only 'driven a wheelbarrow for a quarter of a year', nevertheless set up as up 'Esculents, Arborists and Florists', or who professed to be botanists on the basis that 'their mothers collected simples for the apothecaries.'[97] Drily remarking that 'everyman who carries a fiddle is not an Orpheus', all whose interest and proficiency in their chosen field was satisfied by

[93] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.12, xvii.
[94] NSL, *The Inn Play*, pp.15,20, vi.
[95] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p. xvii.
[96] NSL, *The Inn Play*, pp.14,15.
[97] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.13.

such incomplete knowledge were scathingly dismissed by Sir Thomas as 'smatterers'.[98] In whatever field: swordsmanship, winemaking, building or estate management, Sir Thomas valorised skilled workmanship.[99] Just as he challenged the building specifications for the new gaol put forward by Nottingham Corporation because he considered the planned 'thickness of walls and scantlings of timber' would only result in a weak and short lived structure that would ultimately prove unfit for purpose, the limitations of wrestling masters lacking sufficient experience and expertise were exposed by the poor quality wrestlers they turned out.[100] These were wrestlers who were only able to 'play a little off play now and then give a fall by chance' but were utterly at a disadvantage when faced with a 'true Inn Play gamester who would break all his holds, and takes what he pleases of him'.[101]

Such ineffective tuition impacted on the spectacle of the sport reducing it to an undignified scramble that Sir Thomas unequivocally rejected. Lacking the necessary skill to be 'quick in taking and breaking all holds' and proceeding 'sharply to give your adversary a fall', the objective by which the match was won, the ignorant, 'such as would be thought wrestlers, pluck and tear clothes and kick irregularly which is all the advantage they can hope to have to overcome their adversary by chance.'[102] Tactics such as 'the rending and tearing of waistcoats, kicking and breaking of shins', were condemned as a poor substitute for skill.[103] But

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98 NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.13.
99 NSL, *The Inn Play*, pp.13, iv. University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, (hereafter UNMASC) Pa C64, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Marshall de Tallard, Letter, undated; NRO, RB31, *Queries and Reasons*, p.11; NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.3.
100 NRO, RB31, *Queries and Reasons*, p.11.
101 NSL, *The Inn Play*, pp.13,14.
102 NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.14.
103 NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.20.

this was not entirely about technical expertise; it was also about essential sporting values. Sir Thomas was fond of citing the epigrams of the Roman poet Martial, himself a wrestler, to present an idealised vision of the sport depicting wrestling as a noble and heroic art.[104]The influence of ancient sporting ideals can be seen in rules drawn up for the annual wrestling contest held at Bunny at Midsummer. For example, a rule barring from further competition whoever 'wins the prize and sells it', encouraged participants to esteem the honour of winning above the monetary value of the prize in the same way that their forerunners in ancient competition had prized their victor's laurels primarily for the prestige they conferred.[105]

In direct contrast to poor quality instruction widely available, Sir Thomas adopted a thoroughly systematic approach to wrestling tuition. In the same way that he encouraged his grandson to learn Latin by first establishing a solid understanding of the basic principles of grammar, he advised that all new learning, in whatever field, should be approached methodically.[106] Thus the first step was to master the technical vocabulary, as 'being ignorant of the terms' would make the directions appear 'only as so much gibberish'.[107] But whilst establishing a secure foundation was of prime importance, competence could only be achieved by regular practice.[108] Acknowledging that he himself 'had added through practice much', Sir Thomas exhorted his readers to 'practice often', since 'the ability to 'take and break holds readily' came from having 'run over the whole several times.'[109] Beginners were

[104] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.12.
[105] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.15; Barker, *Walks,* pp.205,206; NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.8.
[106] NRO, RB85, *An Introduction to the Latin Tongue*, 1717, p.7.
[107] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.18.
[108] NRO, RB85, *An Introduction to the Latin Tongue,1717,* p.7.
[109] NSL, *The Inn Play*, pp. 12,17,18.

therefore advised ‘to go through a whole course of lessons often, with all sorts of play’.[110] Echoing his own experience of rote learning at school he advised novice wrestlers, whether in a formal lesson, or practicing privately, initially to work with the textbook ‘reading or saying your paragraphs’.[111] Once the manoeuvre was clearly understood, then was the time ‘to lay your hands on gradually’ until the moves were ‘true and perfect.’[112] Constant practice of ‘the best way to learn to take all holds perfectly’ was recommended in order ‘to be the readier and better able’ to respond to whatever challenge was offered by an opponent. [113] In this respect Sir Thomas’s unabashed emphasis on achieving expertise ran counter to the values of polite culture that regarded the narrowness of specialist knowledge incompatible with ‘the pursuit of a general culture’, according to Lawrence Klein.[114]

Although he urged his pupils to be ‘the complete artist’, setting exacting standards did not make Sir Thomas an unsympathetic task master. On occasion he softened his advice by dry, somewhat awkward attempts at humour. While he justified the ancient pedigree of wrestling for example by referring to the biblical account of Jacob’s epic, night long wrestling contest with an angelic adversary that ended in injury to Jacob, he nonetheless advised all his scholars ‘to avoid wrestling with angels for though they maintain the struggle til the break of day… they will be out of joint with Jacob’s thigh’.[115] Doubtless recalling the frustration he experienced as a novice, he warned against being discouraged by ‘the several trials at first if you

[110] NSL, *The Inn Play,* p.14.
[111] NSL, *The Inn Play,* p.18.
[112] NSL, *The Inn Play,* p.18.
[113] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.18.
[114] Klein, ‘Politeness’, p.876.
[115] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.20.

don't understand every point, for the oftener you exercise them over, provided you take everything as true as you can, you'll find you'll gain more experience, and be better pleased with your understanding.'[116] He recognised that with such commitment, in time, each wrestler would develop an individual style that was 'more natural for your own taking'.[117]

Sir Thomas's admiration was reserved for the man who was 'a thorough paced wrestler'.[118] While the objective of competition was 'a total vanquishing and overthrowing of their enemies', the skilled exponent was distinguished from the ignorant who were 'hissed out of the ring', not just by their physical prowess, but by their tactical ability.[119] Unlike those that were 'capable only to make defensive parrying without advantageous pursuit', or who were 'rashly forward' in revealing their play, the astute wrestler displayed his artistry by his 'judgement with a right and critical timing of their advantages'.[120] Nevertheless, physical power was important. Sir Thomas was himself 'No kid glove athlete' and admired strength and vigour in others.[121] He sketched 'that person fit to make a wrestler' as being 'middle sized, athletic, full breasted and broad shouldered, for wind and strength, brawny legged and armed, yet clear limbed'.[122] Before a prospective pupil was accepted for tuition, if his 'size and complexion' looked promising, a medical history was taken:

> For the most part the first question I ask a scholar…is, if his parents are alive, if not, what age they died at? For I admit no scrofulous tumours yet I'll readily accept of scorbutic rheumatisms, because the person labouring under those maladies are

[116] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.14.
[117] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.18.
[118] NSL, *The Inn Play,* p.14.
[119] NSL, *The Inn Play,* pp.21,14.
[120] NSL, *The Inn Play*, pp.12,14,21.
[121] NRO, `M326, A. Stapleton (ed) *Articles on Nottinghamshire Bibliography* (1904), p.8.
[122] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.9.

> generally strong and able to undergo the exercise of wrestling; I am so curious in my admission, I'll not hear of one hipped and out of joint'.[123]

While ascertaining the health of an individual prior to embarking on vigorous physical exercise is an entirely practical response, there was more at stake here since Sir Thomas had an established reputation as a sportsman. Reporting his part in foiling an attempted robbery in his own bleaching yard in 1728, *Fogs Weekly Journal* described Sir Thomas as 'a gentlemen well known... for his learned dissertation on wrestling'.[124] Similarly, obituary notices in the *Daily Gazetteer* and *The London Magazine* recorded 'that he was well known by the Athletic part of the world for having been the author of a book on wrestling'.[125] Choosing 'a promising scholar to do me credit', was therefore, a necessary safeguard against diminishing his own standing in the sport.[126] More significantly however, these entry requirements revealed ingrained attitudes to aging and infirmity that were encapsulated in Sir Thomas's declaration that 'a valetudinarian is my aversion'.[127] His further stricture: 'I receive no limberhams', drew on a character from Dryden's comedy *The Kind Keeper* where Mr Limberham, portrayed as old, feeble and impotent, exemplified the applicant that Sir Thomas would not entertain as a prospective pupil.[128] His approbation of the vitality and health of his own patrons, apparent in his description of them as 'deservedly thrice noble and puissant', simultaneously implied his antipathy to frailty and illness.[129]

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[123] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.9.
[124] *Fog's Weekly Journal*, September 12th, 1728.
[125] *Daily Gazetteer*, April 3rd, 1741; *The London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer*, April 1741, p.205.
[126] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.9.
[127] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.9.
[128] John Douglas Canfield, *Tricksters and Estates. On the ideology of Restoration Comedy* (University of Kentucky Press: Lexington, 2015), p.8; NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.9.
[129] NSL, *The Inn Play*, pp.vi, xvi.

Sir Thomas set the highest value on good health. He fully endorsed Martial's epigram 'Life is not being alive but being well', and appears to have been the living embodiment of his own advice.[130] He was noted as being 'until middle age' both 'a vigorous runner and change ringer', and even at the age of sixty eight was described as 'a remarkably strong muscular man, with a robust countenance, the very symbol of health'.[131] Sir Thomas particularly recommended wrestling be 'taken up when young and in a perfect state of health', as an early investment that would pay dividends 'when old, with many infirmities to cope with'.[132] He believed that even in later life, as a consequence of his earlier training, he would still have the advantage over 'a young ignorant.'[133]

The continual stress on the relationship between physical activity, health and wellbeing throughout the preface to *The Inn Play* emphasises the importance Sir Thomas attached to this. In addition to extolling the virtues of wrestling he also recommended the 'healthful exercise of change ringing'.[134]The emergence of change ringing in the seventeenth century was made possible by technical alterations to the design of bells, allowing several bells to be rung simultaneously in progressively complex combinations or peals.[135] When it began to be recognised as an activity promoting strength and coordination, it was adopted as a sport, particularly among

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[130] NSL, *The Inn Play*, 1714, p.9.
[131] G. F Russell Barker, Alan Stenning, *The Record of Old Westminsters*, Vol.II (Chiswick Press: London,1928), p.718; Barker, *Walks*, pp.209-10. Barker was describing Sir Thomas's appearance in the portrait painted in 1730 by John Vanderbank.
[132] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.20.
[133] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.20.
[134] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.15.
[135] Christopher Marsh, '''At it ding dong'': Recreation and Religion in the English Belfry, 1580-1640' in Mears, Natalie, Ryrie, Alec, (eds)*Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain* (Ashgate: Surrey, 2013), pp.154,166.

the gentry.[136] So much so that Christopher Marsh characterised the belfry as a 'masculine space in which an intense camaraderie was fostered between the predominantly young male exponents'.[137] Testimony to the growing popularity of change ringing is found in churchwarden's accounts documenting increased expenditure on bells driven primarily, according to Marsh, by the desire to participate in change ringing. This may well have been the reason for Sir Thomas's own donation of two treble bells to his parish church.[138]

He regarded exercise as the '*unum necessarium'* to maintain lifelong good health, being convinced that when practised regularly, 'manly exercise... would supersede the necessity of physic', a belief given practical expression by provisions made in his will to ensure that wrestling and change ringing 'may both be kept up after my decease'.[139] The continuation of the annual wrestling competition that first took place at Bunny in 1712, as well as the annual bell peal rung on St Thomas' day, was guaranteed by his instruction that 'the remainder of rents and profits that will accrue out of my farm at Bradmore' should be set aside to finance the first prize 'of a guinea or one pound one shilling' and a second prize of 'a pair of buckskin gloves of the price of four shillings' for the victor of the wrestling competition, in addition to 10s for a rump of beef, ten shillings in ale and for each of the six bell ringers, '2s each over and above their beef and ale'.[140]

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[136] David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells. National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Weidenfeld and Nicholson: London, 1989), p70.
[137] Marsh, 'Recreation', p.168.
[138] Marsh, 'Recreation', p.166. Sir Thomas Parkyns, Memorial.
[139] NSL, *The Inn Play*,1714, p.34; NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.15.
[140] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.15.

The inter connectedness of health and activity was a theme he returned to frequently. Whilst the greatest concern was linked to the preparation of elite men for defence of the country, Sir Thomas firmly believed in the moral and economic benefit of instilling habits of industry amongst the poor, since 'Nature is never idle …everyman should do his endeavour to learn and labour truly to get his own living…'I am sure neither my Joan nor I let Mr Sloth set a foot within our doors'.[141] This principle underpinned his proposal for a scheme for 'the relief and setting at work of poor and needy persons committed to the common gaols for felony and misdemeanours' which was to be achieved by purchasing a stock of suitable material and raising levies to pay 'fit persons to oversee' and discipline the prisoners at work.[142] Envisioned as a self-supporting scheme, all profits were to be directed to maintaining the prisoners who would otherwise represent a drain on the public purse.[143] There was an explicit moral and religious dimension to this proposal aiming at the social discipline of this group who, because they lived 'idly, and misemployed', were vulnerable to becoming 'graduates in the practice of thievery and all forms of lewdness.'[144] Any involvement in further debauchery could, however, be curtailed as usefully occupied prisoners would have 'less time to spend in rioting, and or seeking how to evade a just judgement', and after a week filled with purposeful labour would be 'glad to celebrate the Sabbath, as a day of rest'.[145]

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[141] Klein, 'Liberty', p.586; NRO, RB31, *The Observator*, 1710, p.20.
[142] NRO, RB31, *The Observator*,1710, p.19,20.
[143] NRO, RB31, *The Observator,*1710, p.19.
[144] NRO, RB31, *The Observator*,1710, p.20; See Douglas Hay and Paul Craven, (eds) *Masters, Servants and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire,1562-1955* (University of North Carolina Press: 2004), p.33.
[145] NRO, RB31, *The Observator,*1710, pp.21,20.

Cultivating industrious self-sufficiency was necessary in order to limit further spread of a dependency culture. Rather than serving as a safety net, Sir Thomas represented parish relief as the means that made it possible for the poor 'to live in idleness, in hopes of relief', confident 'that the parish is bound to find em'.[146] This certainty had a knock-on effect of demoralising other poor families who might question why those benefitting from relief should not 'earn their bread by the sweat of their brows ..as my poor family does'.[147] The necessary impetus for change was to be encouraged through a combination of present constraint and future reward:

> the very thought of working in goal will induce many of them to find an honest industry in hopes of never coming thither .. And the very criminals if obliged before their trials to work as well as after ...will be greater terror to them, than the thought of making a wry face or two at the gallows. If he be confined to the House of Correction for a year or two under a good master he'll be an expert Hemp Knocker, and go out master of that art, and so inured and accustomed to labour that he'll ever after think it his duty and delight to work for his livelihood. [148]

This assessment of the deterrent value of employment was matched in its optimism by the further suggestion that one of the chief virtues of the scheme was that it would work particularly well to address recidivism. But what is of greatest relevance here is Sir Thomas's idea that a further public advantage 'of compelling prisoners to be active, was that they 'will... be thinner, which will prevent many distempers.'[149]

The specific correlation between health, activity and weight was developed further in dietary advice that Sir Thomas incorporated into his endorsement of strenuous exercise. While some points applied specifically within the context of

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[146] NRO, RB31, *The Observator*,1710, p.21.
[147] NRO, RB31, *The Observator,1710,* p.21.
[148] NRO, RB31, *The Observator*,1710, p.21.
[149] NRO, RB31, *The Observator*,1710, p.21.

sporting activity, such as avoiding a heavy meal before a period of exercise taking 'light liquids of easy digestion to support nature and maintain strength only', others were more general in application.[150] Sir Thomas favoured plain, traditional food, exemplified by roast beef and Hasty Pudding, a dish similar to porridge.[151] His stipulation that the bread provided for the poor widows and widowers of Bunny should be varied in coarseness so as to cater for the recipients ' indispositions or infirmities and constitutions', was linked to the belief that old age was marked by a more fragile digestion.[152] In contrast, a hearty appetite was considered a measure of youth and vitality associated with robust masculinity whereas having, or affecting, a delicate appetite, being 'scarce able to eat the leg of a threepenny chicken in a day' was a mark of effeminacy.[153] Nevertheless the key here was moderation since over indulgence was ' contrary to the notion of a man in control of his body', condemned as destructive behaviour akin to digging 'their graves with their teeth'.[154] Sir Thomas advised 'all my scholars seriously to weigh' Sir John Floyer's caution that:

> All finite things tend to their undoing,
> But man alone's industrious to his ruin.
> With royal [ ] delicates and wine,
> Turns pioneer himself to undermine.[155]

The principle of moderation also applied to the consumption of alcohol since 'whoever would be a complete wrestler must avoid being overtaken in drink'.[156] To

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[150] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.12.
[151] NSL, *The Inn Play*, pp iv, vi,9.
[152] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.12.; EEBO, S5386, Richard Steele, *A Discourse concerning Old Age* (1688), p.9.
[153] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.15.
[154] Robert Weston, 'Men Controlling Bodies: Medical Consultation by Letter in France ,1680-1780', in Van Gent, Jacqueline and Broomhall, Susan, (eds) *Governing Masculinities in the Early Modern Period: Regulating Selves and Others* (Routledge: London and New York,2011), p.245.; NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.15.
[155] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.16.
[156] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.15.

illustrate how drunkenness compromised wrestling performance, Sir Thomas constructed a moral fable where he anthropomorphised strong drink as a wrestling master who trained his pupils in taverns and public houses with the aid of his 'journey men assistants, Brandy a Frenchman, Usquebaugh (whisky) an Irishman, Rum a Molossonian'.[157] The expertise acquired under such tutelage was then presented as a parody of true wrestling skills: 'These masters mostly teach the trip, which I can assure you is no safe and sound play', their pupils easily identified by 'their walkings and gestures, they stagger, reel and cross legs which I advise my students to avoid.'[158] The effects of drink were thus immediately visible in the wrestlers inability to control their movements, but just as obvious, was the effect on their capacity to make sound tactical judgements, resulting in a wrestler showing either 'too much play, or none at all'.[159]Although drunkenness compromised the artistry of the wrestler so much admired by Sir Thomas, his concern extended beyond aesthetic disquiet and was bound up in contemporary anxieties with male behaviour where drunkenness was perceived as a challenge to rationality; a key tenet of idealised manliness that Fletcher regards as crucial to the early modern gender hierarchy.[160]

Foyster also argues that excessive drinking was problematic because it undermined self-command making moderation, one of the touchstone virtues of manhood, difficult, if not impossible, to maintain.[161] As Sir Thomas himself

[157] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.15. Molossus was a nomadic tribe from the mountainous region of Epirus in north-western Greece.
[158] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.16.
[159] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p15.
[160] Fletcher, *Gender,* p.105.
[161] Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England Honour Sex and Marriage* (Longman: London and New York, 1999), p.40.

observed, when a man was drunk, his reason and judgement were compromised and rationality diminished, a depiction mirrored in contemporary prescriptive literature portraying drunken men as unreasoning beasts, driven by appetite, 'incapable of counsel and fit only for evil'.[162]As Foyster and other historians of masculinity have shown, patriarchal authority was justified on the basis of man's claim to possessing superior reasoning capacity, a claim that was weakened by any instance where men demonstrated that they were 'bereaved of their senses' and were therefore 'not master of himself', whether this was as a consequence of being 'overtaken in drink', or succumbing to unruly passions.[163]

Excessive drinking was associated with poor health; among the debilitating effects listed by Jacques Olivier, drunkenness 'corrupts the blood, troubles the brain, ... enfeebles the nerves... burns up the lungs... blows up the stomach, shortens life', whereas wrestling was consistently referenced throughout *The Inn Play* as an activity practiced by 'vigorous' and 'brawny' men possessed of sound and healthy bodies.[164] As Philip Carter notes, physical vigour, manifested in vibrant health, was counted among 'traditional manly virtues'.[165] Obadiah Walker's advice to young men reminded them of their obligation to preserve their health, as a man 'when sick is troublesome to others and unprofitable to himself'.[166] When Thomas Manners drew a comparison between Sir Thomas, a man of 'robust constitution' and the current generation of 'effeminate, weak.. curled coxcombs', he was embodying a

[162] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.15.; EEBO, A634, *Advice of a Father, or Counsel to a Child* (1664), p.9.
[163] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.15.
[164] EEBO, D1611, Jacques Olivier, *A Discourse of Women, shewing Their Imperfections Alphabetically*, (1662), p.187.; NSL, *The Inn Play*, pp.9,14.
[165] Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800*(Routledge: London and New York, 2001), p. 7.
[166] EEBO, W400, Obadiah Walker, *Of Education Especially of Young Gentlemen*, (1673), p.66.

discourse that Carter sees as 'a popular and enduring theme in eighteenth century social commentaries' where 'actual or imminent social ruin' was coupled with the perception that Englishmen had degenerated into 'indolence and effeminacy'.[167]

This critique of contemporary masculinity was most concerned with the behaviour of young men. Amongst this group particularly, traditional male behaviour was widely perceived to have been superseded by female rituals of self-presentation, such as pinning 'up their locks in papers' and the use of cosmetics such as 'Almond paste and rosewater'.[168] According to Jennifer Jordan, this 'preoccupation with looks was unsteadying the whole foundation of gender difference' that Elizabeth Hunt considered emblematic of a 'dangerous invasion of interests and desires coded as feminine'.[169] As Michele Cohen points out, feminine influence posed a paradox; while necessary to the acquisition of gentlemanly refinement, it was also regarded as inimical to the attainment of masculinity.[170] The extent to which what were primarily designated female interests; luxurious consumption and preoccupation with fashionable trivia for example, were now preferred above 'exercises of running, football and wrestling', accounted for the present generation's tendency to effeminacy.[171] In branding young men as indolent,

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[167] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p. xi.; Carter, *Emergence*, p.129.
[168] NSL, *The Inn Play,* p.vi.
[169] Jennifer Jordan, 'That ere with Age, his strength is utterly decay'd': Understanding the Male Body in Early Modern Manhood' in Fisher, Kate; Toulalan, Sarah, *Bodies, Sex and Desire from the Renaissance to the Present* (Palgrave Macmillan:2011), p.33.; Elizabeth Hunt, 'A Carnival of Mirrors: The Grotesque Body of the Eighteenth-Century British Masquerade' in Kittredge, Katharine (ed) *Lewd and Notorious. Female Transgression in the Eighteenth Century* (University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, U.S, 2016), p.92.
[170] Michelle Cohen, 'Manliness, Effeminacy and the French: Gender and the Construction of National Character in Eighteenth Century England', in Hitchcock, Tim, Cohen, Michele, *English Masculinities 1660-1800* (Routledge: Abingdon and New York, 1999), p.47.
[171] NSL, *The Inn Play,* pp.vi,9,1.; Carter, *Emergence,* pp.129-130.

self-indulgent 'darling sucking bottles' unable to get out of bed, even at the height of summer, 'til eleven of the clock' when 'the fire has aired his room and clothes', Sir Thomas appears to suggest that the search for refinement and gentility has been at the expense of manliness, a narrative he challenged by promoting the desirability of 'rough manners' as the foundation of effective masculinity.[172] As Susan Whyman has also noticed the seventeenth century letters of the Verney family were similarly critical of excessive refinement, this would imply that the Bishop of Worcester's later eighteenth century exaltation of 'rough manners and lack of polish', should not be regarded as 'revolutionary' as Cohen suggested.[173]

Lacking experience and judgement, unless properly directed, youth was particularly vulnerable to pernicious influence. Martial sports like wrestling were considered legitimate pursuits because they yielded advantageous results; they constituted appropriate exercise, were preparation for defending the country in time of war and were therefore regarded as worthwhile alternatives to time wasting recreations like card playing and dancing.[174] Engaging in recreational pursuits that met with the approval of their sober elders channelled youthful energy into purposeful physical activity that also countered any inclination to sexual license.[175] Thus, William Tunstall anticipated that 'the setting up of one *palestra* in every town will be the pulling down of treble its numbers of apothecaries shops and when our

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[172] NSL, *The Inn Play*, pp, v.vi,9.
[173] Susan Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late Stuart England. The Cultural World of the Verneys 1660-1720* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1999), p.89.; Cohen, 'Manliness', pp. 53,55. For a more detailed discussion of this point, see also Michele Cohen, 'Manners Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry and the Construction of Masculinity 1750-1830', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol.44. No.2 (2005), pp.322,323.
[174] Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experience in England 1560-1640* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1996), p.123.
[175] Griffiths, *Youth,* p.180.

young gentleman shall run the hazard of no other claps, but those of the back sinews, our poor doctors will make a sorry trade on't.'[176]

Alexandra Shepard has suggested that it was young men's enthusiastic adoption of a culture of excess that particularly excited criticism.[177] She interpreted youth's deliberate inversion of norms commonly claimed for patriarchal manhood as a direct challenge to patriarchal authority.[178] For contemporaries however, there were more serious ramifications than perennial intergenerational conflict.[179]A major strand of concern was the association of declining manhood with falling national fortunes. Once famed and feared, now perceived as weak and effeminate, Britain's men were no longer considered equal to replicating past military triumphs.[180] The martial valour of the generations of men responsible for the military victories at the heart of the national story such as Crecy and Poitiers was the direct result of having been 'By sports made hardy, and by action bold'.[181] William Tunstall grumbled that had 'our ancestors been suffered … to lay aside their exercises of running, football and wrestling, I dare not answer but they too, might have been twenty years in reducing France to a necessity of making that peace, that they accomplished in one.'[182]The perceived failure of the present generation to match the military achievements of their forbears was explicitly attributed to the widespread abandonment of a common subscription to vigorous exercise. This was a matter of

[176] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.1.
[177] Alexandra Shepard, 'From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen? Manhood in Britain, circa 1500-1700', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol.44, No.2 (2005), p.293.
[178] Shepard, 'Anxious Patriarchs', p.293.
[179] Griffiths, *Youth*, p.111.
[180] Carter, *Emergence*, p.129.; NSL, *The Inn Play,* p.8.; Lawrence Klein, 'Liberty', p.586.
[181] NSL, *The Inn Play,* p.8.
[182] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.1.

pressing concern as the first quarter of the century had been marked by conflict with France in the Spanish Wars of Succession. At the same time, threats of French supported Jacobite invasion intent on restoring the Stuart monarchy prompted scares in 1715, 1717, 1719 and 1729 before their ambitions were finally defeated at Culloden in 1746.[183]

Alongside concern with the immediate security of the nation was a further deep-rooted uneasiness that effeminate men were neither promising husband nor father material. William Tunstall expressed the view that womankind were 'cheated damsels' forced to select future husbands and fathers for their children from 'The feeble offspring of a pocky race' rather than 'lusty husbands' from an 'active, brave, heroic breed'.[184] There was no doubt in Sir Thomas's mind that physical activity, particularly wrestling, 'that of all exercises... is the most useful to all sorts of men', produced men 'of hail constitutions' that enjoyed 'a perfect state of health' as a consequence.[185] He suggested this explained why wrestling competitions at 'wakes, and other festivals' attracted audiences of young women who came hoping to choose a husband from 'the daring, healthy and robust persons' competing.[186] Successful participation in sporting competition gave an indication of a man's potential to provide future economic security and reassurance of his sexual potency.[187]

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[183] Colley, *Britons*, pp.3,25.
[184] NSL, *The Inn Play,* p.7.
[185] NSL, *The Inn Play,* p.20.
[186] NSL, *The Inn Play,* p.20.
[187] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.2.; Karen Harvey, *Reading Sex in the Eighteenth Century: Bodies and Gender in English Erotic Culture* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2004), pp.139-145.

Patriot

Those who subscribed to this widely held view of the nation's men as enervated, were also clear in attributing this to malign foreign influence, specifically an 'addiction to all things French'.[188] Whereas Thomas Manners and William Tunstall recognised degeneration 'into a life of luxury and ease' as the culmination of adopting 'the fashions, the cringes, the buffooneries of their neighbours' in the broadest sense, Sir Thomas unflinchingly singled out the French to accuse of purposeful action 'to enervate our people.. for our future slavery'.[189] Ubiquitous French influence, advanced by a fifth column of fencing masters, dancing masters and valet de chambres 'leading the way in effeminacy… allured her neighbour nations, by her own example to drink largely of her poisoned cup of manners', was commonly believed to have had a deleterious effect on all aspects of English life: diet, leisure and habits, and was therefore identified as the primary factor in national decline.[190] In this context Sir Thomas's criticism of French food is of greater significance than simple dietary or culinary advice and is therefore, according to Margaret Hunt, 'rich with meaning'.[191] While condemning a diet that included continental delicacies, the 'high sauces and spicy forced meats', the 'soups and ragouts', Sir Thomas recommended plain, hearty food typified by roast beef: 'I will scarce admit a sheep biter, none but beef eaters will go down with me'.[192]His

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[188] Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England 1680-1780* (University of California Press, 1996), p.147.
[189] NSL, *The Inn Play* pp.vi,1.; UNMASC, Pa C34, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Mr Justice Dormer, Letter, 30/03/1719.
[190] NSL, *The Inn Play,* p.9.; UNMASC, Pa C34, Parkyns, Letter, 30/03/1719.; NSL, *The Inn Play,* p. v.; EEBO, T101764, John Brown *An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times*, (1758), p.140.
[191] Hunt, *The Middling Sort,* p.147.
[192] NSL, *The Inn Play*, pp. iv,9.

promotion of roast beef as food fit for Englishmen anticipated by some years the principal sentiment of William Hogarth's *O the Roast Beef of Old England* (*The Gates of Calais*).[193] Considered to be Hogarth's revenge for his temporary imprisonment as a British spy in 1747, the painting is dominated by a vast haunch of beef used to symbolise the gulf between prosperous, Protestant England and impoverished, Catholic France. [194]

The anti-French rhetoric of *The Inn Play* fits well with Linda Colley's description of Anglo French relations between 1689 and 1815 as 'a protracted duel' and was, according to George Newman, 'one of the very few articles of belief that in some way or other was capable of influencing all Britons beneath otherwise immense diversities'.[195] Although Newman considers that anti-French fervour like that articulated by Sir Thomas did not develop into a coherent, nationalist discourse until the latter half of the eighteenth century, Sir Thomas's relentless criticism of the French does encompass elements of a nationalist ideology insofar as France was plainly identified as an 'historic external enemy', perceived to have inflicted 'cultural provocations or social humiliations'.[196] The evidence considered so far indicates that Sir Thomas's purpose was primarily concerned with re-establishing the native vitality of Englishmen; to 'restore posterity, to the vigour, activity and health of their ancestors', thereby making 'the hands feet and body, and all the members of your subjects more useful in your army on future occasions'.[197] These aims were

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[193] http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/hogarth-o-the-roast-beef-of-old-england-the-gate-of-calais-
[194] Colley, *Britons*, pp.35-37.
[195] Colley, *Britons*, p.2.; George Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History 1740-1830* (St Martin's Press: New York, 1997), p.58.
[196] Newman, *Nationalism*, pp.54,60.
[197] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p. i.

principally connected 'to the prestige of the country in the context of foreign relations', and are therefore, Newman argues, no more than evidence of a patriotic consciousness,' a sense of belonging to a nation'.[198] Indeed, in his concern that the nation be fully capable of defending 'their glorious constitutions and liberties', Sir Thomas saw himself as 'an assertor of the rights, privileges and liberties of my dearly beloved mistress, my country'.[199]

Nevertheless, it could be argued that more is implied here than just a sense of national belonging, since the inherent superiority of the nation is also being asserted. It is, after all, Sir Thomas's identification of types of alcohol with particular nations in his portrayal of the evils of drink, that suggest drunkenness is an essentially foreign vice and by implication un-English.[200] He upheld the superiority of the British judicial system in his rejection of the plan to cite Nottingham's new county hall and goal in the Market Square because this would force prisoners to undertake a lengthy walk to the bar, during which their legs would become painful and swollen due to the chafing of their fetters, thereby undermining their fundamental right as Englishmen 'to be free from bodily pain, to make use of his natural reason and understanding, at his trial, and not racked and tortured (as in some countries)'.[201]

The extent to which Sir Thomas might be considered to be expressing nationalistic rather than simply patriotic ideals can be examined further using the pamphlet, *The Observator on the proceedings in parliament against Dr Sacheverell*, where he defended the propriety of the impeachment and subsequent trial of Dr Henry

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[198] Newman, *Nationalism,* p.56.
[199] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p. xi.; NRO RB31, *Queries and Reasons,*1724, p.5.
[200] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.15.
[201] NRO, RB31, *Queries and Reasons*,1724, p.14.

Sacheverell.[202] In 1709 Sacheverell had attacked the principle of religious toleration in a sermon entitled *The Perils of False Brethren*, *both in Church and State*, where he argued that any who 'presumes to innovate, alter or misrepresent any point in the articles of the faith of our Church, ought to be arraigned as a traitor to our state; heterodoxy in the doctrine of one, naturally producing and almost necessarily inferring rebellion and high treason in the other'.[203] Dr Sacheverell's trial in March 1710 provoked some of the worst disturbances London had seen as an estimated five thousand rioters participated in the systematic destruction of Dissenting meeting houses, attacks on the houses of leading Whig politicians and setting fire to the Bank of England.[204] In the opinion of Geoffrey Holmes the riots were not solely informed by a generalised antipathy to religious dissent, but more particularly by its association with a wave of immigrants who became increasingly prominent in London's business and financial community.[205] The numbers involved in the rioting seem to suggest a popular groundswell of support sympathetic to Sacheverell's views confirmed by the results of the 1710 election when the electorate soundly punished the Whig party by returning to parliament only ten of the twenty Whig MPs that had been involved in the impeachment process. Furthermore, of the 304 MPs who voted for Sacheverell's impeachment, the majority, 160 of them, lost their seats.[206] This effect was also felt locally in the Nottingham borough where the trial was credited with reviving the fortunes of the Tories, resulting in a split vote that

[202] NRO, RB31, *The Observator,*1710, p.10.
[203] EEBO, N030355, Henry Sacheverell, *The Perils of False Brethren both in Church and State*, 1709, p.8.
[204] H.T Dickinson, *The Politics of the People in Eighteenth Century Britain* (St Martin's Press: Basingstoke and London, 1995), p.128.
[205] Geoffrey Holmes, 'The Sacheverell Riots: The Crowd and the Church in Early Eighteenth Century London', *Past and Present*, No.72 (1976), pp.61,62.
[206] Dickinson, *Politics*, p.51.

returned the Tory Robert Sacheverell, in place of Robert Sherwin one of the two Whig candidates.[207]

It has already been established that by advocating the strongest national military power to ensure freedom from foreign domination, Sir Thomas was contributing to a patriotic discourse, but satisfying all elements of the historiographical model of nationalism constructed by Newman, would also require evidence of a collective identification of internal obstacles to national solidarity.[208] Sir Thomas's criticism of High Anglicans like Sacheverell, confirm that he did indeed consider this group historically embodied a substantial threat to the nation's internal cohesion. He pointed to the part played by their 'pernicious counsels and sermons' in validating Charles I's collision course with parliament that laid 'the foundation of his and the nations calamities' in the civil wars of the mid seventeenth century, still a relatively recent memory.[209] In the early eighteenth century this 'pestilential faction' was still keeping alive those 'seeds of discord and contention' and 'prostituting their sacred function' by arming 'the gospel against the government', thus making 'religion contrary to its nature, an instrument of rebellion' to attack 'her majesty's title and administration'.[210] Sir Thomas represented the danger posed by these 'incendiaries' as considerable since 'a traitor is more dangerous than an open assailant'; therefore their defeat was of 'greater consequence than all those we have had over our enemies abroad'.[211]

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[207] D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley (eds) *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715* (Boydell and Brewer, 2002), pp.464,466.
[208] Newman, *Nationalism*, p.49-60.
[209] NRO, RB31, *The Observator*, pp.17,18.
[210] NRO, RB31, *The Observator*, pp.18,16,17.
[211] NRO, RB31, *The Observator*, p.17.

In the manner of his congratulation of the Whig administration for issuing 'a glorious and seasonable rebuke' to frustrate both 'false brethren at home and sworn enemies abroad', Sir Thomas revealed his acceptance of a further distinguishing aspect of a distinctly nationalist ideology; the 'sense of a betrayed past'.[212] The High Church clerics who maintained the 'steady belief of the subjects obligation to an absolute and unconditional obedience to the supreme power, in all things lawful and the utter illegality of resistance upon any pretence whatever', saw Charles I as a 'royal martyr', a victim of the 'irreconcilable rage and blood thirstiness of both the popish and fanatic enemies of our Church and Government', and marked the anniversary of his execution as 'a madding day' to lament the King's murder and condemn the regicides.[213] By 'preaching upon the legality of resisting princes', Sacheverell questioned the legitimacy of removing James II from the throne, action that was considered necessary to preserve the nation from potential enslavement 'under a popish prince and a French government'.[214] Thus, Sir Thomas concluded that Sacheverell's opinions constituted a direct threat to 'the foundation of our religious and civil liberty, the defence of which has cost us so much blood and treasure.'[215]

The content of the sermon was deemed seditious; however, its timing was considered especially provocative. Delivered on November 5th the anniversary of the defeat of the Catholic led Gunpowder Plot in 1605, and of William of Orange's landing in England in 1688 that ended with the defeat and exile of James II, in the

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[212] NRO, RB31, *The Observator*, p.17. Newman, *Nationalism,* pp.49-60.
[213] EEBO, N030355, Sacheverell, *Perils*, pp.8,9.
[214] NRO, RB31, *The Observator*, p.17.
[215] NRO, RB31, *The Observator*, p.17.

national calendar this date was 'doubly sacred' representing 'a double deliverance from the horrors of popery'.[216] In both timing and content Sir Thomas saw Sacheverell's intervention as celebrating the principle of arbitrary power that Whigs utterly rejected and therefore constituted an overt attack on the legitimacy of the Glorious Revolution of 1688.[217] These actions revealed this group as traitors whose defeat represented 'the greatest blow that has been given to arbitrary power since the Revolution, the principles of which our legislature has so gloriously asserted'.[218]

From Sir Thomas's identification of France as an external enemy, High Anglicans as a group posing an obstacle to national solidarity, and a sense that sacrifices made to rout arbitrary power had not been suitably esteemed, it would seem that there are sufficient grounds to consider that Sir Thomas was promulgating, albeit in embryonic form, a nationalist discourse, much earlier than is recognised in the current historiography that locates the emergence of English nationalism in the later eighteenth century. This suggests that Hans Kohn's observation that the 'fundamental conditions' of a nationalistic discourse were already visible in the Puritan Revolution of the seventeenth century, should be revisited.[219] Whilst further investigation is needed however, it is clear is that Sir Thomas was convinced that the manifold risks faced by the nation could only be neutralised by re imbuing British men with a sense of martial vigour that 'teaches 'em to make their broadsword the terror of all Europe'.[220]But appearing to validate

[216] Holmes, 'Sacheverell Riots'p.60.; Colley, *Britons,* p.21.
[217] NRO, RB31, *The Observator*, p.18.
[218] NRO, RB31, *The Observator*, p.17.; Holmes, 'Sacheverell Riots', p.60.
[219] Hans Kohn, 'The Genesis and Character of English Nationalism', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol.1, No. 1 (1940), pp.70,91,94.; Newman, *Nationalism*, p.55.
[220] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p. vii.

masculine aggression while avoiding any reversal in the decline in public violence, necessarily involved Sir Thomas in a delicate balancing act.[221] Manly behaviour encompassed a readiness to defend both personal and national honour; to treat reputational damage lightly was held to be 'the mark of a dissolute naughtie person'.[222] But this created a dilemma as physical combat, the only recognised redress for wounded reputations, was directly at odds with expectations of politeness which required men to control their emotions and be generous and complaisant in social interactions.[223] The accommodation of these seemingly mutually exclusive standards of masculinity were much debated in public campaigns articulating opposition to duelling, a practice perceived as the 'major threat to public peace'.[224]

Sir Thomas personally lamented the proposition to suppress duelling following public outrage at the bloody outcome of the duel fought between the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun in 1712 which left both of the main protagonists dead and their seconds charged as accessories to murder.[225] Apologists for duelling saw it as a necessary means of defending male honour, the state that John Cockburn represented as necessary to maintain 'the dignity of a reasonable being' and therefore integral to manhood.[226]Each individual man's desire for honour was as vital and necessary as 'an appetite for food', a natural pairing like sun and light, fire

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[221] Robert Shoemaker, 'The Taming of the Duel: Masculinity, Honour and Ritual Violence in London,1660-1800', *The Historical Journal*, 45.3 (2002), p.526.
[222] Cockburn, *Duels*, p.152.
[223] Bernard Capp, 'Jesus Wept' But Did the Englishman? Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, no.224 (2017), p.75.
[224] Shoemaker, 'The Taming of the Duel', pp.541,542.; Donna T. Andrew, 'The Code of Honour and its Critics: the opposition to duelling in England,1700-1850', *Social History*, Vol.5, No.3 (1980), p.409.
[225] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.19.; Robert Baldick, *The Duel* (Chapman and Hall: London, 1965), pp.71,72.
[226] EEBO, T118651, Cockburn, *Duels*, p.151.

and heat.[227] Conceptualised as an intrinsically benign impulse inseparably connected to virtue, Cockburn argued that male honour contributed to the public good by acting as 'a curb to rashness, a restraint to licentiousness and a spur to industry.'[228] The drive to acquire honour affected how men functioned socially as 'man should study to approve himself to those he lives among, and to get their esteem for no man can live independent of others and therefore everyone ought to recommend himself to all; and the best way to do that, is to show himself a man of honour and worthy of their esteem.'[229]

Honour, like manhood, had to be achieved and then asserted; failure to respond to slights offered, damaged claims to gentility and manliness marking a man as a dishonourable coward.[230] But in the proposed abridgement of the Duelling Act, Sir Thomas along with many others, saw an attempt to curb legitimised opportunities for men to defend their honour by showing 'their resentment of affronts offered them'.[231] Sir Thomas suggested that one of the major objections to duelling, the potential for fatal injuries, could be effectively eliminated 'if the same act erect in every market town a stage for gentlemen, wearing swords, once a month after at a single stick, if they did not cool and reconciled in that time, and to be parted on the first broken head'. [232] But even while prepared to accommodate widespread concern with the incidence of injury and possible death, because of its

[227] EEBO, N010712, John Taylor, *The Old, Old, very Old Man: or the Age and Long Life of Thomas Parr*, (1703).
[228] Cockburn, *Duels* p.151.
[229] Cockburn, *Duels*, p.147.
[230] See Foyster, *Manhood*, p.55.; Markku Peltonen, *The Duel in Early Modern England: Civility, Politeness and Honour* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2003), p.184.
[231] Andrew, 'Code of Honour', p.41.; NSL, *The Inn Play*, p. iv.
[232] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p. v.

fundamental importance to maintaining reputational integrity, Sir Thomas did not concede that duelling could be entirely dispensed with.

Apologists were also concerned that acting against duelling would impact on maintaining an effective armed force. Donna Andrew has suggested that fostering men's ambition for honour was considered the only sufficiently powerful impulse to override the biological imperative for self-preservation on the battlefield and was therefore, simply 'the best way to develop a corps of fearless fighting men'.[233] Should parliament outlaw duelling, Sir Thomas considered it would be 'essential' to include in any legislation 'A clause to encourage wrestling in every country, as there an Act for obliging persons of such estates to exercise the longbow before guns and pistols were in use' to nurture the martial spirit that would otherwise be lost should duelling be proscribed.[234]

Sir Thomas directly addressed an established understanding that the greater humoral heat of men's bodies naturally predisposed them to greater levels of aggression: 'some will argue that wrestling is of no use, but apt to make a man more contentious and quarrelsome, and fit only to break men's bones'.[235] It was however his opinion that:

> you seldom find a gamester indeed, but is superlatively passive, and will put up with what another shall call and resent, as an affront neither do you find that a true gamester does or receives any harm but when highly provoked. Instead of a true gamester being contentious and quarrelsome he'll laugh at small indignities and with the mastiff dog, rather than bite, lift up his leg and only piss upon the little waffling, yelping curs in contempt. [236]

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[233] Andrew, 'Code of Honour', p.414.
[234] NSL, *The Inn Play,* pp.18,19.
[235] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.19.
[236] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.20.

Where circumstances dictated, his training allowed the wrestler to defend himself effectively, thus reducing the possibility of sustaining injury, but rather than encourage belligerence, the self-discipline of an accomplished wrestler allowed him to distinguish between threats that should be ignored and those that required action. The convincing display of effective manhood, the result of tempering strength with reason, could therefore, Sir Thomas argued, be successfully accommodated within the discourse of politeness.

Initially, Sir Thomas's suggestion that social harmony was not jeopardised by retaining an outlet for men to engage in physical, if not mortal combat, seems somewhat at odds with his stated aim to 'make all the gentlemen fitter to serve King and Country', as this was contingent on instilling the necessary martial spirit to make them stand 'stiff against their opponents'.[237]There is undoubtedly a superficial tension between these two objectives, but Sir Thomas was convinced that fundamentally there were limits to masculine aggression since 'there is not the man living that kills another, either in hot or cold blood', even one he sincerely believes has flagrantly wronged him ,'but would kiss his posterior if that would bring him to life again.[238] Nevertheless where personal animosities bred conflict, dangerous emotions were generated that it was vital to dissipate to avoid greater disturbance. Wrestling was Sir Thomas preferred solution since 'a severe fall or two, a black face or the like, would allay their fury and heat for that time, nay perhaps until quite forgotten' and most importantly, would not result in death.[239] Further, the

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[237] NSL, *The Inn Play*, pp.9,1, iv.
[238] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.18.
[239] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.18.

uncontrolled 'heat and fury' of destructive passion was contained and converted into qualities altogether more desirable in a man since 'Wrestling will make him more daring, bold and even more merciful, then he could be, did he not know how to come into his adversary'.[240]

To some extent Sir Thomas's memorial appears as two disconnected elements: the discharge of conventional social obligations and an apparently idiosyncratic enthusiasm for wrestling. The uniting feature however is his conception of ideal masculinity. The achievements that Sir Thomas deemed appropriate for his remembrance are those of patriarchy: prudent estate management, effective oversight of the family, ensuring the continuation of the lineage and public service. But patriarchal authority was validated through consistent assertion of effective masculinity; to show himself fit to govern; a man had to show himself capable of self-governance. This was not therefore a matter of private satisfaction since it determined a man's ability to discharge the public obligations of his role. The sport of wrestling required self-discipline, rational judgement and moderation, all vital components of male reputation. Sir Thomas's endorsement of wrestling responded to interconnecting anxieties, that vigorous physical activity had been replaced by indulgent fashionable pursuits leading to a weakened generation of effeminate men. For Sir Thomas and his supporters wrestling was the corrective that would restore masculine reputation by re invigorating the skills and spirit to defend individual and national honour. Having established a character sketch of Sir Thomas's values,

[240] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.19.

beliefs and guiding philosophy the next chapter will turn to consider Sir Thomas's emotional interactions within the setting of his close family.

Chapter 3

Son, Husband, Father, Master

For this chapter, the focus is concentrated on Sir Thomas's emotional life within the context of his household. Here, interpreting his emotional reactions is underpinned by reflection on the values, concerns and dominant character traits established in the previous chapter, and based on careful analysis of a substantial range of sources including published writing, family papers, epigraphs and memorial inscriptions. Although source survival has often left analysis dependent on 'wisps of evidence', nevertheless, attention to fine detail has furnished sufficient evidence to compose an informed sketch of each relationship examined.[1] The discussion follows each individual stage of the life cycle beginning with Sir Thomas's relationship with his mother; firmly rooted in respect, shared values and goals but clearly transcending filial obligation. Indeed, the depth of Sir Thomas's attachment to his mother becomes apparent after examining the angry recriminations exchanged with his sister in law following his mother's death.

The marriages of early modern men and women created independent households; a change in individual status that was a significant marker of maturity. Sir Thomas married twice, firstly as a young man and then as an older widower. Although in neither case was the marital relationship represented as a romantic attachment nevertheless, the emotional texture of each relationship has been uncovered in some depth using the approach suggested by Rachel Weil, John Gillis

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[1] Peter Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1977), p.180.

and David Sabean that looks for the imprint of emotion in the acquisition and transfer of property in marriage and inheritance, a method that will also be used to understand Sir Thomas's attachment to his children.[2] In fact, it is only by examining the bequests in his will that Sir Thomas's feelings for the two sons and daughter from his second marriage can be accessed. Traces of the two eldest sons are likewise limited, however the paternal bond is given shape in the vivid evocation of grief and loss found in Sir Thomas's replies to letters of condolence received after the death of his youngest son. As studies by Peter Laslett, Naomi Tadmor and Kristina Straub have shown servants were considered part of the household family and would have contributed to its emotional footprint, therefore, they are also included here in the final section of the chapter.[3] What can be known of Sir Thomas interactions with his servants fall into three main categories: a shared interest in wrestling, requests to be a godparent to their children and a significant role in Sir Thomas's funeral; all illustrative of a relationship defined by paternalism.

Son

Sir Thomas was born in 1662, the second child born to Sir Thomas Parkyns, 'the senior baron', and his wife Anne Cressey. The Parkyns already had an older son, Cressy, and Thomas's birth was followed by two sisters, Catherine and Anne, then

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[2]Rachel Weil, 'The Family in the Exclusion Crisis: Locke versus Filmer Revisited' in Houston, Alan and Pincus, Steve, (eds), *A Nation Transformed: England after the Restoration* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2001), p.115.; John Gillis, 'From Ritual to Romance: Toward an Alternative History of Love', in Stearns, Peter; Stearns, Carol, *Emotion and Social Change: Towards a New Psychohistory* (Holmes and Meier: London and New York, 1988), pp.87-89.; Medick, Hans; Sabean, David (eds) *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1984).

[3] Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* (Methuen, London, 1971), pp. 3,7.; Naomi Tadmor, 'The Concept of the Household Family in Eighteenth Century England', *Past and Present*, No.151 (1996), p.123.; Kristina Straub, *Domestic Affairs: Intimacy, Eroticism and Violence between Servants and Masters in Eighteenth Century Britain* (John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 2009), p.2.

finally a brother, Beaumont, born in 1667.[4] Sir Thomas inherited the baronetcy and the family estate aged twenty-two and went on to forge a markedly close relationship with his mother who outlived all four of his siblings during forty one years of widowhood. Indeed, Lady Parkyns remarkable longevity evoked a very particular sense of comradeship with Sir Thomas as he believed this to be something they had in common.[5]

Certainly, family papers and memorials show mother and son bound in a shared purpose to preserve and build on the family's prestige and economic assets. It was, for example, to his mother rather than his wife that Sir Thomas confided his initial misgivings about his eldest son Sampson's ability to administer his Aunt Anne Parkyns will:

> I thought it dangerous and as of ill consequence to trust him with our stuff as they have advised me as to put a knife in a child's hands. It was therefore that I was so averse for his undertaking of the trust of sisters will that there might be no occasion to say he misapplied anything or betrayed it… you and I must take care to secure the jointure at Bradmore. [6]

Sir Thomas's conviction that a successful resolution depended on cooperation with his seventy-nine-year-old mother plainly shows that he retained his confidence in her abilities and continued to rely on her in spite of her age, confirming Pat Thane's conclusion that old age didn't automatically preclude parents from continued active support of their adult children in their family affairs. [7]

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[4] Memorial, Dame Anne Parkyns, North Wall of the chancel, St Mary the Virgin, Bunny, Nottinghamshire.
[5] University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections (hereafter UNMASC), Pa C67, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Dame Anne Parkyns, Letter, 1717.
[6] UNMASC, Pa C27, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Dame Anne Parkyns, Letter, 02/07/1712.
[7] Pat Thane, 'Social Histories of Old Age and Aging', *Journal of Social History*, Vol.37, No.1 (2003), p.101.

Although firmly convinced he was 'thoroughly... established in mothers favour', the habit of deference instilled in early modern children continued into maturity.[8] In letters Sir Thomas addressed his mother as 'ever honoured mother' or 'ever honoured lady' and would customarily sign himself 'your most dutiful son'.[9] On the epitaph composed when Lady Parkyns died aged ninety two, his praise of her was fulsome; 'though many good things may deservedly here be written of her, yet nothing can be said to tarnish any part of her happy character'.[10] In a 'precious life' marked by piety and charity, particular tribute was paid to her virtues as a 'Lady remarkable for her goodness in providing for her children and all that descended from them'.[11] Nevertheless, as would be expected even in the closest relationships, there were inevitable disagreements; while he praised her generosity on her memorial, during her lifetime Sir Thomas criticised her for being overly indulgent of her grandchildren.[12] On another occasion he questioned her judgement in choosing a financial advisor of whom he had a poor opinion.[13]

Aside from these relatively minor differences mother and son, together with Sir Thomas's sister Anne, collaborated on several local charitable projects as bequests in their individual wills show. Central to the family's plans to fit local

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[8] Stephanie Tarbin, 'Raising Girls and Boys: Fear, Awe and Dread in the Early Modern Household' in Broomhall, Susan (ed) *Authority, Gender and Emotions in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2015), p.112.
[9] UNMASC, Pa C27, Parkyns, Letter, 02/07/1712; Pa C67, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Dame Anne Parkyns, Letter, 1717.
[10] Dame Anne Parkyns, Memorial, Wall tablet.
[11] Dame Anne Parkyns, Memorial, Wall tablet.
[12] UNMASC, Pa C46, Sir Thomas Parkyns to John Bley, Letter, 17/06/1718. For a discussion of the significance of parental indulgence see Joanne Bailey, 'Paternal Power: The Pleasures and Perils of Indulgent Fathering In Britain in the Long Eighteenth Century', *The History of the Family*, Vol.17, No.3. (2012), pp.328-330.
[13] UNMASC, Pa C46, Parkyns, Letter, 17/06/1718.

children for economic independence as adults was the Bunny schoolhouse built by Sir Thomas in 1700. A bequest of twenty shillings in his will paid for a Dame or schoolmistress to prepare children 'to come under the schoolmaster of Bunny' after which they benefitted from free schooling by virtue of a legacy of ten pounds from the rents of 'a certain close lying in the Lordship of Thorpe in Glebis'.[14] When they reached the age of fourteen, having mastered basic literacy and numeracy skills, children would be apprenticed with the necessary premiums paid from 'the rents of two hundred pounds of land lying in the Lordship of Newton' set aside for this purpose in Sir Thomas's sister's will.[15] The aged and infirm of Bunny and Bradmore were cared for in the hospital or alms-houses, also built by Sir Thomas, for which Lady Anne Parkyns bequeathed forty shillings to provide 'gowns and petticoats' every other year for each widow resident in the hospital, while Sir Thomas's legacy of £5 4s paid for bread to be distributed each Sunday to poor widows and widowers of the parish.[16] Physical inscriptions on monuments and epigraphs recording provisions made for the poor and needy of Bunny served as a lasting public declaration of the joint social credit the Parkyns family claimed by virtue of fully discharging the obligations of their rank.

For the latter years of her life Lady Parkyns appears to have lived independently in London maintaining contact with Sir Thomas and the family at

[14] Inscription, Bunny School, Loughborough Road, Bunny, Nottinghamshire; Nottingham Records Office (hereafter NRO) PR313, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Will,1735, p.12.
[15] Inscription, Bunny School.
[16] Inscription, Bunny Hospital, Loughborough Road, Bunny, Nottinghamshire; NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.12.

Bunny through letters and occasional visits.[17] This fits with Peter Laslett's findings that, particularly among the wealthy, it was rare for elderly parents to live with adult children.[18] Pat Thane agreed that 'old people determinedly retained their independence', pointing out that since it was not uncommon for parents to outlive their children, a significant proportion of the elderly would have had little option but to live out the remainder of their lives alone. [19] In the English parishes studied by Susannah Ottaway however, 'Co- residence with (married) children was consistently high … with no clear cut disparity between economically diverse populations'.[20] Nevertheless, both agreed that living at a distance did not preclude 'close emotional ties and exchanges of support' between elderly parents and their children.[21] Indeed, Sir Thomas received regular news of his mother in letters of his nieces and nephews, Lady Parkyns grandchildren, as well as those of his friend John Bley, whose home and distillery business in South London made it relatively easy for him to visit Lady Parkyns to keep a watchful eye on her physical and financial welfare.

An extended epistolary exchange between John Bley and Sir Thomas in June 1718 is illustrative of the importance of letters as a major means of facilitating the support for elderly parents noted by Ottaway and Thane.[22] It concerned a financial emergency in which 'much money had been lost', as a consequence of which Lady Anne's affairs had been transferred 'into the hands of one Thornton', prompting

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[17] Steven R. Smith, 'Old Age in England', *History Today*, 24 (1979), p.174.; Roger Chartier, *Correspondence: Models of Letter Writing from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, Translated by Christopher Woodall (Polity Press: Cambridge, 1997), p.21.
[18] Laslett, *Family Life*, pp.177 -179, 212.
[19] Thane, 'Social Histories', pp.99-102.
[20] Susannah Ottaway, *The Decline of Life: Old Age in Eighteenth Century England* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2004), p.152.
[21] Ottaway, *Decline*, p.152.
[22] Thane, 'Social Histories', p.101.

John Bley to ask Sir Thomas to advise his mother whether this was a wise choice.[23] On the basis of his acquaintance with Mr Thornton Sir Thomas thought it necessary to safeguard Lady Parkyns remaining assets by asking John Bley to persuade his mother to make an alternative choice of 'one that may have judgement in conjunction with honesty'.[24] Although Lady Parkyns remained active, in the last twenty years of her life she was prone to frequent episodes of what were labelled 'insensible illness', but it should not be assumed that Sir Thomas's interventions were exclusively the consequence of his mother's dependency, particularly in the light of Anne Kugler's suggestion that 'opportunities to advise and influence' elderly and even frail parents were more than simply necessary safeguards, being widely understood as occasions for adult children to show deference properly owed to parents.[25]

When Lady Parkyns died in 1725 her will sat at the heart of a bitter controversy between Sir Thomas and his sister-in-law Jane, widow of his brother Beaumont. The complexity of sibling relationships revealed in this quarrel underlines the ubiquitous intersection between money, property and emotion in this period.[26] Even prior to Lady Parkyns death Sir Thomas's relationship with Jane Parkyns was acrimonious, evidenced by his expressed wish to avoid her company at all costs.[27] In the main their mutual hostility was rooted in disagreements over inherited property; Sir Thomas accused her of misappropriating substantial sums of

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[23] UNMASC, Pa C46, Bley, Letter,17/06/1718.
[24] UNMASC, Pa C46, Bley, Letter,17/06/1718.
[25] UNMASC, Pa C36, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Mrs Beaumont Parkyns, Letter, 24/01/1725.; Anne Kugler, 'Women and Aging', Conference Paper, 'Old Age in Pre-Industrial Western Societies' cited in Ottaway, *Decline,* pp.145-6.
[26] Medick and Sabean, *Interest and Emotion*, p.3.
[27] UNMASC, Pa C46, Parkyns, Letter, undated.

rental income over a long period of time; ‘at least £1700 as due to mother and out of any paternal estate at least £15,000 by my tenants in Bradmore in the 42 years since my father, her husband’s death’.[28] Sir Thomas depicted Jane Parkyns as grasping and avaricious, sarcastically remarking that her complaint of lameness was a consequence of ‘her pockets being overfull’ and therefore ‘a burden to her’, an example of the gendered presumption that women were naturally inclined ‘to the coveting of riches and greediness of wealth’.[29]

The immediate cause of animus was Jane Parkyns’ refusal to allow Sir Thomas to ‘see Mother Parkyns original, true last will signed and published by her in the presence of authentic witnesses according to law’, sending him instead ’a copy of one without such which everyone that sees it is a counterfeit sham and forged’.[30] Wills were important family documents organising the transfer of entailed property and personal effects of the deceased, frequently going through several iterations to take account of any change in circumstances.[31] Making a will well in advance of death however, created a potential window of opportunity that might be exploited by unscrupulous relatives to influence a testator for their own advantage. It was to minimise this risk that the 1677 *Statute of Fraud* was passed requiring the testator’s signature to be validated by three credible witnesses.[32] In the case of Lady Parkyns will specifically, the objections raised by Sir Thomas included several factors that

[28] UNMASC, Pa C36, Parkyns, Letter, 24/01/1725.
[29] UNMASC, Pa C46, Parkyns, Letter, undated; Early English Books Online, (hereafter EEBO), D1611, Jacques Olivier, *A Discourse of Women, shewing Their Imperfections Alphabetically*, 1662, p.6.
[30] UNMASC, Pa C36, Parkyns, Letter, 24/01/1725.
[31] Christopher Marsh, ‘Attitudes Will Making in Early Modern England’ in Arkell, Tom; Evans, Nesta; Goose, Nigel (eds) *When Death do us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England* (Leopards Head Press: Oxford, 2000), pp.163-4.
[32] John Addy, *Death, Money and the Vultures: Inheritance and Avarice 1660-1750* (Routledge: London and New York, 1992), p.12.

constituted legitimate grounds for challenge. Not only did the document he was given sight of lack the signatures required by the 1677 Act, but there was also evidently a significant discrepancy between Sir Thomas's understanding of his mother's wishes and the final dispositions of her will, from which he concluded that either his mother had not been of sufficiently sound mind to make informed decisions independently, or that her mental state had made her vulnerable to influences hostile to him.

Making an unambiguous statement of a testators wishes to 'avoid controversies' minimised the potential for subsequent family dispute and was therefore an important motivation for many early modern will makers.[33] But as the Parkyns experience, and indeed that of many other families' shows, this was not always the case. Amy Harris's study of contested wills from the diocese of Gloucester is pertinent here, not least because in a quarter of the cases examined the complaint was initiated by a man against his sister in law, as would have been the case in this instance if Sir Thomas had proceeded to formal action.[34] Harris concluded that the significant issue at stake was not the monetary value of the disputed estate, but rather 'siblings perception of unjust treatment at one another's hands', thus she considered that arguments about money or property should primarily be understood as emotional manifestations of fractured sibling relationships.[35]

[33] Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England 1480-1750*, (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2000), p.132.
[34] Amy Harris, *Siblinghood and Social Relations in Georgian England: Share and Share Alike* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2012), p.89.
[35] Harris, *Siblinghood,* p.92.

Although Joan Thirsk regarded primogeniture as the primary cause of much fraternal tension since it placed younger sons in the invidious position of dependence on their better provided for older brothers, Linda Pollock argued that historians had been too quick to assume that 'a system so manifestly inegalitarian must breed envy and discontent', proposing instead an alternative sketch of fraternal relationships whereby inevitable tensions aside, younger brothers were appreciated as valuable assets adding to the 'family's capital'.[36] Richard Grassby also concluded that the majority of brothers, and indeed sisters, enjoyed warm relationships.[37] But in the most recent study of siblinghood Bernard Capp suggested that aside from primogeniture, there were a number of equally plausible causes of sibling conflict such as parental favouritism, gender, birth order or simply conflicting personality types.[38]

There is compelling evidence that this controversy was indeed founded in sibling rivalry as both Thirsk and Harris argued since Jane Parkyns actions suggest that she was envious of Sir Thomas's more favourable position as the elder brother. Certainly, Sir Thomas believed that she was the driving force behind a campaign of obstruction that made an 'unnecessary and troublesome experience' of 'every affair I have been concerned', even to the extent of sowing discord in the family, actively working 'to[turn] mother, brother and all our family underhand against me'.[39] If Sir Thomas's objection to his mother's will was primarily because 'recognised ways' of

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[36] Joan Thirsk, *The Rural Economy of England* (Hambledon Press: London, 1984), pp.336, 348; Linda Pollock, 'Younger Sons in Tudor and Stuart England', *History Today*, 39:6 (1989), pp.23, 25.
[37] Richard Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism: Marriage, Family and Business in the English Speaking World,1580-1740* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2001), pp.210-215.
[38] Bernard Capp, *The Ties that Bind: Siblings, Family and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2018), pp.20-27.
[39] UNMASC, Pa C36, Parkyns, Letter, 24/01/1725.; UNMASC, Pa C46, Parkyns, Letter, Undated.

assigning property had been violated, the inference is the predominant concern was to avoid economic disadvantage, however the issue was far more complex. [40] It was true he complained that 'brother Beaumont has had mothers blessing three times over in her lifetime and his widow and children now enjoy double the land inheritance that should have come to him by mother's death', but Sir Thomas equated testamentary disposition with expressions of affection, considering that evidence of 'his mother's favour' and his 'sister's love and kindness to me' was reflected in the terms of their wills.[41] Rachel Weil confirmed that 'it was around issues of property settlement that people engaged with questions of love, obligation, justice and power in the family', thus it is reasonable to consider that Sir Thomas regarded the apparent financial advantage Beaumont enjoyed as evidence of his mother's preference for her youngest son. [42]

This explanation seems still more feasible when Sir Thomas's reaction to Jane Parkyns failure to offer an appropriate mourning gift 'in commemoration of my own dear aged mother' is taken into account.[43] As a sentimental remembrance of the dead mourning gifts and tokens indicated a distinct place in the hierarchy of feeling, a material expression of the intimacy and affection experienced in important relationships.[44] The significance of the inferior quality of the tokens offered by Jane Parkyns; the 'sham shammy gloves and ganse (trimmed) hatband fitter to be worn

[40] Richard Vann, 'Wills and the Family in an English Town: Banbury,1550-1800', *Journal of Family History*, Vol.4, No.4 (1979), p.347.
[41] UNMASC, Pa C46, Parkyns, Letter, undated.
[42] Weil, 'The Family in the Exclusion Crisis', p.115**.** Although Weil was particularly concerned with the seventeenth century, Karen Harvey agreed that this holds equally true for the eighteenth. Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2012), p.108.
[43] Ottaway, *Decline*, p.142; UNMASC Pa C36, Parkyns, Letter, 24/01/1725.
[44] Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family,* p.282.

by your footman', was not lost on Sir Thomas.[45] He perceived the poor quality of the gloves, the hatband more suitable for a servant to wear, as a calculated affront to his patriarchal status and a publicly delivered blow to his perception of pre-eminence in his mother's affections.[46] Acting out of an apparently long-lived hostility, Jane Parkyns may well have deliberately set out to subvert accepted inheritance practice for financial gain, but by exploiting her understanding of Sir Thomas's emotional vulnerabilities regarding his familial authority and relationship with his mother, she was able to inflict deep psychological damage.

In the light of these highly emotionally charged circumstances Sir Thomas's description of himself as 'slighted and melancholy' appears a deceptively mild summary of his feelings. Carol Stearns noticed a similar occurrence in the early modern diaries she examined where diarists commonly represented feelings of anger as sadness.[47] Stearns concluded that although the two emotions were regarded as similar, what she saw as an intentional preference for expressions of sadness indicated a general reluctance to express anger openly, thereby suggesting that anger was a less acceptable emotion.[48] The relationship between Sir Thomas and Jane Parkyns was quite obviously toxic, but since it was widely accepted that unbridled emotional display was particularly problematic for a man, it seems likely that Sir Thomas substituted an expression of sadness for one of anger, and was

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[45] UNMASC, Pa C36, Parkyns, Letter, 24/01/1725.

[46] UNMASC, Pa C36, Parkyns, Letter, 24/01/1725.; Ralph Houlbrooke,' Civility and Civil Observances in the Early Modern English Funeral 'in Burke, Harrison and Slack (eds), *Civil Histories: Essays presented to Sir Keith Thomas* (Oxford University Press: Oxford,2000), pp.74-5.

[47] Carol Stearns,'' Lord Help Me Walk Humbly': Anger and Sadness in England and America ,1570-1750' in Stearns, Peter; Stearns, Carol, *Emotion and Social Change: Towards a New Psychohistory* (Holmes and Meier: London and New York, 1988), pp.41, 56.

[48] Stearns,' Anger', p.56.

therefore, entirely consciously, moderating his emotional response to adhere to prevailing social and gendered emotional norms.[49]

Husband

The confluence of emotional and financial considerations evident in inheritance practice was also present in marriage arrangements. When Sir Thomas offered to act as an intermediary between an unnamed acquaintance only referred to as 'your lordship' and the daughter of an unnamed Duke, it was the prospect of 'ten thousand pounds ready' that headed Sir Thomas's list of her attractions.[50] In the negotiations preceding marriage material security could never be ignored, indeed marriage was customarily delayed to ensure that the couple had sufficient economic resources to maintain an independent household.[51] But although Lawrence Stone argued the material and social advantages of any proposed union were prioritised, later analyses of courtship established that compatibility, in terms of temperament and character, was also seen as essential.[52] The financial benefit of a potential attachment was significant, but it was only one element of a successful match. What Sir Thomas also considered augured well for making 'a lady so qualified and yourself an happy couple' was the match between the 'sweet, affable and endearing temper' of one and the virtuous character that merited 'a grandmothers daily blessing', of the other.[53]

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[49] Stearns, 'Anger', p.5.; Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage*, (Longman: London and New York, 1999), p.103.
[50] UNMASC, Pa C37, Sir Thomas Parkyns to 'Your Lordship', Letter, early eighteenth century.
[51] Diane O'Hara, *Courtship and Constraint: Rethinking the making of marriage in Tudor England* (Manchester University Press: Manchester and New York, 2000), pp.219-20.
[52] Lawrence Stone, *The Family Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (Penguin: London, 1977), pp.70-71.; Keith Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680* (Routledge: London and New York, 2003), pp.80,83,111.
[53] UNMASC, Pa C37, Parkyns, Letter, early eighteenth century.

The few surviving traces of Sir Thomas's own marriage to his first wife Elizabeth, 'the granddaughter and heiress of John Sampson esq alderman and citizen of London', whom he married in 1685 the year after inheriting the baronetcy, yields little explicit evidence of emotional compatibility in stark contrast to the importance assigned to matters of property.[54] His memorial, the permanent public record of his life, listed only the financial advantages of the marriage; the 'fee farm rent out of £274 2s 8d paid out of the manor borough and Bank of Beverley, the water towns and appurtenances in that county also the fee farm rent of £416s 4d issuing out of the manor and castle of Bolsover in the county of Derbyshire…and in money about £3,500'.[55] The previous chapter established Sir Thomas's profound commitment to meeting social and familial expectations to secure the family's future, which was of course made more certain by the economic advantages of this match. But his exclusive focus on this aspect of the arrangement does not definitively establish Elizabeth's property as her main or only attraction, particularly as Karen Harvey cited another example, that of William Gray, whose 'comments on his marriage to a woman he loved and later mourned deeply are particularly striking for their focus on money.'[56] Additionally, evidence gathered by Anthony Fletcher from elite and gentry marriages of the period confirmed that achieving an emotionally satisfying marriage and realising social ambition were not regarded as mutually exclusive objectives.[57] The details of his marriage to Elizabeth that Sir Thomas considered

[54] Sir Thomas Parkyns, memorial, north wall of the nave, St Mary the Virgin, Bunny, Nottinghamshire; G. Ellis Flack 'Sir Thomas Parkyns of Bunny', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, (1945), p.31.
[55] Sir Thomas Parkyns, memorial.
[56] Harvey, *Republic,* p.103.
[57]Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800* (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 1995), pp. 154-172.

essential to record were of an estate expanded and a family lineage preserved. However, Gillis's argument that early modern marital love was founded on 'norms of cooperation and sharing' and was therefore expressed in those essentially practical terms, allows the memorial inscription to be read as an expression of feeling implied within the statement of economic benefit.[58]

It is also worth bearing in mind that neither was the record of his second marriage expressed in emotional terms. In the case of his second wife Jane however, such a lack of detail seems anomalous in view of the marked trend observed by Houlbrooke, Gittings and Llewellyn towards more affectionate expressions of remembrance, and all the more so in light of the praise Sir Thomas lavished on his mother's 'happy character' after her death.[59] But with specific regard to Elizabeth Parkyns, even where such feelings existed or developed through the course of the marriage, it was unlikely they would have survived Elizabeth's desertion and subsequent humiliation of Sir Thomas. Moreover, the desired narrative of the memorial inscription had to be constructed within the limits of the available space, therefore necessarily precluding anything not directly contributing to its purpose. When examined as a whole, it seems clear that Sir Thomas fashioned the brief narrative to emphasise his successful navigation of public and familial roles rather than the emotional drama entailed in marriage, parenthood and bereavement.

Nevertheless, emotional drama was inevitable throughout the course of his life. In every meaningful way his marriage to Elizabeth ended not with her death but in irrevocable breakdown, an event tellingly elided on his memorial. Elizabeth's

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[58] Gillis, 'Ritual to Romance', pp.87-89.
[59] Dame Anne Parkyns, Memorial, Wall tablet; Houlbrooke, *Death Religion and the Family*, p.354.

abandonment of the marital bed to 'lie separate from me in another' marked a serious deterioration in the relationship, a situation that lasted three years before she left Bunny and Sir Thomas altogether to move to London where she lived 'for many years ..and never returned'.[60] Although impossible to pin point exactly the timing of the final rift, a reference made by Sir Thomas's niece Rawleigh Lane to a visit made by the couple, indicates that they were still living together in 1718. This changed sometime before January 1723 as Sir Thomas then spoke to his granddaughter of 'my wife your grandmother at London'.[61] Being unable to establish the timing more precisely limits understanding of the possible causes of the separation, making it impossible to know if, for example, the deaths of their sons was a factor. But while substantive evidence is lacking, it is nevertheless possible to use surviving evidential fragments to tentatively suggest issues that might have relevance.

There was a brief glimpse of conflict between the couple in Sir Thomas's complaint of Sampson's mishandling the execution of his aunts will referred to earlier. For Sir Thomas, while there could have been economically significant consequences for the family property, the particular irritant was the attitude underlying these mistakes, Sampson having become 'indiscreetly too headstrong and ungovernable for me'.[62] The distinction Sir Thomas made of Sampson as 'her' rather than 'our son', is noteworthy as it squarely placed the blame for this development on the 'unnatural advice' Sampson apparently received from his

[60] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p. 14.
[61] UNMASC, Pa C55, Rawleigh Lane to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 17/12/1718.; Pa C69 Sir Thomas Parkyns to Harriott Parkyns, Letter, 22/01/1723.
[62] UNMASC, Pa C27, Parkyns, Letter, 02/07/1717.

mother.[63] In a crucial aspect of household authority Elizabeth neglected to uphold her husband's headship and as wifely obedience was synonymous with loving behaviour, had therefore, failed in both marital and maternal obligations.[64] Although this may have been an isolated instance, it is also conceivable that Elizabeth had consistently neglected her obligation to reinforce appropriate respect for paternal authority, thereby creating a longstanding source of marital tension. Alternatively, as such open and wholesale criticism of his wife to his mother was hardly a sound basis for harmonious dealings between the two women, it is possible Sir Thomas's management of the mother/daughter in law relationship was at fault. Again, Sir Thomas may have involved his mother on just this one occasion, perhaps looking for solace for his injured feelings in the certainty that she would sympathise, however if this was his habit, which is likely given the evident closeness between them, this could have been a significant source of marital discord.[65]

While the sources do not reveal what led to the final estrangement, Sir Thomas's description of the separation as an elopement made it apparent this was entirely Elizabeth's decision.[66] He made considerable efforts to repair the breach and restore the relationship, at least to its outward public state, but evidently Elizabeth felt such antipathy towards her husband there was no possibility of reconciliation.[67] She was unrelenting in rejecting the 'utmost endeavours' and 'powerful arguments' made by mutual friends for her return to Bunny and Sir Thomas, continuing to

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[63] UNMASC, Pa C27, Parkyns, Letter, 02/07/1717.

[64]Tarbin, 'Raising Girls and Boys', pp. 107,112-13.; Katie Barclay, *Love Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland 1650-1850* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2011), p.103.

[65] UNMASC, Pa C27, Parkyns, Letter, 02/07/1717.

[66] Joanne Bailey, *Unquiet Lives: Marriage and Marriage Breakdown in England,1660-1800* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2003), p.30.

[67] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.14.

assert the independence she demonstrated when refusing sexual contact with her husband.[68] Since men 'secured their manhood through their relationships with women (particularly wives)', each rejection underlined Sir Thomas's failure to control his wife and therefore further damaged his reputation in a very public way that had much wider ramifications; ultimately calling into question his fitness to hold public office or access credit.[69]

The couple's differences were therefore irreconcilable but with no option for a permanent legal divorce allowing either party to remarry, they were forced to resort to a private separation that at least avoided having the matter aired publicly in either the secular or ecclesiastical courts.[70] Separation agreements made between husbands and wives, with the wife's interests overseen by a set of trustees, agreed a financial settlement and would typically indemnify the husband from any future indebtedness incurred by his wife. In this specific case '£200 a year separate maintenance' enabled Elizabeth to live the remainder of her life independently of Sir Thomas.[71] For some contemporary commentators, requiring a husband to continue financial support to an errant or disagreeable wife was a humiliation too far, however Susan Staves has shown that maintenance allowances were usually calculated from the interest earned on the property the wife bought to the marriage, which Staves considered signified an underlying understanding that 'in some senses ..this property continued to belong to her'.[72] By effectively granting women

[68] Foyster, *Manhood,* p.104.
[69] Foyster, *Manhood*, p.67.
[70] Susan Staves, 'Separate Marriage Contracts', *Eighteenth Century Life,* Vol.11 (1987), p.79.
[71] Lawrence Stone, *The Road to Divorce: England 1530-1987* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1990), p.141.; NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.14.
[72] Staves, 'Contracts', pp.78,83.

the power to abjure the responsibilities of their marriage contracts, then allowing them to negotiate a separate agreement for maintenance, rebalanced power away from male dominance, and was therefore, seen by Stone as a blow to patriarchy.[73] But although Staves judged this an overly simplistic interpretation, she nevertheless conceded that 'a woman enjoying separate property in the form of a separate maintenance allowance' did indeed 'constitute evidence' of a weakened patriarchy.[74]

Aside from the repeated efforts at reconciliation made by Sir Thomas there is no evidence of any emotional reactions to the failure of his marriage. To an extent it is doubtful he would have articulated or recorded any distress experienced as this would have simply emphasised his powerlessness in the face of Elizabeth's intransigence. Neither would there be a realistic prospect of any overt support from his peers for whom Sir Thomas's situation would be a salutary reminder of how easily masculine reputation could be compromised by a wife's conduct.[75] Nevertheless it is impossible that he would have escaped such turbulent, life changing events emotionally unscathed. Indeed, Lisa Wynne Smith reasons that silence may also be read as a space where trauma is processed.[76]As successfully fulfilling his marital role at the head of his family was central to male reputation, it could be surmised that such a catastrophic failure of patriarchal manhood would engender deep shame, making it unlikely that he would be able to entertain any

[73] Stone, *Family*, p.22.
[74] Staves, 'Contracts', p.80.
[75] Foyster, *Manhood*, p.103.
[76] Lisa Wynne- Smith, 'Resisting Silences: Gender and Family Trauma in the Eighteenth-Century', *Gender and History*, Vol.32, No.1 (2020), p.33.

lingering charitable feelings for his wife since she was the chief architect of his distress.[77]

Regardless of the private separation arrangement the couple continued to be legally married until one or the other died. Even while they lived apart, if Elizabeth had a child, common and civil law would presume that child to be Sir Thomas's that he would be bound to support and maintain.[78] Whether or not Sir Thomas had any concrete reason to believe that Elizabeth committed adultery during the course of their separation, it was of course possible, and perhaps in Sir Thomas's mind, even likely given early modern understanding that problematic behaviour inevitably escalated to more serious lapses.[79]Aside from whatever personal emotional damage was caused, a wife's adultery was regarded as particularly disruptive as it posed a threat to lineal succession and had the potential to deprive genuine heirs of their rights.[80]

This was doubtless the rationale for the precautionary codicil Sir Thomas included in his will closing off any possibility of another man's child making a claim on his estate in the event that:

> my said wife may have had one more child or children born or proceeding from her body elsewhere than at Bunny where her sons Sampson and Thomas were born during the three years she left my bed and went up to London …in such case to every such child or children whether male or female I do hereby give and bequeath

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[77] Peter Stearns, *Shame: A Brief History* (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, Chicago, Springfield, 2017), p.50.; Foyster, *Manhood*, p.115.; Jared van Duinen, 'The Obligations of Governing Masculinity in the Early Stuart Gentry Family: The Barringtons of Hatfield Broad Oak' in van Gent, Jacqueline and Broomhall, Susan, (eds) *Governing Masculinities in the Early Modern Period: Regulating Selves and Others* (Routledge:2011), p.113.
[78] Margaret Somerville, *Sex and Subjection: Attitudes to Women in Early Modern Society* (Arnold: London, New York, Sydney, Auckland, 1995), p.147.
[79] Foyster, *Manhood*, pp.66,7.
[80] Somerville, *Sex and Subjection,* p.148.

> one shilling a piece to every such child or children and no more than one shilling to each child.[81]

A range of emotions are hinted at here that are otherwise inaccessible except through the lens of inheritance. In a general sense it reveals something of the anxiety men experienced connected with the sexual behaviour of women if unregulated within the context of marriage. It undoubtedly reflects Sir Thomas's interest in maintaining the integrity of his estate, but most emphatically it speaks of the paternal relationship in the implicit assumption that it was an entirely natural desire that a man passed property only 'to the children of their own loins'.[82]

Sir Thomas lived as a single man until Elizabeth's death in September 1727 marked the end of forty-two years of marriage. A bare five months later he married a second wife, twenty-one-year-old 'Jane, eldest daughter of Mr George Barnard one of the aldermen of York' on February 7th, 1728.[83] The relatively short time between the two events suggests that Sir Thomas had at least contemplated remarriage even while Elizabeth was still alive and was therefore ready to embrace further emotional attachment when the circumstances were favourable. Although widowers were more likely than widows to remarry, having survived the turmoil of Elizabeth's desertion, he would be acutely aware that marriage could be a risky venture.[84] It is interesting to consider his motive for embarking on a second marriage at the relatively late age of sixty-five. This is a pertinent question as in their analysis of courtship historians have considered the rationale for choosing a spouse gave an

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[81] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.14.

[82] Rachel Weil, *Political Passions: Gender the Family and Political Argument in England 1680-1714* (Manchester University Press: Manchester,1999), p.131.

[83] NRO, PR399, Bunny Register.

[84] Steven R. Smith, 'Growing Old in an Age of Transition' in Stearns, Peter, *Old Age in Preindustrial Societies* (Holmes and Meier: New York, 1982), p.205.

indication of the emotional nature of the ensuing marital relationship.[85] While it is most likely that the final decision was an amalgam of factors of varying importance dictated by his individual circumstances, examining Sir Thomas's possible reasons for remarrying will therefore offer insights into his relationship with his second wife.

From her study of selected diaries of single men Amanda Vickery noted a common aspiration to enjoy the domestic comforts accessed through marriage that were deemed more desirable than the putative liberty of bachelorhood.[86] As Vickery found these men presented their lives as rather miserable affairs dominated by a constant quest to secure hot food and clean linen, it is therefore unsurprising that the advantages for which men sought marriage addressed the everyday practicalities of a comfortable life: 'housekeeping, hostessing and potential mothering'.[87] Certainly when the puritan minister Richard Rodgers listed the inconveniences he expected to meet as a widower he included 'Care of household matters cast on me'.[88] This may have been a consideration for Sir Thomas as ostensibly it was the pressure of managing his domestic affairs that prompted him to write to his granddaughter Harriott, to persuade her to 'afford me some ease and relief' by returning to Bunny to act as his housekeeper.[89]

This may not however, have been a direct request for Harriott's labour as much as her companionship since men also sought marriage to address unfilled

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[85] See for example Keith Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1689* (Routledge: London and New York, 2003), p.78.
[86] Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors. At Home in Georgian Britain* (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2009), p.57.
[87] Vickery, *Closed Doors*, p.79.
[88] Richard Rogers, 1588, Cited in Houlbrooke, Ralph, *English Family Life 1576-1716 (*Basil Blackwell: Oxford, 1988), p.55.
[89] UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Harriott Parkyns, Letter, 22/01/1723.

emotional needs.[90] Like many older men of the gentry Sir Thomas shared his home with domestic servants, and as Naomi Tadmor has shown that contemporary understandings of family transcended the blood relationship to include co- resident servants, Sir Thomas's servants would have been more than an unobtrusive backdrop to ensure his domestic comfort.[91] At the time he wrote his will, although by then re married and still in good health, he included bequests to the women who would nurse him in his final illness which seems to anticipate that in the event it became necessary, he had already made provision for the physical work of nursing at least, to be undertaken by servants rather than his wife.[92] Indeed, sharing the same space, being involved in the most intimate aspects of life, caring and being cared for, often led to a mutual emotional attachment between servants and masters.[93]

But whatever the emotional rewards of such a relationship only a wife could fully meet the need for 'love, sex, companionship.'[94] Sir Thomas may not have been swayed towards choosing a young wife by thoughts of being cared for in his old age as Steven Smith suggested, but might have harboured a desire for more children, possibly as a safeguard should anything happen to his grandson Thomas, the existing heir.[95] Having suffered the loss of his adult sons Sir Thomas would be

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[90] UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Harriott Parkyns, Letter, 1725.; Vickery, *Closed Doors,* p.79.
[91] K.D.M. Snell, 'The Rise of Living Alone and Loneliness in History', *Social History*, Vol.42, No.1 (2017), p.21.; Peter Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1977), p.213.; Tadmor, 'Household Family', p.112.
[92] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.13.; Andrea Brady, 'A Share of Sorrows': Death in the Early Modern Household' in Broomhall, Susan,(ed), *Emotions in the Household 1200-1900* (Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2007), p.192.
[93] Brady, 'Share of Sorrows', pp.189, 192-4.
[94] Vickery, *Closed Doors,* p.79.
[95] Smith, 'Growing Old', p.205.

intensely aware of pressure to preserve the family lineage by producing a male heir, a stress particularly keenly felt by all families in the upper ranks of society.[96] Indeed, he may have been familiar with examples of local families who had died out because they had failed in this regard.[97] Moreover the birth of children not only ensured continuation of a family name, they were an evidence of potency, a key component of masculinity.[98] In a second family, possibly including sons, Sir Thomas may have seen an opportunity to restore the reputational damage suffered in the failure of his first marriage, although entertaining the possibility of fathering children at the age of sixty five reflects a surprising level of confidence in his generative powers as well as a scant regard for social convention. In the seventeenth century Robert Burton had written scathingly of 'ancient men for whom the heat of love would thaw their frozen affections, dissolve the ice of age and so far enable them though they be sixty years above the girdle to be scare thirty beneath', a theme noticed in eighteenth century erotica by Karen Harvey and in contemporary drama by Katie Barclay where sex involving old men was categorised as 'desperate' and undignified.[99] But in the event three children were born to the couple: Thomas 'born between eight and nine o'clock on the eighth of December'1728, George 'born about ten minutes after 7 o'clock in the evening' on the 30th December 1729 and with the

[96] Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster, 'Childless Men in Early Modern England' in Berry and Foyster (eds), *The Family in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2007), p.166.; Lawrence Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641*(Clarendon Press: Oxford,1965), p.168.
[97] Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales 1500-1700* (Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 1994), p.24.
[98] Berry and Foyster, 'Childless Men', p.177.
[99] Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (New York Review Books: New York, 2001) The Third Partition, Section 2, p.179.; Karen Harvey, *Reading Sex in the Eighteenth Century: Bodies and Gender in English Erotic Culture* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2004), p.139.; Katie Barclay, 'Natural Affection, the Patriarchal Family and the ''Strict Settlement'' Debate: A Response from the History of Emotions', *The Eighteenth Century*, Vol.58, No.3 (2017), p.317.

birth of Anne on March 12th 1732 'about ten o'clock in the forenoon', Sir Thomas became a father for the fifth time at the age of 69.[100]

Although Jane died before her husband on August 27th, 1740, aged thirty-three, Sir Thomas made provision for her when drawing up his will in 1735 in the not unreasonable expectation that he would predecease her. The family estate was entailed and therefore could only be passed on to the appointed male heir to act as custodian, holding it in trust for the next generation. But on condition that Jane agreed to relinquish the property to her sons when they reached their twenty first birthday, she was entitled to live rent free 'in my house at Bunny' even if she remarried, enjoying the 'use of all my household goods plate and furniture' as well as 'the benefit and profits of the Park gardens and closes adjoining to or laid to my said house'.[101] Unlike entailed property, 'moveable goods' or personal property could be disposed of according to the testators own wishes. Consequently, Sir Thomas bequeathed to Jane 'her gold watch and all the jewels thereto belonging with all the china ware and my new damask tablecloth and a dozen of damask napkins together with my coach or chariot which she shall make choice of and four of my best mares.'[102] Each item willed to Jane reflected the space inhabited by eighteenth century women; the decorative and domestic, and as such fitted the pattern of gendered legacies in late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century wills observed by Nigel Goose and Nesta Evans.[103]

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[100] NRO, PR399, Bunny Register.
[101] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will,1735, p.10.
[102] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.10.
[103] Nigel Goose, Nesta Evans, 'Wills as an Historical Source' in Arkell, Tom; Evans, Nesta; Goose, Nigel (eds) *When Death do us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England*. (Leopards Head Press: Oxford, 2000), p.69.

Sir Thomas unequivocally declared the property bequeathed to Jane was to demonstrate his 'affection and esteem', and in common with many other early modern husbands described Jane as a 'dear loving wife'.[104] In its purest expression as envisioned by the writers of puritan conduct literature, marital love reflected patriarchal order, an emotion initiated by the husband and responded to by the wife:

> as the dim light of the moon borrowed from that principle of light of the sun so by proportion the love of the wife is borrowed from the love of the husband … and hence it is, that according to the custom of all nations, the husband sees the wife, the wife loves after she is loved: except it be here and there in some odd person noted for folly or immodesty.[105]

Most properly then, at least in these idealistic terms, for women love was not an emotion developed independently; Jane Parkyns' experience of love was to reciprocate the expressed love of her husband. Therefore, while the phrase 'dear loving wife' attested to an emotion experienced, it also implied approval of a wife's emotional conduct. Of course, the practical provisions made in his will, the fullest and final discharge of Sir Thomas's husbandly obligation to provide for his wife, were also widely understood as an action symbolic of affectionate feeling. The continued comfort of his widow was ensured; secure in the family home furnished with family heirlooms, the tools of fashionable hospitality at her disposal for purposes of entertaining, while access to a coach and horses offered the cleanest and most convenient way to visit friends and neighbours, all enabled Lady Parkyns to maintain her social status and that of her marital family.[106]

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[104] NRO, PR399, Bunny Register; NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, pp.10-11.

[105] EEBO, R1797, Daniel Rogers, *Matrimonial Honour or the Mutual Crowne and Comfort of godly, loyall and chaste marriage* (1642), p.153.

[106] Vickery, *Closed Doors*, p.69.; P.R. Edwards, 'The Horse Trade in Tudor and Stuart England' in Thompson, F.M.L. (ed) *Horses in European Economic History* (The British Agricultural History Society: Reading, 1983), p. 120.; Joan Thirsk, *Horses in Early Modern England: for Service, for Pleasure, for Power*, (University of Reading, 1978), p.28.

Sir Thomas assertively identified possession of the household goods left to Jane as 'my household goods, plate and furniture and my new damask tablecloth and a dozen damask napkins'.[107] Jane would have used or at least supervised the use of this equipment in her domestic role; possibly she was even involved in its selection, in which case Sir Thomas's claimed ownership would likely be based on having paid for the items.[108] There is a single exception to this; the tableware simply recorded as 'all the chinaware'.[109] While this omission could simply be an oversight there may be some gendered significance attached. In the period between the later seventeenth century and the early eighteenth when china sales increased exponentially so that it became 'a normal part of household equipment' rather than a luxury, a strong cultural association developed between women and china obviously explained by the likelihood that they would use it as part of their domestic routine.[110] More significantly however, in examples of contemporary literature examined by Beth Kowaleski Wallace, china was commonly used as a trope of feminine weakness; becoming emblematic of acquisitive female instincts that were understood as driving the growth of consumption heavily criticised in some sections of society.[111]

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[107] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.10.

[108] Karen Harvey, 'Men Making Home: Masculinity and Domesticity in Eighteenth Century Britain', *Gender and History*, Vol.21, No.3 (2009), p.528.

[109] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will,1735, p.10.

[110] Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760* (Routledge: London and New York, 1996), pp.28,31.; Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects, Women, Shopping and Business in the Eighteenth Century* (Columbia University Press: New York, Chichester, West Sussex, 1997), p.53.; Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p.3.

[111] Beth Kowaleski-Wallace, 'Women, China and Consumer Culture in Eighteenth-Century England', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, Vol.29, No.2. (1995/6), p.157.

The notion that women led consumer activity was challenged in Margot Finn and David Hussey's analysis of patterns of male consumption where it became apparent that men were more commercially active than previously understood.[112] That specifically men purchased china was borne out in studies of post mortem inventories undertaken by Lorna Weatherill and Carole Shammas.[113] Although Shammas found only a slight preponderance towards women's ownership of china, Weatherill's more detailed study concluded that ownership was equally balanced between men and women. As it is therefore likely that Sir Thomas did indeed own the china, by virtue of having paid for it, omitting to directly claim ownership may perhaps reflect a desire, conscious or unconscious, to distance himself from items perceived as essentially feminine. This might be explained as an emotional reaction to the comprehensive devastation of his masculine reputation in the breakdown of his first marriage that materialist historians like Oliver Harris and Tim Flohr Sorensen would consider indicative of the dynamic emotional relationship they posit exists between objects and their human possessors, succinctly described by Jane Bennet as 'thing power'.[114]

Of greater certainty is all the possessions bequeathed to Jane were high quality and as such were markers of wealth and status. When Sir Thomas

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[112] Margot Finn, 'Men's Things: Masculine Possession in the Consumer Revolution', *Social History,* Vol.25, No.2 (2000), p.133- 155.; David Hussey, 'Guns, Horses and Stylish Waistcoats? Consumer Activity and Domestic Shopping in Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century England', in Margaret Ponsonby, *Buying for the Home: Shopping for the Domestic from the Seventeenth Century to the Present* (Routledge: 2008), pp.47-69.
[113] Carole Shammas, *The Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1990), pp.186 and 192n.; Lorna Weatherill 'A Possession of One's Own: Women and Consumer Behaviour in England, 1660- 1740', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol.25, No.2 (1986), p.140.
[114] Jane Bennett *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Duke University Press, Durham, 2010), cited in Oliver Harris and Tim Flohr Sorenson, 'Rethinking Emotion and Material Culture', *Archaeological Dialogue*, Vol.17, No.2 (2010), pp.145,147.

commissioned the purchase of fabric for bed sheets he specified 'strong Holland' a superior grade of fabric made from flax that was consistently the most expensive material used for this purpose.[115]At the time that Sir Thomas drew up his will, the new forms of tableware, cutlery, tea drinking equipment and ceramic ware would largely still only be found in elite households.[116] While the outlay necessary to purchase a coach by itself was considerable, Sir Thomas had evidently taken advantage of increased specialism in breeding and rearing horses to purchase horses of a superior quality to pull it.[117] The seamless transfer of property and goods planned by Sir Thomas would no doubt have given immense satisfaction to his methodical mind knowing that he was in a position to demonstrate so completely the full and successful discharge of his social and familial obligations.

Father

In the event, Sir Thomas died in 1741 seven months after Jane while their children were still young; Thomas was thirteen, George twelve and Anne only nine. In the same way that he secured the comfort and status of his widow, Sir Thomas's will set out the arrangements for the future care of his children.[118] The primary responsibility for shaping children's lives rested with early modern fathers, a process Sir Thomas compared to the practice of archery where his children were 'the strings to his bow' with which he hoped to take 'his aim aright and make a good shot'.[119] It was critical that fathers organise the education and discipline of their children,

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115 UNMASC, Pa C68, Parkyns, Letter, 1725.; Anthony Buxton, *Domestic Culture in Early Modern England* (Boydell and Brewer, 2015), p.190.; Shammas, *Preindustrial Consumer*, p.97.
116 Shammas, *Preindustrial Consumer,* p.185.
117 Edwards, 'Horse Trade', p.120.
118 Goose, Evans, 'Wills', p.66.
119 UNMASC, Pa C26, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Duke of Newcastle, Letter, 28/07/1706.

particularly of sons, as it was generally accepted that a successful transition into effective manhood depended on separating boys from the feminine influences that surrounded them from birth.[120]

Sir Thomas directed that Thomas and George were educated at the prestigious Westminster School 'to fit them for one of the universities and afterwards placed at Greys Inn or some other of the Inns of Court in order to their studying of the law'.[121] While seen as a necessary step to acquiring manly independence, it was fraught with risk, as young men separated from parental support might fall victim to the manifold moral dangers they had not yet acquired sufficient judgement to resist.[122] Sr Thomas's proviso that:

> as an encouragement for my said sons' studies and proficiency in the law I order and direct that my said trustees do make such allowance for and towards the maintenance and education of my said sons as to their diligence and good conduct seem to require or deserve.[123]

made continued financial support dependent on their industry and engagement with their studies which may well be the fruits of his previous experience as a father of young sons.

His two sons from his first marriage, Sampson born in 1686 and Thomas in 1687, were also educated at Westminster School from where they followed the traditional trajectory for boys from gentry families that focused on developing social

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[120] Joanne Bailey, 'Reassessing parenting in eighteenth century England', Berry, Helen and Foyster, Elizabeth, (eds), *The Family in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2007), p.219.
[121] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.10.
[122] Henry French, Mark Rothery, ''Upon Your Entry into the World': Masculine Values and the Threshold of Adulthood among Landed Elites in England 1680-1800', *Social History*, Vol.33, No.4 (2008), pp.408,9.
[123] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.10.

accomplishments as much as academic knowledge.[124] Both Sampson and Thomas were subsequently admitted to the Middle Temple in September 1702 aged 16 and 14 respectively, and then onto St Johns College, Cambridge, matriculating in June 1704, gaining admission to Gray's Inn the following month.[125] Pollock argued that when considering the emotional connections between parents and their children, historians have tended to emphasise the authoritarian aspects of early modern parenting practice that are seen as fundamentally irreconcilable with emotional attachment.[126] The decision to send comparatively young children away to school is one area modern sensibility interprets as an indication of emotional distance between parents, particularly fathers, and their children. Evidence examined by Anthony Fletcher, however, suggests that parents didn't simply thrust their anxious sons into an alien world with little thought for their future psychological survival, but carefully chose schools to match their son's temperament and abilities.[127]

Moreover, this was not a decision taken lightly as fathers as well as mothers found parting from their children difficult, but one where the long term interests of the child were regarded as more important than any short term distress.[128] Fletcher's account of parents preserving an affectionate relationship while children were away at school by means of letters sent and received aligns with Joanne Bailey's re

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[124] NRO, PR399, Bunny Register 1723-1802.; G.F Russell Barker, Alan Stenning, *The Record of Old Westminsters* Vol.II, (Chiswick Press: London, 1928), p.718.; Anthony Fletcher, *Growing up in England: The Experience of Childhood,1600-1914* (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2008), p.208.
[125] H.A.C Sturgess, *Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple* (Butterworth and Co, 1949), p.252.; Joseph Foster, *Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn 1521-1889* (The Hansard Publishing Union: London, 1889), p.332.
[126] Linda Pollock, 'Parent Child Relations' in Kertzer, David, Barbaglio, Mario, *Family Life in Early Modern Times 1500-1789* (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2001), p.192.
[127] Fletcher, *Growing Up,* p.162.
[128] Fletcher, *Growing Up,* p.130.

assessment of parenting where emotional warmth was established as 'an indicator of a good father'.[129]

Sir Thomas's investment in the education of all four of his sons equipped them with the accomplishments demanded by their social status. But as the experience of Sir Thomas's grandchildren Thomas and Harriott will later confirm, education was determined by gender, so while her brothers went to school as the first step on the path to a career in the law, Anne Parkyns was educated at home to become proficient managing a household for when she herself married. Although the form of her education was certainly different to her brothers, the financial provisions Sir Thomas made showed no less care for Anne's future: £1000 was placed out at 'out at interest on good security aforesaid for the maintenance and education of the said Anne Parkyns'.[130] This was apart from a separate sum of £800 settled under the terms of her parents' marriage contract from which the interest accrued was also reserved 'for the better maintenance and education of the said Anne Parkyns'.[131] Both legacies were to be used for her 'benefit or advantage' until the principal became payable when Anne reached her majority or was married, provided this was with the consent of the trustees.[132]

According to Rachel Weil, giving property to children was assumed a parental duty of the early modern period, so much so that 'The image of a man passing on property' was emblematic of 'the bond between a parent and a child'.[133]

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[129] Bailey, 'Reassessing Parenting', p.220.
[130] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.7.
[131] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.7.
[132] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.7.
[133] Weil, 'Family in the Exclusion Crisis', p.117.

Practical provision for their future therefore represented Sir Thomas's emotional investment in his children. This was not a question of simply allocating each child an equal share of the available assets however, as legacies in elite families were determined by birth order and gender, therefore the transfer of entailed property followed the practice of primogeniture passing firstly to the eldest son and then onto his sons 'in seniority of age and priority of birth… the elder of such sons and the heirs male of his body issuing always preferred ...before the younger of such sons'.[134] As the elder son Thomas Parkyns inheritance was significant including:

> manors, lands, tenements and hereditaments situate, lying and being in the several towns, parishes, fields, precincts or territories of Bunny, Bradmore, Ruddington, Costock, otherwise Cortlingstock, East Leake, otherwise Great Leake, Whysall, Willoughby, Keyworth and Gotham in the said county of Nottingham…. all my lands, tenements and hereditaments in Wymeswold and Barrow upon Soar in the county of Leicestershire. And a fee farm rent at Bolsover in the county of Derby'. Together with an annuity or rent charge of one hundred pounds per annum issuing out of the river Wey near Guildford in Surrey.[135]

Separate provision was made for George, the second son, amounting to approximately £300 annually from a combination of 'rents and profits of manor lands in the manor or park of Beverley in the county of York', from 'my farm at Bradmore …twenty eight pounds ten shillings', and a further 'annuity of twenty six pounds a year during the term of his natural life'.[136] In the bequests of more personal property George Parkyns was left only 'two of my best plain guns which cost not above 3 guineas each' whereas his elder brother was given 'all my books, all my pictures, guns, pistols and swords'.[137] Whatever private feelings George Parkyns

[134] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.2.
[135] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.2.
[136] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.4.
[137] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.11.

may have entertained regarding his inheritance cannot be known, but it is difficult to accept Pollock's very positive view that younger brothers felt no resentment against the random injustice of birth order.[138] At a time when testamentary disposition was understood as a mark of attachment, in every possible way their father's will emphasised George's less favourable position in relation to his older brother. If a process that Pollock described as 'manifestly inegalitarian' was not to result in wholesale souring of fraternal relationships, then there must have been some management of the natural emotions and expectations so that younger brothers understood appointing elder sons as custodian of the family assets reflected social custom not parental favour.[139] Of course, to a degree individual personality would have played a part; George Parkyns may well have appreciated the relative freedom from the weight of expectation that would rest on his brothers' shoulders after Sir Thomas's death.

Only if his brother failed to have a son survive to succeed him would George Parkyns inherit the whole of the estate. If the male line failed entirely then their sister Anne would inherit but as a safeguard Sir Thomas determined that this would only happen if her husband would agree to adopting the Parkyns name in preference to his own.[140] If refused, 'that person shall not have or take any benefit or advantage from or by virtue of this my will', instead the estate would pass to the next in line as though the 'person so refusing was naturally dead'.[141] Although Christopher Marsh saw this as a 'vain urge to influence earthly events after one's

[138] Pollock, 'Younger Sons', pp.23,25.
[139] Pollock, 'Younger Sons', pp.23,25.
[140] Heal, Holmes, *Gentry*, p.24.; NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.3.
[141] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.7.

death', if Ottaway is right to conclude that it was 'extremely rare for parents to use their power of granting children legacies to control their future behaviour', this emphasises the supreme importance Sir Thomas attached to the continuation of the family name.[142]

The significance of lineage was also visible in the bequest made to his eldest son of 'my two little iron trunks which my late father Sir Thomas Parkyns Baronet gave to me.'[143] It is possible to see tenderness in Sir Thomas's description of the trunks decorated with 'all the medals... which were gifts to my said son Thomas Parkyns and which I desire may be kept by him and in the family forever in commemoration of the donors.'[144] While Lena Cowen Orlin argues that is wrong to allocate sentimental attachment to possessions left in wills, arguing that this is no more than a reflection of modern precepts, nevertheless, the medals had to be physically attached to the trunk, effort that is suggestive of some importance. [145] It can also be reasonably conjectured that the medals were a reminder of the birth of his son, the guarantee of familial continuity with all that may have represented for Sir Thomas personally: confirmation of the wisdom of remarrying and restoration of his masculine reputation. At the same time the trunks, passed from his own father and then by him into the custodianship of his eldest son, were a material evocation of descent; an unambiguous statement of social status and connection, and therefore a further example of how emotion and property overlapped.

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[142] Susannah Ottaway, *The Decline of Life: Old Age in Eighteenth Century England* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2004), p.149.; Vann, 'Wills and the Family' p. 351.; Marsh, Attitudes', p.15.
[143] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.11.
[144] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will,1735, p.11.
[145] Lena Cowen Orlin, 'Empty vessels' in Hamling, Tara; Richardson, Catherine, *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meaning* (Taylor and Francis: Abingdon and New York, 2016), pp.299-300,306.

Everything that is known about Sir Thomas as a father to Thomas, George and Anne comes from the bequests made in his will. Likewise, Sir Thomas's replies to letters of condolence when his second son Thomas died in 1706 at the age of nineteen are the only evidence of his feelings for Sampson and Thomas, his sons from his first marriage. Of four surviving replies, two are to friends and will be discussed fully in chapter four. The remaining two, one each to Sir Thomas's mother and sister, are rich sources of 'indications of affection and emotional investment' which is of course precisely why letters are widely considered such a useful point from which to consider personal relationships.[146] The examples used here are particularly valuable since in addition to enlarging on the emotions experienced in fatherhood, the influences shaping socially appropriate expressions of grief are visible.

When Thomas died after an unspecified illness lasting four months, Sir Thomas's vivid descriptions of the physical and psychological effects of grief are echoed in numerous accounts of early modern parental grief understood by historians as reliable indicators of 'the intensity of parental love'.[147] During the final months of Thomas's life as his father 'despaired of his recovery', the emotional toll of life threatening illness was comparable to the reality of bereavement so that when his son eventually died, Sir Thomas considered himself 'already above four months

[146] Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, 'Reciprocal Bonding: Parents and their Offspring in Early Modern England', *Journal of Family History*, Vol.25, No.3 (2000), p.296.
[147] Hannah Newton, *The Sick Child in Early Modern England ,1580-1720* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2012), p.122.

mourner'.[148] Grief was physically experienced as an oppressive weight affecting every part of his body:

> the very lineaments of sorrow have been seen at least these four months in my drooping looks and the footsteps of a profound grief and in my body from the very day of his last coming home upon a second relapse.[149]

Sir Thomas's description of his physical reactions confirms Joanne Bailey's conclusion that 'ideal fathers… felt and conveyed their paternal role' through their bodies and is therefore valuable in understanding the experience of paternal grief.[150]

Such was the power of the feelings that gripped Sir Thomas that only a supreme mental effort to muster 'all my philosophy and reason' would prevent him from being entirely overwhelmed.[151] The language he used to describe the intensity of his feelings and the coping strategies he employed reflected contemporary understanding of emotion in the widest sense and the emotions experienced in bereavement specifically. Although John Gillis stands alone in contesting that the dominant understanding of emotions in this period was as turbulent and destructive forces, this is the only interpretation that explains Sir Thomas's utter determination to manage such potentially damaging feelings through the application of reason.[152] The nature of emotions dictated their management necessary, especially for men. According to the humoral model female bodies dominated by cold, moist humours were physically predisposed to cry easily, but excessively emotional outpourings

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[148] UNMASC, Pa C26, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Dame Anne Parkyns, Letter, 1706.
[149] UNMASC, Pa C26, Parkyns, Letter, 1706.
[150] Joanne Bailey, ''A Very Sensible man': Imaging Fatherhood in England c1750-1830', *History*, Vol.95, No.3 (2010), p.276.
[151] UNMASC, Pa C26, Parkyns, Letter, 1706.
[152] Susan James, *Passion and Action: A Study in Seventeenth Century Philosophy* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1997), p. 11.; Gillis, 'From Ritual to Romance', p.102.

were also the consequence of female indiscipline and irrationality.[153] Thus, it is Sir Thomas's sister, Anne that used 'passionate expressions' in response to her nephew's death.[154] As allowing himself to be overcome by emotion so closely associated with femininity would have imperilled his claim to manhood, Sir Thomas's effort to seek solace was not just a quest for emotional calm but represented a vital occasion to assert his manhood.

Expressing emotion extravagantly was also widely perceived as insincere, which explains Sir Thomas' reassurance of his sister that he accepted her words as genuinely heartfelt.[155] Socially sanctioned grief was above all moderate in its expression, therefore consolation extended to the bereaved by family and friends primarily focused on strategies to neutralise tumultuous emotions.[156] Much of this advice sat within a 'providential framework' recognising death as part of God's plan for mankind; the point at which the faithful received their ultimate reward.[157] In this regard Sir Thomas particularly identified the writings of George Stanhope, the Dean of Canterbury as an 'incomparable friend and companion in my affliction'.[158] Using a variety of metaphors, Stanhope presented death as a translation from a state of disadvantage to that of greatest advantage.[159] When weighed against the benefits

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[153] Bernard Capp' 'Jesus Wept' But Did the Englishman? Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, No.224 (2014), p.77.; Patricia Phillippy, '''I might againe have been the sepulchre'' Paternal and Maternal Mourning in Early Modern England' in Vaught, Jennifer: *Grief and Gender 700-1700* (Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke and New York, 2003), p.203.
[154] UNMASC, Pa C26, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Anne Parkyns, 1706.
[155] UNMASC, Pa C26, Parkyns, Letter, 1706.
[156] EEBO, B1474, Francis Bayly, *An Antidote Against Immoderate Sorrow for the Death of Our Friend,*1660, p.22.
[157] Susannah Ottaway, L.A Bothelo and Katherine Kittredge (eds) *Power and Poverty: Old Age in the Pre-industrial Past* (Greenwood Press: Westport Connecticut, London, 2002), p.70.; EEBO, S5223, George Stanhope, *The Happiness of Good Men After Death*, (1699), p.12.
[158] UNMASC, Pa C26, Parkyns, Letter, 1706.
[159] EEBO, S5223, Stanhope, *Happiness*.

accrued to the deceased, to 'weep and lament' for your loss was not just 'most absurd' but self-indulgent as; 'it is plain our refusing to be comforted in such cases, proceeds from want of considering how happy they really are.'[160] Grief was not altogether defeated by faith alone therefore, but by the application of reason.

Ultimately comfort came through the common bond of loss shared with the living, thus Sir Thomas took heart that during his lifetime Thomas had 'merited the favour' of his own sister and found consolation in the plans he made for his surviving son on whom he pinned his hopes of continuing the family name.[161] The year following Thomas's death Sampson Parkyns married Alice Middlemore, the only daughter of Henry Middlemore of Lusby and went on to secure the baronetcy and the family lineage with the birth of four children.[162] Two of the children died, the elder Thomas died as an infant, and Anne, the second child, appears to have died aged 10.[163] A daughter, Harriott and her older brother also named Thomas survived and this Thomas became his grandfather's heir after his father's death in 1713. [164] This complex relationship will be considered in a later chapter.

Master

The final emotional connection examined here is between Sir Thomas and his domestic servants. Common perceptions of servant's behaviour generated a good deal of anxiety exposed in an extensive body of complaint deploring servants 'extravagance, improvidence, and dishonesty and depravity' that Roger Richardson

[160] EEBO, S5223, Stanhope, *Happiness*, p.26.
[161] UNMASC, Pa C26, Parkyns, Letter, 1706.
[162] Barker, Stenning, *Old Westminsters*, p.718.
[163] UNMASC, Pa C49, Rawleigh Lane to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, October 1718.
[164] Sir Thomas Parkyns, Memorial, St Mary the Virgin, Bunny.

considered reached 'new heights in the Augustan age.'[165] Sir Thomas's own attribution of the theft of money and household goods to a lack of effective supervision of his domestic servants suggests a first-hand experience of suffering 'the frauds and falsehoods, idleness and obstinacy' of servants.[166] Sir Thomas added to the plethora of published literature responding to the perception of a crisis in master servant relations in a pamphlet proposing that a partial solution to the servant problem lay in authorising the petty constables to keep a full record of servants placement and wages thereby making it easier to resolve the 'many inconveniences that frequently happen and arise in several parishes …for want of a true account in writing'.[167]

The pamphlet entitled *A method proposed for the hiring and recording of servants* published in 1724, bears some similarities with existing guidebooks for JPs such as Michael Dalton's series *The Country Justice.*[168] But while not altogether original in his thinking, Sir Thomas's contribution is useful inasmuch as it reveals the particular concerns of the masters in the recommendations made to address them. At the heart of the problem lay disturbance of the social hierarchy; the 'prodigious reverse of nature' by which 'we are vilely and contemptibly become the slaves of our servants and equals of our slaves.'[169] Like existing master servant legislation shaped as a

[165] Bridget Hill, *Servants: English Domestics of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1996), p.2.; R.C. Richardson, *Household Servants in Early Modern England* (Manchester University Press: Manchester and New York, 2010), pp.175-193, 176.
[166] UNMASC, Pa C68, Parkyns, Letter, 1725.; EEBO, T065382, Zinzano, *The Servants Calling* (1725), p.9.
[167] NRO, RB31, Sir Thomas Parkyns, *A method proposed for the hiring and recording of servants in Husbandry, Arts Mysteries &C* 1724, p.24.; Joan Kent, 'The English Village Constable,1580-1642: The Nature and Dilemmas of the Office', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol.20, No.2 (1981), pp.28,29.
[168] Douglas Hay and Paul Craven, (eds), *Masters, Servants and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire 1562-1965*, (University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill and London,2004), p.77.; EEBO, D144, Michael Dalton, *The Country Justice* (1655).
[169] NRO, RB31, Parkyns, *Method,* p.31.

series of 'constraints and disincentives' intended to enforce the subordination of servants by curbing their autonomy and mobility, the penalties and restrictions Sir Thomas advocated were underpinned by the moral and economic benefits of industry.[170] Individuals who refused to work on the grounds that the wages offered were too low risked 'imprisonment without bail' until they agreed to serve for the wages set.[171] Contractual obligations designed to restrict servant mobility in the labour market were strictly enforced; only by serving the required quarters notice would servants be given a testimonial to present to a new employer, without which their chance of future employment was jeopardised, besides risking a month long prison sentence or incarceration in the House of Correction 'to be punished as an idle person'.[172]

While servants were literally kept in their place by external discipline in the form of prison sentences and fines, Sir Thomas considered no such constraints necessary for noblemen, clerics and gentlemen for whom the prompts of 'honour and conscience to pay their respective servants wages' were sufficient.[173] Even so, the necessity of striking a balance between the needs of both parties was tacitly accepted neither 'giving too much way therein either to Master or Servant'.[174] Concern that inappropriately harsh strictures designated as 'want of good handling', would turn otherwise good servants into 'rogues and vagabonds', was therefore translated into modifications of existing practice.[175]Although favoured by employers

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[170] Hay and Craven (eds), 'Masters', pp.32-33,64.
[171] NRO, RB31, Parkyns, *Method*, pp.24, 26.
[172] NRO, RB31, Parkyns, *Method*, pp. 26,28.
[173] NRO, RB31, Parkyns, *Method*, p.29.
[174] EEBO, D144, Dalton, *The Country Justice*, p.94.
[175] EEBO, D144, Dalton, *The Country Justice*, p.94.

who recognised the very 'high degree of control over recalcitrant servants' afforded them by the testimonial system, it nevertheless fell into disuse over the course of the seventeenth century and was never reinstated.[176] A degree of *quid pro quo* was in evidence as although servants were prevented from taking a higher wage than the agreed rates, masters were also discouraged from offering more generous wages on pain of ten days imprisonment and a fine of five pounds.[177] Observing the agreed period of service was regarded as equally important for servants as masters with penalties for both.[178] Although servants who fell sick or who were injured during their service were given protection from being dismissed or having their wages abated, they were obligated to return to their master as soon as they were fit enough to serve rather than exploit this opportunity to seek a more favourable position.[179]

In this last clause particularly the patriarchal ideal of service is illustrated whereby masters gave continuing care in return for their servant's loyalty. But for masters at least, the widespread flurry of concern and complaint does suggest that this iteration of the master servant relationship was under pressure. Upwardly mobile servants were clearly a threat to the established social hierarchy hence the emphasis placed on restricting servant's freedom to contract their labour to their own best advantage. At a local level, servants without a place, whether because of their or their master's actions, were a potential burden for the Poor Rate, a problem that Sir Thomas would have had seen in his role as a Justice of the Peace. The more mundane fears of masters and mistress concerned the consequences that would

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[176] Hay and Craven (eds), 'Masters', p.104.
[177] NRO, RB31, Parkyns, *Method*, p.28.
[178] NRO, RB31, Parkyns, *Method*, p.25,26.
[179] NRO, RB31, Parkyns, *Method*, p.26.

inevitably result if they were unable to retain satisfactory servants. Short term inconvenience could easily translate into significant hardship from having to perform the heavy and sometimes unpleasant work vital to the operation of the household themselves.[180]

Bridget Hill located the source of tension between masters and servants to a shift from a paternalistic to a strictly wage relationship.[181] Tim Meldrum disagreed with this interpretation however, pointing out that in terms of household authority there was always a gap between patriarchal rhetoric and the realities of life.[182] This may well be the case, but Hill's argument was that the fundamental nature of the relationship had shifted, insofar as a predominantly personal connection had given way to one entirely based on hard cash. In *A method proposed for the hiring and recording of servants*, Sir Thomas placed great emphasis on the contractual nature of service, however, in the documentary evidence, his dealings with his own servants appear determinedly paternalistic, thereby echoing the paradox also present in many other contemporary discussions of service.[183]

Like many of the leading gentry Sir Thomas received requests from his tenants and servants to stand as godparent to their children, thus strengthening an existing connection through what Will Coster termed 'the spiritual affinity of godparenting.'[184] While choosing godparents was seen as an opportunity to build a

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[180] Carolyn Steedman, *Labours Lost: Domestic Service and the Making of Modern England* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2009), p.23.
[181] Hill, *English Domestics*, p.17.
[182] Tim Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender,1660-1750: Life and Work in the London Household* (Pearson Education: Harlow, 2000), p.40.
[183] Straub, *Domestic Affairs*, p.6.
[184] Will Coster, *Family and Kinship in England 1450-1800*(Pearson Education: Harlow, London, 2001), p.45.; NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735.

network of concerned others as a resource that could be called on through the child's life, there were other reasons, less tangible but no less meaningful, that may have prompted servants to invite Sir Thomas to become a godparent. The evidence considered makes it clear that Sir Thomas stood at the head of the community at Bunny, the *paterfamilias*, a role central to his sense of self whose many obligations he fully discharged whether as an office holder responsible for disciplining the community, making charitable provision for education and care of the elderly or offering medical advice to his servants and others during localised epidemics.[185] Approaching Sir Thomas to be a godparent recognised his position as patriarch and might therefore be understood as an expression of loyalty to the Parkyns family in general, and Sir Thomas in particular.

Furthermore, the important roles Sir Thomas assigned to his servants in the final drama of his death and funeral captured perfectly 'the patriarchal and hierarchical ideal' that marked many master servant relationships.[186] Loyal service was recognised in his will where each servant with at least a year's service was given 'five pounds each over and above all wages due to them'.[187] He left instructions that his body should be neither be dissected or embalmed but 'simply wrapt in lead … and put in a stone coffin in Bunny Chancel provided by me', requesting that it should be 'carried thither by such as are my husbandry tenants and have been my servants.'[188] The tableau thus constructed, of faithful retainers carrying the body of

[185] *Parkers Penny Post*, London, Friday September 29th, 1727; *London Journal*, Issue 428, Saturday October 14th, 1727.
[186] Dennis Romano cited in Jeanne Clegg 'Good to Think With: Domestic Servants, England 1660-1750', *Journal of Early Modern Studies*, No.4 (2015), p.44.
[187] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.13.
[188] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, p.13.

their former master to burial, epitomised the patriarchal values at the heart of Sir Thomas's relationship with his servants.[189]

However, the authority embedded in patriarchy was not antithetic to emotional attachment.[190] The very personal service performed by the women who nursed Sir Thomas in his final illness was recognised by legacies double the amount given to the rest of the servants.[191] Five godsons, children of former servants and tenants also received legacies; the most generous to Thomas Peight: 'so long as he continues tenant the Nags Head at Bradmore aforesaid the yearly sum of ten pounds to be allowed him or deducted out of his rent from time to time as the same shall become due.'[192] Other godchildren received bequests to be paid when they came of age at twenty-one: Thomas Smith would receive a legacy of twenty pounds, William Smith five pounds, Thomas B(arsoll), ten pounds, and Thomas Barlow, five pounds.[193] There are no obvious explanations for the differing sizes of the bequests. It may be Sir Thomas was influenced by each family's circumstance; where there was perceived to be less need, less money was left, although it is equally possible that larger sums were left where there was a greater liking or attachment to the children, or indeed, their parents.

That master servant relationships could be founded on more than contractual obligation seems most clear in the case of the talented wrestlers Sir Thomas recruited as footmen after meeting them at local wrestling competitions. Their duties included

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[189] David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death: Ritual, Religion and the Life Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1999), p. 420.
[190] Brady, 'A Share of Sorrows', pp.189-190.
[191] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, p.12.
[192] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, p.12.
[193] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, p.13.

what the antiquarian Captain Barker termed 'carpet wrestling'; that is being available to partner Sir Thomas in wrestling practice or giving demonstrations of their skills 'in his 'breakfast or dining room whenever he had leisure to attend their play', a requirement that must have challenged even the existing 'fuzzy confines' of servants work.[194]As previously discussed Sir Thomas was a great admirer of skill so these men must have earned his respect as sportsmen, in fact another local antiquarian Thomas Bailey describes some of these men as Sir Thomas's 'pet protegees' which put them in a curious position within the household family.[195] This unique relationship raises questions that Straub notes have yet to be fully addressed within in the wider historiography of master servant relationships that she believes would add much to existing understandings of early modern class and identity[196]

This chapter focused on Sir Thomas's closest relationships over the course of his adult life; those in his immediate family and household. There is evidence of small, affectionate interactions: Sir Thomas's respectful care of his mother as she aged, providing for his wives and children, his paternalistic care of his servants. But it is at points of greatest stress in the life cycle that emotion was thrown into sharpest relief. As might be expected, expressions of grief, failure, disappointment use the most obviously emotional language which has therefore been a fruitful space to understand early modern emotions connected to sibling jealousy, marital breakdown and parental grief. In contrast, love, affection, regard, even between and

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[194] A.H Barker, *Walks Around Nottingham by a Wanderer* (Effingham Wilson: London, 1835), pp.204-5.; Clegg, 'Good to think with', p.54.
[195] Thomas Bailey, *Annals of Nottinghamshire: History of the County of Nottingham Including the Borough,* Vol.III (Simpkin, Marshall and Bailey: London, 1853), p.1192.; Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class. Business, Society and Family Life in London 1660-1730.* (Methuen: London,1991), p.227.
[196] Straub, *Domestic Affairs*, pp.4,111.

parents and children were only implied and alluded to in the various formal arrangements for transmitting property such as the wills and marriage contracts of the Parkyns family. Although these sources were public documents whose function would not necessarily encompass overtly emotional expression, nevertheless it has been possible to recover from them much valuable detail of the emotional life of Sir Thomas. Even in sources like letters destined for relatively private consumption, it is apparent that expressions of the deepest and most personal feelings were, to a greater or lesser extent, managed, the language moderated and presented to fit with prevailing social codes informed by gender ideals and the obligations of social status. In purely emotional terms, Sir Thomas was above all else a gentleman, with all that implied, before he was a private individual. Analysis in this chapter has often relied on exploiting the connection made in the early modern mind between material provision and emotional expression. This methodology will also be useful in the next chapter that moves the focus to the extended family of Sir Thomas's nephews, nieces and grandchildren.

Chapter 4

Honoured uncle, affectionate grandfather.

The surviving correspondence between Sir Thomas and his nephews and nieces, the children of his sister Catherine, and her husband Carew Weekes, concerns events that took place over fourteen months from September 1718 to November 1719. Largely comprising appeals made in connection with inheritance issues or requests for temporary shelter at Bunny Park, in both tone and content the letters principally address Sir Thomas as head of the family and closest surviving male relative, rather than an affectionate uncle. The letters give valuable insights into the operation of kinship bonds showing the Parkyns family functioning as a hierarchical cooperative resolving internal disputes and responding to crisis within the bounds of mutually understood expectations.[1] However, the idea that such negotiations were dominated by economic interest will be challenged, as contesting individual entitlements exposed an undercurrent of anxiety connected to potential loss of familial and social credit. The intersection between property and affection discussed in chapter 2 is also relevant here, but an added dimension will be considered relating to links made between ownership and identity argued by cultural historians.[2]

A total of sixteen letters have been examined comprising eight written by Rawleigh, Anne and Thomas Weekes, Sir Thomas's nieces and nephew, and a further eight written by Rawleigh's husband Matthew Lane and Anne's husband

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[1] Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox, Steve Hindle (eds) *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (Macmillan Press: Basingstoke and London, 1996), p.13.
[2] Rob Boddice, *The History of Emotions* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2018), p.38.

Thomas Jury. Although none of Sir Thomas's answers have survived, his responses have been extrapolated from the correspondents' replies. Besides disputed inheritances, the letters cover episodes of marital conflict that provide additional illustration of the nature and extent of kin intervention in established marriages noted by Elizabeth Foyster and Ilana Krausman Ben Amos.[3] Furthermore, as families are established on horizontal as well as vertical lines, considering one familial relationship brings others into view, and whilst it is the avuncular relationship that is the main focus of the first part of this chapter, the evidence also offers insights into the relationship between Sir Thomas's nephews and nieces and their maternal grandmother Lady Anne Parkyns.

The second half of the chapter expands on this analysis of grandparenting by looking closely at Sir Thomas's relationship with his surviving grandchildren; Thomas born in 1709 and Harriott born in 1712, children of his elder son Sampson and his wife Alice Middlemore. When Sampson Parkyns died in April 1713 Sir Thomas's place in the lives of his grandchildren took on an added dimension; not now just their grandfather, a role fixed at their birth, he assumed parental responsibility to act as their father until they came of age. This dualism is reflected throughout the correspondence: while Sir Thomas's friends consistently refer to Thomas as 'your grandson', Sir Thomas signed himself 'your affectionate parent

[3] Elizabeth Foyster, 'Parenting was for Life, not just for Childhood: The Role of Parents in the Married Lives of Their Children in Early Modern England', *The Journal of the Historical Association*, Vol.86, No.283 (2001), pp.313-327.; Ilana Krausman Ben Amos, 'Reciprocal Bonding: Parents and their Offspring in Early Modern England', *Journal of Family History*, Vol.25, No.3 (2000), pp.291-305.

TP'.[4] This changed to addressing the adult Thomas as 'Grandson Parkyns', signalling an understanding that his role changed as his grandson matured.[5] This examination of grandparenthood once again depends on correspondence but also refers to the preface of *An Introduction to the Latin Tongue,* a text created by Sir Thomas in 1717 specifically for his grandson's use.[6] Epistolary evidence is further augmented by accounts kept by Sir Thomas between 1713-1726 for the specific purpose of recording 'His disbursements in educating his grandson'.[7]

In the second section of the chapter, these very different types of source material are used to investigate three major themes. The accounts particularly lend themselves to considering aspects of the education of gentry boys and when used in conjunction with the letters, points to how children's education was shaped to fit them for their future role, and was therefore, necessarily influenced by notions of gender.[8] While accounts can only imply emotions underlying economic behaviours, the emotional quality of the grandparent and grandchild relationship emerges more clearly in particular letters considered individually here. [9] In Harriott's case, 'Sir Thomas's letter to his granddaughter upon the death of her squirrel' is an imaginative allegory conveying a strong sense of affectionate attachment while

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[4] NRO, RB85, Sir Thomas Parkyns, *An Introduction to the Latin Tongue,* 1717; UNMASC Pa C12, John Plumptre to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, September 17-. ; Pa C28, Unknown to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, April 1713.; Pa C33, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Archbishop of York, Letter, December 1717.; Pa C31, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Unknown, Letter, July 1716.

[5] Pa C72, Thomas Parkyns to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, October 1730.

[6] NRO, RB85, *An Introduction to the Latin Tongue,* 1717.

[7] UNMASC, Pa F32, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Accounts,1713-1730.

[8] Naomi J Miller, Naomi Yavneh, 'Introduction: Thicker than Water: Evaluating Sibling Relations in the Early Modern Period', in Miller and Yavneh, (eds) *Sibling Relations and Gender in the Early Modern World* (Francis and Taylor, 2006), p.1.

[9] Merridee Bailey, 'Economic Records' in Broomhall, Susan (ed) *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction* (Routledge: London and New York, 2017), pp.108,9.

imparting key life lessons on loss.[10] The relationship between Sir Thomas and his grandson has been charted from early accord descending into hostility as both men navigate the changes in their relationship resulting from Sir Thomas's remarriage.[11] Finally, whereas the letters of the Weekes children cast them as sole actors in their individual dramas, giving little insight into their interaction as brothers and sisters, more can be gleaned about the sibling relationship from exchanges between Thomas and Harriott.

The deferential tone of the letters written by Sir Thomas's nephews and nieces reflected the place of the writers as younger and junior members in the family hierarchy, and furthermore, supplicants in all the instances considered. Following the accepted conventions of good epistolary practice Sir Thomas was predominantly addressed as 'Honoured Sir', with the occasional variation to 'Ever Honoured Sir', or 'Most Honoured Sir'.[12] The relationship between the correspondents was explicitly identified only in the subscriptions, where an interesting and subtle distinction was made between blood and affinal kinship, lending support to David Gaunt's argument that the blood relationship assumed greater importance than kinship ties during the eighteenth century.[13] While the Weekes siblings explicitly define themselves by their blood relation to Sir Thomas as 'your most dutiful and obedient

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[10] UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Harriott Parkyns, Letter, January 1723.
[11] NRO, RB85, *Introduction*,1717; NRO, DD1330, A Short History of the Parkyns Family of Bunny.
[12] For example, UNMASC, Pa C57, Thomas Jury to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, May 1719.; Pa C45, Rawleigh Lane to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, March 1709.; Pa C53, Matthew Lane to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, November 1718.; Eve Tavor Bannett, *Empire of Letters Letter Manuals and Transatlantic Correspondence,1680-1820* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2006), p.65.
[13] David Gaunt, 'Kinship: Thin Red Lines or Thick Blue Blood', in Kertzer, D and Barbagli, M, *Family Life in Early Modern Times 1500-1789*(Yale University Press: Newhaven and London, 2001), pp.257-258.

niece', or 'dutiful nephew to command', their spouses signed themselves 'your humble servant'.[14]

Beyond the opening and closing salutations of the letters, deference was apparent in rhetorical strategies Gary Schneider observed in general epistolary practice.[15] For example, there are several instances in Thomas Jury's letters showing his concern to appear appropriately submissive. Apologising for the poor quality paper he was forced to use because 'there was no other to be had', confirmed that deference was not only conveyed by words but in the materiality of the letter itself.[16] Deference was also intimated when correspondents habitually expressed disquiet that raising personal concerns needlessly took up too much of the more valuable time of the addressee. Thomas Jury begged pardon 'for troubling you with this long paramble' (sic) and when forced to revisit the same matter sometime later expressed himself 'ashamed I should trouble you to another letter upon this occasion fearing I should trespass too much'.[17] One other feature, particularly noticeable in Rawleigh Lane's letters, was the importance of maintaining epistolary continuity by accounting for delays in corresponding.[18] On one occasion she simply conceded she was at fault: 'I hope you will pardon my long stay in not writing before now' whilst on a second, an explanation was added to her apology: 'I hope you will not take it ill

[14] UNMASC, Pa C48, Rawleigh Lane to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, September 1718.; Pa C51, Thomas Weekes to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, November 1718.; David Gaunt: 'Kinship', p. 273.
[14] UNMASC, Pa C53, Matthew Lane, Letter, November 1718.
[15] Gary Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England 1500-1700* (University of Delaware Press, 2005), pp.15,52.
[16] UNMASC, Pa C60, Thomas Jury to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, January 1707-1729.; James Daybell, 'Material Meanings and the Social Signs of Manuscript Letters', *Literature Compass*, 6:3 (2009), p.659.
[17] UNMASC, Pa C59, Thomas Jury to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 28/01/1719/20.; UNMASC, Pa C50, Thomas Jury to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 13/11/1718.
[18] Schneider, *Culture of Epistolarity*, pp.56,57.

that I have not writ before now but the offer you was pleased to send I being out of London it lay where it was directed so that I did not get it this week'.[19]

Mr Bley's frustrated remark that now she 'finds herself ruined begs Lady's advice though she would take none to prevent it', implied there had been family opposition to Rawleigh Weekes marriage to Matthew Lane that she chose to disregard.[20] David Cressy argued that although it was widely accepted that ignoring the wishes of young men and women approaching marriage was as likely to increase the possibility of marital breakdown as it was to prevent it, nevertheless families expected to be included in the decision making process. This was especially the case in elite families where concerns regarding property and inheritance were present.[21] Family involvement allowed judicious consideration of all relevant factors; age, social rank, character and financial status of the proposed match, so that the final decision did not rest on youthful passions alone.[22] In any event, romantic feelings, depicted in contemporary treatises as a raging force disrupting social order, were not considered the most important factor in successfully establishing and maintaining a relationship that for all practical purposes was permanent.[23] While some initial liking between the couple entering into marriage was important, a rational assessment undertaken by emotionally cooler heads was perceived to mitigate the

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[19] UNMASC, Pa C49, Rawleigh Lane to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 30/10/1718.; Pa C48, Rawleigh Lane, Letter, 24/09/1718.

[20] UNMASC, Pa C47, John Bley to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 5/8/1718.

[21] David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death. Ritual, Religion and the Life Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford University Press: Oxford,1997), pp.235,239.; John Habakkuk, *Marriage, Debt and the Estates System. English Land Ownership 1650-1950*(Clarendon Press: Oxford,1994), pp.146,154,167.

[22] Keith Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680* (Routledge: 2003), p.88.

[23] Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (New York Review Books: New York, 2001) The Third Partition, Section II, Subsection1, pp.40-49.; Felicity Heal, Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales 1500-1700* (Macmillan: Basingstoke, 1994), pp. 60,62.

potential for social disorder concomitant with marital breakdown, and as a secondary but nonetheless essential consideration, it offered all parties concerned some protection against future emotional distress.[24]

An important concern for family members and friends involved in these preliminary consultations was to ensure a sound financial footing for marriage existed; although this should not be taken to indicate that early modern parents prioritised their children's financial future above their emotional one as Lawrence Stone had originally suggested.[25] Diane O'Hara concluded that while 'few individuals married without close regard for ...their financial well-being', for successful marriage, 'the existence of love and mutual attraction were considered essential'.[26] Marriage was a transformative process bringing an entirely new household into being that, in the interests of the couple, their family and the wider community, had to be economically viable.[27] Indeed, as Gillis and Macfarlane have suggested, one explanation for the relatively late age at marriage in the period, especially at the middle and lower end of the social scale, was related to the necessity of establishing economic independence before marriage could be considered.[28] For gentry families like the Parkyns the protection of family assets had to be balanced with safeguarding the future material security of their relations, to ensure the

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[24] Joanne Bailey, *Unquiet Lives: Marriage and Marriage Breakdown in England 1660-1800* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2003), p.3.
[25] Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (London: Penguin, 1979), pp.127-36.
[26] Diane O'Hara, *Courtship and Constraint. Rethinking the Making of Marriage in Tudor England* (Manchester University Press: Manchester and New York, 2000), pp.2,6.
[27] Cressy, *Birth,* pp.286-292.; Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Palgrave: Basingstoke, Hampshire, 1998), pp.149-50.
[28] John Gillis, *For Better or Worse British Marriage 1600 to the Present* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1985), p.110.; Alan Macfarlane, *Marriage and Love in England 1300-1840*(Blackwell: Oxford,1986), p.278.

continuation of the family name.[29] This was more than an economic consideration as although dependent relations depleted family resources, family quarrels over inheritance undermined affectionate relationships and destroyed family harmony, as work undertaken by John Addy and Amy Harris has shown.[30] In this respect the marriage of Ann and Thomas Jury is particularly relevant as wrangling over the money his wife was due to inherit from her Parkyns relations was the overriding preoccupation of Thomas Jury's letters to his wife's uncle.

Nephews and Nieces: Thomas and Anne Jury

Two separate sums, of £400 and £91 were bequeathed to Anne Jury to be paid when she reached her twenty first birthday, money otherwise unprotected by any attached conditions, that would in the ordinary way of things be subsumed into her husband's assets.[31] It would seem that Thomas Jury anticipated the money would be paid over to him immediately the marriage had taken place, but before payment was made, Mr Bley investigated the record of the marriage to ascertain that conditions for the inheritance were fully met. The certificate of marriage recorded that the wedding was solemnised on the 8th May 1717, however, the parish register revealed that Thomas Jury was baptised on the 23rd of May 1697 and was therefore only twenty when he married. As Anne Jury was also a minor, payment of the bequest had to be delayed until she came of age. Although it was entirely legitimate for a couple to marry underage providing they had parental consent, Mr Bley attached

[29] Steven Shapin, *A Social Theory of Truth, Civility and Science in Seventeenth Century England* (University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London, 1995), p.52.
[30] Addy, John, *Death, Money and the Vultures Inheritance and Avarice 1660-1750* (London: Routledge, 1992); Amy Harris, *Siblinghood and Social Relations in Georgian England: Share and Share Alike* (Manchester University Press: Manchester,2012).
[31] Amy Louise Erikson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1993), p.3.; Anthony Buxton, *Domestic Culture in Early Modern England* (Boydell Press, 2015), p.78.

some significance to Thomas Jury's concealment of this fact: 'which will I am advised be a very good plea why he did not make this statement before marriage'.[32] The conclusion hinted at; that Thomas Jury's motive for marrying was principally connected to Anne's financial expectations, appears to be borne out in later correspondence where Thomas Jury's anxiety to access his wife's inheritance became obvious.

For both the Parkyns family and Anne Jury's future financial security Sir Thomas requested Mr Bley to arrange for £400 to be invested in lottery annuities that were then transferred to Sir Thomas to be held 'in trust for Mrs Ann Jury and her heirs'.[33] As an added precaution Mr Bley ensured that Thomas Jury's age was 'inserted in a certain instrument that he is to sign to strengthen the transfer together with several other corroborating circumstances which is the most that can be done according to the best information.'[34] Each separate step taken to make the agreement watertight conveys the level of concern that the money was kept out of Thomas Jury's immediate grasp.

Although this arrangement frustrated his plans Mr Jury did not object, rather the reverse: 'Mr Bley bought me the deed of purchase to see how I like it and I think it very well made on both sides concerning the £400'.[35] Almost immediately however he began a campaign to realise the second, smaller bequest of 'Aunt Ann's legacy of £91 13s 4d'.[36] Throughout 1718 he raised this in letters dated the 11th and 20th of

[32] Cressy, *Birth*, p.311; UNMASC, Pa C56, John Bley to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 3/1/1718.
[33] UNMASC, Pa C56, Bley, Letter, 3/1/1718.
[34] UNMASC, Pa C56, Bley, Letter, 3/1/1718.
[35] UNMASC, Pa C50, Thomas Jury, Letter,13/11/1718.
[36] UNMASC, Pa C59, Jury, Letter, 29/10/1719/20.

November and again in December.[37] In January 1719 the matter was referred to again without result which led to a blunt request in May: 'I once more desire you to let me have the £91'.[38] Thomas Jury's expectation of using this money to finance his business venture was not unreasonable as Margaret Hunt has shown that in the absence of institutions to lend capital, 'people wishing to set up in business most often relied on inheritance, their wives dowries, loans from relatives and credit from other traders.'[39] To persuade Sir Thomas to instruct Mr Bley to release the legacy Thomas Jury's subsequent letters blended appeals to Sir Thomas's commercial good sense, invoked the obligations of kinship and conjured the threat of personal and familial reputational damage.

Initially he outlined the pressing reasons why the money should be transferred quickly as the couple were to 'move in a week's time to a large house next door which will cost a great deal of money' and 'a good deal of money on stock to furnish my shop' had already been laid out.[40] He portrayed this expenditure as a wholly sound commercial decision that he fully anticipated would be rewarded by success as 'fitting upon the good trade I have I hope to do as well as any in London when I am settled', especially since 'what I do is all with pure industry and a great deal of care'.[41] In a later letter he intimated that the venture was indeed enjoying success, excusing himself for a delay in replying to Sir Thomas on account of 'being

[37] UNMASC, Pa C50, Thomas Jury, Letter, 29/10/1719/20.; Pa C 61, Thomas Jury to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 20/11/1709-29.; Pa C54, Thomas Jury to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 11/12/1718.
[38] UNMASC, Pa C57, Thomas Jury, Letter, 21/05/1719.
[39] Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort, Commerce, Gender and the Family in England 1680-1780* (University of California Press, 1996), p.23.
[40] UNMASC, Pa C50, Thomas Jury, Letter,13/11/1718.; Pa C61, Thomas Jury, Letter, 20/11/1709-29.
[41] UNMASC, Pa C50, Thomas Jury, Letter,13/11/1718.

very busy in business'.[42] Rather than having made rash, speculative decisions that displayed a lack of business acumen, he presented himself as having been unwittingly trapped into unnecessary debt by the delay in receiving the bequest; 'for had I known a month ago it would not have been paid until my wife was 21 years old I had not stock my shop so much'.[43]

The point of concern here was not the fact of debt itself; as Craig Muldrew has shown, the relative scarcity of cash in circulation forced the early modern economy to function largely as a web of informal credit agreements.[44] Rather, it was the increased likelihood of defaulting that was significant. Credit networks were built on neighbourly relations that determined creditworthiness from reputation, a practice Sir Thomas understood, recognising the importance of being 'punctual and [] in all my payments'.[45] This was closely connected to masculine reputation since 'A man's worth was the index by which his ability to pay his debts was gauged', thus when Sir Thomas boasted 'my credit is so established that I can sooner borrow £1000 on my note than some Lords be', he was asserting his masculine and financial worth at the same time.[46] The commercial and legal obligation Thomas Jury had accepted; 'I have a lease made and I must go forward in filling up my shop', could not be avoided without possibly irreversible damage to his reputation, and by extension, the

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[42] UNMASC, Pa C60, Thomas Jury, Letter,22/01/1707-29.
[43] UNMASC, Pa C50, Thomas Jury, Letter,13/11/1718.
[44] Craig Muldrew, 'Interpreting the Market: The Ethics of Credit and Community Relations in Early Modern England', *Social History*, Vol.18, No.2 (1993), p.169.
[45] Muldrew, *Economy*, pp.148-9.; UNMASC, Pa C46, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, undated.
[46] Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2006), p.194.; UNMASC, Pa C46, Parkyns, Letter, undated.

reputation of the Parkyns family as a whole, which made this very much a personal concern for Sir Thomas.[47]

Thomas Jury's case, therefore, depended on being able to confidently assert his own sound reputation to reassure Sir Thomas that family assets could safely be entrusted to him. Trustworthiness was however only one element of that reputation. It was widely considered that effective masculine reputation was bound up in 'good household management' that ensured 'the financial, emotional and physical welfare of their families.'[48] In denying payment of the legacy Sir Thomas jeopardised Thomas Jury's ability to fulfil his role as head of his household and therefore his masculinity. He cited the vulnerable state of his wife's health 'she has been very bad this fortnight at first a miscarriage and 3 days after the measles but please God she has overcome all and is up but very weak', and directly connected this with 'my wife is a little uneasy about it (payment of the legacy) being delayed.'[49] Five months later Thomas Jury asked again that Sir Thomas authorise the release of the money pleading that 'if you please to pay it now it will do me abundant more good than when she is at age'.[50]

Thomas Jury implied that his pregnant wife's suffering would be the direct consequence of continuing to withhold this money as without it he would be unable to take care of her properly. Sir Thomas understood the priority attached to lineage and would perhaps be particularly sensitive to the inference that payment of the

[47] UNMASC, Pa C61, Thomas Jury, Letter, 20/11/1707-29.; Muldrew, *Economy*, pp. 152-54.
[48] Lisa Smith, 'The Relative Duties of Man: Domestic Medicine in England and France, ca.1685-1740', *Journal of Family History*, Vol.31, No.3 (2006), pp.237-8.
[49] UNMASC, Pa C54, Thomas Jury, Letter,11/12/1718.
[50] UNMASC, Pa C57, Thomas Jury, Letter,21/05/1719.

inheritance was fully justified to prevent the greater tragedy of Thomas Jury losing his child or his wife. The previous miscarriage occurred in early December therefore at the time of writing this letter, May 1719, Anne Jury could not be much more than six months pregnant. Nevertheless, stressing the urgency of the situation by suggesting she was much further along, 'almost ready to lay in and this will be a chargeable time', indicated his anxiety was mounting, perhaps due to the realisation that the much-needed money was not going to be easily forthcoming [51]

Having clearly established Thomas Jury's interest in securing payment of his wife's legacy, it is entirely possible to interpret his argument as a cynical attempt to manipulate Sir Thomas. Nevertheless, this would be overly simplistic as though any calculation of financial advantage automatically precluded any manifestation of tender feelings. While it is clear calculation was employed as Thomas Jury shaped his petition to be persuasive, however he did this by appealing to what was evidently a common understanding of familial practice observed by Richard Vann, that bequests were simply one way that families channelled financial assistance.[52] To make his case he referred to practical evidence demonstrating that he fulfilled his role effectively within the extended family: he was astute and industrious and was careful for the reputation of the family, but he also presented himself as a loving husband who cared for his wife.

There was no unequivocal appeal to sentiment however, this was a matter of commonly understood expectation that family heads were bound to act in the best

[51] UNMASC, Pa C57, Thomas Jury, Letter, 21/05/1719.
[52] Richard Vann, 'Wills and the Family in an English Town: Banbury, 1550-1800', *Journal of Family History* Vol.4. No.4 (1979), p. 347.

interests of their dependents.[53] The acknowledgement of his subordinate position within the family hierarchy, the recognition that it was entirely 'at your pleasure to do as you please in this affair', was framed to invite a response from Sir Thomas. In a final attempt to stimulate payment of the money the language of affect was employed: 'if it was possible to send Mr Bley orders to pay the £91 13s 4d it would do me the greatest kindness as possible… I should think myself forever bound in duty for so great a kindness… I hope you will consider this for it is the greatest piece of kindness you ever can do me, and I shall think myself ever obliged to you for it.'[54] Even when conceding temporary defeat and expressing himself 'heartily sorry it happens that £91 can't be paid this [] for (moving) is a great charge', further promising not to 'insist upon it anymore to [] you', he nevertheless again reminded Sir Thomas that even though he was bound to comply with the legal conditions of the legacy there was still room for him to act; 'I refer it to your [] generosity and hope you will.'[55] There was a similar reference to generosity in the case of another nephew, Carew Weekes, whom Mr Bley encouraged to 'think of ways and means to advance himself by his own diligence and merit for what so he had from your worship would be out of generosity and not as a due'.[56] While Ben Amos found that dependents had a 'strong awareness of legally defined rights in property', these references to the potential for generosity outside of what was strictly, legally due, seem to suggest that financial support from the family was built on two separate

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[53] Hunt, *Middling Sort,* p.153.
[54] UNMASC, Pa C61, Thomas Jury, Letter, 20/11/1709-29.; Pa C57, Thomas Jury, Letter, 21/05/1719.
[55] UNMASC, Pa C60, Thomas Jury, Letter, 20/11/1709-29.
[56] UNMASC, Pa C56, Bley, Letter, 03/01/1718.

strands: absolute legal rights and the benevolence of kin.[57] Whilst the law regarding inheritance practice was inflexible, any perceived disadvantage could be ameliorated by acts of generosity motivated by affection or familial loyalty.

The early modern social hierarchy was underpinned by the collective understandings exposed in the negotiations between Thomas Jury, Mr Bley and Sir Thomas. Thomas Jury's desired outcome was to convince Sir Thomas to instruct Mr Bley to authorise payment of the remaining legacy, therefore any open criticism of Sir Thomas's actions would be a breach of social protocol that could damage his cause irreparably. While Mr Bley insisted that he was unable to act without clear instructions, implying that the delay lay with Sir Thomas, Thomas Jury, powerless to criticise Sir Thomas directly, consistently attributed all instances of obstruction and delay to Mr Bley, complaining that Mr Bley 'creates trouble', using every opportunity to apply indirect pressure for Sir Thomas to 'send Mr Bley orders to pay the £91 13s 4d', or to give his instructions as to 'how and where you will please to have the deed and bond drawn'.[58]

Although it is impossible to judge how far being unable to realise the financial support of his wife's family affected the Jury's marital relationship, it is clear from the last of the letters written ten years later that the marriage had foundered, forcing Anne Jury to write to Sir Thomas in 1728 to 'please let me have £100 out of the £400 if I may endeavour to make such use of it that I need not want provision for my child as I do at present… I cannot maintain her and myself with £16 a year'.[59] The

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[57] Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, 'Gifts and Favours: Informal Support in Early Modern England', *The Journal of Modern History,* Vol.72, No.2 (2000), p.301.
[58] UNMASC, Pa C61, Thomas Jury to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, November (1709-29)
[59] UNMASC, Pa C62, Ann Jury to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 27/11/1728.

separation must have been comparatively recent since Anne Jury was once more pregnant.[60] Despite being an expectant mother with a small child and in dire financial circumstances, she did not regard the departure of her husband as a cause for personal regret: 'since he has kept from me so long I hope he will continue that same distance'.[61]

Nephews and Nieces: Rawleigh and Matthew Lane

Financial issues were also at the heart of the marital tension experienced by Anne's sister Rawleigh and her husband Matthew Lane, in fact Felicity Heal suggests that in cases of marital breakdown, it was rare that financial difficulties had not played some part.[62] Having disregarded the concerns raised by her family before her marriage it did not take long for Rawleigh Lane to become aware of her husband's shortcomings; 'Mr Lane not proving to my expectation but has spent all that I had…He has been a very bad husband to me from the first and so he has continued to the last'.[63] Anxious to secure her uncle's support, she distanced herself from complicity in their now parlous financial position placing the responsibility entirely on her husband 'being so very much in debt before I married him.'[64] Unsurprisingly Matthew Lane countered this by suggesting that it was joint overindulgence 'before and after our marriage… which has proved to us very fatal'.[65] The family seem to have accepted his version of events, since Thomas Jury used the Lanes' extravagance as a counterpoint to his own moderation: 'but so you may think I go the way Mr

[60] UNMASC, Pa C62, Ann Jury, Letter, 27/11/1728.
[61] UNMASC, Pa C62, Ann Jury, Letter, 27/11/1728.
[62] Heal, Holmes, *Gentry*, p.75.
[63] UNMASC, Pa C48, Rawleigh Lane, Letter, 24/09/1718.
[64] UNMASC, Pa C48, Rawleigh Lane, Letter, 24/09/1718.
[65] UNMASC, Pa C53, Matthew Lane, Letter, 27/11/1718.

Lane did but you may inform yourself otherwise if you inquire for I keep no horses nor no such extravagances as they did'.[66]

These unspecified extravagances eventually led to Matthew Lane spending at least three months in prison for debt in 1718 followed a year later by a declaration of bankruptcy.[67] The initial impact of these events was to force the couple to live apart. In September 1718 Rawleigh Lane provided Sir Thomas with a return address at King Street, Westminster, remaining there through October even though her husband 'is got out of prison into the Kings Bench so that I see him sometimes but not often for he can't maintain me.'[68] By November it would appear that she was actively avoiding him since Matthew Lane was living 'at Mr Mickell in the Charterhouse Yard' and complaining that he had no 'knowledge of her own place of abode'.[69] Apparently worried that 'if he knows where I am he will follow me', Rawleigh Lane moved again in December, asking Sir Thomas to direct his replies to her letters to 'Mr Palmer's at the Sugar Loaf, The Strand.'[70]

There are striking differences in how each of the Lanes presented their difficulties in letters to Sir Thomas. Although full of hurt feelings considering that 'to spend it all and use me ill into the bargain is very hard', Rawleigh Lane's concerns

[66] UNMASC, Pa C57, Thomas Jury, Letter, 21/05/1719.
[67] UNMASC, Pa C 58, Matthew Lane to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 19/11/1719. The declaration of bankruptcy suggests that Matthew Lane was connected to trade in some way as only traders were offered protection from liability for debts incurred under the 1570 bankruptcy act, see Jay Cohen, 'The history of imprisonment for debt and its relation to the development of discharge of bankruptcy', *The Journal of Legal History*, Vol.3, No.2 (1993), p.156.
[68] UNMASC, Pa C49, Rawleigh Lane, Letter, 30/10/1718.; Pa C48, Rawleigh Lane, Letter,24/09/1718. A useful examination of the operation of the King's Bench prison see Joanna Innes, 'The King's Bench prison in the later eighteenth century: law, authority and order in a London debtors' prison', Brewer, John, Styles, John, *An Ungovernable People: The English and their law in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Hutchinson: London, 1980), pp.250-276.
[69] UNMASC, Pa C53, Matthew Lane, Letter, 27/11/1718.
[70] UNMASC, Pa C55, Rawleigh Lane to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 17/12/1718.; Pa C52, Rawleigh Lane to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 23/11/1718.

were exclusively centred on her immediate economic circumstances.[71] She asked Sir Thomas to protect her interests by delaying:

> paying £100 which you have in your hands for Mr Lane …has spent all I had and now wants that if he can get it which I hope you will defer paying for there is come out last week a statute of bankruptcy which has taken all ever I have so that I have nothing to help me without you will please help me by keeping the money back.[72]

She impressed the urgency of her situation on Sir Thomas: 'Now I have nothing left I must be forced to go out into service for my living having nothing else to depend upon.'[73] Painting herself the victim of a conspiracy between her unscrupulous husband and father in law, she was 'very glad' when Sir Thomas agreed to stop the payment:

> it being all I have to depend on but both Mr Lane and his father would get it if possible. I suppose his father has writ to you about it sometime ago and was in hopes of having it paid but I think it is a happy thing that it was not for they are willing to get all they can from me and then I may go a begging if I will.[74]

Rawleigh Lane's expressed disappointments are the key to understanding her expectations of Matthew Lane as a husband; not only had he failed to provide for her but had exposed her to the risk of financial ruin by squandering the financial assets she brought to the marriage.[75]

Matthew Lane, however, was apparently more concerned with the emotional cost of their estrangement. He addressed his wife's complaints directly; the extent of his debts, which in his eyes were not considerable; 'all my debts not exceeding £300', and challenged her allegation that his father was cynically hoping to benefit from getting access to her money by pointing out that it was his father 'endeavouring to

[71] UNMASC, Pa C48, Rawleigh Lane, Letter, 24/09/1718.
[72] UNMASC, Pa C48, Rawleigh Lane, Letter, 24/09/1718.
[73] UNMASC, Pa C48, Rawleigh Lane, Letter, 24/09/1718.
[74] UNMASC, Pa C48, Rawleigh Lane, Letter, 24/09/1718.; Pa C49, Rawleigh Lane, Letter, 30/10/1718.
[75] Shepard, *Meanings*, p.187.

make the statute (of bankruptcy) void, who has been 'at a great charge to set me at liberty', in contrast to his wife who 'will not come to me.'[76] Styling Rawleigh 'my beloved wife', he claimed that the loss of her company 'breaks my heart' attributing her 'very unkind actions' to the influence of 'bad counsellors'.[77] Despite these protestations of love, material concerns were undeniably present as a final note attached to the letter complained: 'My wife is possessed of many of my best goods but lets me have nothing'.[78] There is no doubt that he felt the loss of Rawleigh's company and desired reconciliation, requesting Sir Thomas to act as mediator 'in making up matters between us and for us so that she may be to me as I am to her in the strongest bonds of love and unity'.[79]But this has to be balanced against the damage done to his male honour by their separation as this very public statement of discord negated his claim to manliness demonstrated by the exercise of patriarchal authority.[80]

Matthew Lane's father had already approached Sir Thomas to make him aware of the tension in the Lane's marriage, cooperation that Foyster noted as a fairly typical reaction among the kin of couples experiencing marital conflict.[81] The conversation between the two family heads resulted in an invitation to the Lanes to visit Bunny, offering them a respite from their immediate financial worries while Sir Thomas considered what might be done. Rawleigh, however 'would not agree with

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[76] UNMASC, Pa C53, Matthew Lane, Letter, 27/11/1718.
[77] UNMASC, Pa C53, Matthew Lane, Letter, 27/11/1718.
[78] UNMASC, Pa C53, Matthew Lane, Letter, 27/11/1718.
[79] UNMASC, Pa C53, Matthew Lane, Letter, 27/11/1718.
[80] Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800*(Yale University Press: Newhaven and London,1995), p.89.
[81] UNMASC, Pa C53 Matthew Lane, Letter, 27/11/1718.; Foyster, 'Parenting' p.324.

me to accept of that favour which might have been for our good'. [82] The collaboration between Sir Thomas and Mr Lane illustrates how blood and kinship acted in concert at times of crisis, pooling resources to determine what action was necessary to preserve family harmony and honour. Rawleigh Lane's defiance of the combined patriarchal weight of her husband and the heads of her natal and affinal families confirm Mr Bley's insinuation that she was a headstrong young woman, an impression reinforced by the somewhat peremptory demand she made in October 1719:

> since you are pleased to be so unkind as to not pay the remainder of the money without Mr Lane's discharge of bankruptcy which is impossible to be had at present I beg you will be pleased to let my child and self come down to Bunny or else be pleased to order some more of the money to keep us this winter.. for it is not possible to believe that I and the child can live on the air.[83]

The following month this request was echoed by Matthew Lane in an altogether more conciliatory way:

> I have endeavoured to maintain my wife as well as I could but money being scarce … I shall take it as a great favour if you will please to let her come down to be with you til I have made some which cannot possibly be long. I hope sir you will not be displeased at my asking this favour.[84]

These two letters confirm that the situation had changed completely; apparently reconciled, the Lanes have a child and Rawleigh's interests are now fully aligned with her husband's. Where previously she had begged Sir Thomas to save her from destitution by protecting her money from Matthew Lane, she now calls him 'unkind' for continuing to do precisely that.[85] But while a reconciliation seems to have

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[82] UNMASC, Pa C53, Matthew Lane, Letter, 27/11/1718.
[83] UNMASC, Pa C63, Rawleigh Lane to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 26/10/1719.
[84] UNMASC, Pa C58, Mathew Lane to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter,19/11/1719.
[85] UNMASC, Pa C63, Rawleigh Lane, Letter, 26/10/1719.

occurred, their financial difficulties continued; 'Mr Lane is out of business and he has been so these last few months and more', and so the couple were forced to live separately, she at Bunny and he 'must go to his friends until there is a possibility of getting his discharge'.[86]

The numerous interventions requested by Sir Thomas's nephews and nieces reflected their joint understanding of the operation of the kinship network. Familial connection was regarded as an intangible resource paid for in the currency of deference that could be confidently drawn on to realise tangible benefit.[87] Whilst these benefits - money, shelter, influence, emotional support- were not restricted to the blood relationship but were also extended to affinal kin, this case reveals a subtle difference in the way the bond of familial obligation was invoked. Although expressed with diffidence it is possible to detect an underlying note of confident expectation in Rawleigh Lane's request to Sir Thomas 'hoping you will please to stand my friend', and in Anne Jury's plea 'I have no one else to make choice of in your stead that I can with so much satisfaction confide in as yourself'.[88] Both examples are based on the assumption that not only was Sir Thomas the natural and obvious choice to approach for aid, it was equally natural and obvious that this would be satisfied. Mrs Lane and Mrs Jury each invoked the blood tie to validate their claim but kinship through marriage was also a strong link. [89] Matthew Lane carefully legitimated his appeal to Sir Thomas with an unambiguous evocation of

[86] UNMASC, Pa C63, Rawleigh Lane, Letter, 26/10/1719.
[87] Foyster, 'Parenting', p.315.; Hunt, *Middling Sort,* p.153.
[88] UNMASC, Pa C48, Rawleigh Lane, Letter, 24/09/1718.; Pa C60, Thomas Jury, Letter, 22/01/1707-29.
[89] David Gaunt, 'Kinship', p. 273.

kinship: 'as God has favoured with that honour to be related to you and your good lady mother I now comfort myself with that hopes in any affection… this being all from your dutiful but unworthy kinsman.'[90] A year later, perhaps as a consequence of the resolution of the Lane's marital conflict and his restoration as head of his family, he appeared more assured of his place in the family hierarchy addressing himself to Sir Thomas as your 'most dutiful and obedient nephew.'[91]

While family connection brought advantages there were clear expectations attached. To benefit fully it was vital for the Weekes siblings and their spouses to conduct themselves in such a way that added to rather than diminishing the family's social credit. That individuals felt impelled to inform Sir Thomas when circumstances arose that were likely to impact the status and reputation of the family group emphasised the corporate nature of reputation. When about to be declared bankrupt Matthew Lane wrote to 'humbly beg your worships pardon for not acquainting you with my circumstances sooner which I confess was my duty'.[92] A sense of shame prevented Thomas Weekes from writing 'to you afore now... because I was troubled to let you know that I had no settlement'.[93] In making their various claims for Sir Thomas's aid each recognised that in order to qualify they must amend the behaviours that forced them to seek his intervention. Matthew Lane promised that if Sir Thomas would 'be pleased to be instrumental in making up matters between us and for us I will promise your worship to be one of the best husbands for

[90] UNMASC, Pa C53, Matthew Lane, Letter, 27/11/1718.
[91] UNMASC, Pa C58, Matthew Lane, Letter, 19/11/1719.
[92] UNMASC, Pa C53, Matthew Lane, Letter, 27/11/1718.
[93] UNMASC, Pa C51, Thomas Weekes, Letter, 20/11/1718.

the future'.[94] Likewise Thomas Jury hoped 'to be a credit to the family and not a disgrace'.[95] Once safely apprenticed to Mr Barker, Thomas Weekes assured his uncle that, from this point, he intended 'to mind my business and redeem the time that I have lost'.[96] Eight years later 'cousin Thomas Weekes bookseller and his wife' visited Sir Thomas at Bunny, a visit confirming that Thomas Weekes had made good use of the help extended by his family and had successfully negotiated the perils of youth and, by establishing himself successfully in both trade and marriage, was now in a position to contribute to the family's joint credit.[97] In Thomas Weekes' case, that help had come from his paternal grandmother, Lady Anne Parkyns, who organised his apprenticeship 'to Mr Barker, Bookseller behind Westminster Abbey', and paid the premium which 'cost my lady a great deal of money'.[98]

Grandparenting: Lady Anne Parkyns

Resident in London at this time, seventy eight year old Lady Parkyns was still sufficiently well to visit and be visited by her grandchildren and continued to make an active contribution in their lives, dispensing advice and financial support.[99] But having failed to establish themselves securely in either occupation or marriage, the Weekes grandchildren were a constant source of anxiety to her as Mr Bley witnessed when 'Last Wednesday I waited on Lady Parkyns who I found under much affliction on account of the Weekes her grandchildren. I moved twice the [signing?] of your

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[94] UNMASC, Pa C53, Matthew Lane, Letter, 27/11/1718.
[95] UNMASC, Pa C57, Thomas Jury, Letter, 21/05/1719.
[96] UNMASC, Pa C51, Thomas Weekes, Letter, 20/11/1718.
[97] UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 22/01/1723.
[98] UNMASC, Pa C51, Weekes, Letter, 20/11/1718. See also Douglas Hay, 'England 1562-1875: The Law and its Uses ', Hay, Douglas and Craven, Paul, (eds) *Masters, Servants and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire 1562-1955* (North Carolina University Press, 2004), pp.64-65.
[99] UNMASC, Pa C48, Rawleigh Lane, Letter, 24/09/1718.; Pa C50, Thomas Jury, Letter, 13/11/1718.; Pa C57, Thomas Jury, Letter, 21/05/1719; Ottaway, *Decline,* p.163.

letter that you recommended me to but her ladyship being overwhelmed with grief I believe she did not observe as at other times what I said'.[100]

While Sir Thomas paid tribute to his mother's resilience, he suggested that she was the architect of her own downfall:

> Many a time advisingly have I cautioned her to keep a hawk in her hand and not let her children and their children run away with all her blessings in her lifetime without an expectancy of her benediction at her death.[101]

The attribution of indulgence to Lady Parkyns reflected Sir Thomas's view of woman in general; he had previously referred to his daughter in law Anne Middlemore as 'an indulgent mother' and blamed his first wife Elizabeth for 'her son' becoming 'ever undutiful'.[102] Like John Locke's 'certain observation for the women to consider, viz That most children's constitutions are either spoiled or harmed by cockering and tenderness', much of the prescriptive advice directed at parents specifically warned mothers against a permissive approach of 'fondness and familiarity' that would only breed 'contempt and irreverency in children'.[103] Sir Thomas evidently regarded the application of financial sanctions, or at least being more discerning in acts of generosity, an effective strategy to 'extract the subordination of children' as his mother, in his estimation, had been overly lenient with her grandchildren.[104] Having 'got her all in [life]' there was no further benefit to be gained by cultivating the

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[100] UNMASC, Pa C46, John Bley to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 17/06/1718.
[101] UNMASC, Pa C46, Bley, Letter, 17/06/1718.
[102] UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 22/01/1718.; Pa C27, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Lady Anne Parkyns, Letter, 02/07/1712.
[103] Early English Books Online (hereafter EEBO), L2762, John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, London (1693), p. 4.; Joseph Ilick, 'Child Rearing in Seventeenth Century England and America', in de Mause, Lloyd, *The History of Childhood* (Rowman and Littlefield: USA,1974), p.316.
[104] Ben Amos, 'Reciprocal Bonding', p.301.; Hunt, *Middling Sort*, pp.51-53.; Susannah Ottaway, *The Decline of Life: Old Age in Eighteenth Century England* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2004), p.149.

relationship, or even observing the basic courtesies due to their grandmother, effectively giving the Weekes siblings freedom to 'slight her even to an undutifulness.'[105]

It was perhaps Lady Parkyns reputation for kindness that induced Rawleigh Lane to approach her grandmother first, in a letter that Mr Bley had sight of, where she fully disclosed the extent of their difficulties; 'that her husband had contracted such debts that he could not appear and she feared everything would be seized'.[106] She might have been hoping that this would obviate the necessity of approaching Sir Thomas, however, the following week, possibly at her grandmother's prompting, she wrote to him, recognising that her grandmother and uncle would then confer: 'I was with my lady this week and I believe she will write to you'.[107]

Two months later when discussing her plan to visit Bunny, Rawleigh revealed that she was now at odds with her grandmother and no longer confiding in her:

> I find my lady is utterly against my coming and whenever I come Mr Lane will follow me for my lady will tell him so he says if he knows where I am he will follow me and them that maintain me shall keep him… so that is one reason why I don't come in for he will follow me he being now in the Kings Bench but will let you know before when I come. I have not acquainted my lady with my desire she and I being at a great distance.[108]

Since the tension between the two women post-dated Rawleigh's disclosures it would seem reasonable to suppose a connection. It might be that Lady Parkyns objected to Rawleigh's expectation that Sir Thomas should assume the responsibility for her maintenance, or perhaps she was concerned that the imposition of further

105 UNMASC, Pa C46, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, undated.
106 UNMASC, Pa C47, Bley, Letter, 05/08/1718.
107 UNMASC, Pa C48, Rawleigh Lane, Letter, 24/09/1718.
108 UNMASC, Pa C52, Rawleigh Lane, Letter, 23/11/1718.

physical distance between the couple would exacerbate the deterioration of their relationship. The latter seems more plausible since Rawleigh had not revealed her plans to her grandmother because she was afraid that if Lady Parkyns knew where Rawleigh was she would tell Matthew Lane and thus make it possible for him to follow her to Bunny. Although this suspicion was based only on a threat made by Matthew Lane: 'for my lady will tell him where I am so he says', Rawleigh seems to have accepted this as a credible possibility suggesting she was in no doubt of her grandmother's opinion of the couple's estrangement.[109]

Foyster noted that it was most often in 'financial or property considerations and a concern for family honour' when closest kin might become involved in the adult life of children.[110] While Lady Parkyns used her influence to affect the course of events, as family head Sir Thomas was in a position to intervene more directly. Initially showing himself willing to protect his niece's interests by withholding the £100 as she requested, when the Lanes were reconciled, Sir Thomas insisted that he would not pay the remainder of the money until he had seen Mr Lane's discharge of bankruptcy.[111] The intervention of kin was therefore not unconditional and while affection might be a component, it was never the single influence in any decision. Given that there was no economic safety net outside of the resources accrued by the family, the primary concern was to carefully husband these assets to ensure survival

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[109] UNMASC, Pa C52, Rawleigh Lane, Letter, 23/11/1718.
[110] Foyster, 'Parenting', p.327.
[111] UNMASC, Pa C63, Rawleigh Lane, Letter, 26/10/1719.

making it important to put the long-term interest of the group ahead of short term, individual needs.[112]

Even so Lady Parkyns' relationship with her grandchildren does show, as Ottaway has argued, that affection was clearly a cornerstone of grand parenting.[113] Her generosity was lauded on her memorial where she was celebrated as having 'answered the end of her creation in being kind to her children and grandchildren and long and often denied herself many conveniences due to her quality, fortune and years that she might see them live plentifully in their lifetime'.[114] Sir Thomas witnessed this kindness in his mother's care for her Weekes grandchildren, and experienced it personally in his mother's 'good opinion and kind expression' towards his own son Sampson.[115]

Grandparenting: Sir Thomas Parkyns

There is evidence of an early interest in his own grandchildren's welfare in the inventory taken after Sampson Parkyns death that listed among the 'goods belonging to Sir Thomas Parkyns…and not to be paid', a 'Childs chair' and 'Two leche (milk) cows I lent for the children.'[116] Thomas was 'three years and four months' old and Harriott just six months when their father died.[117] Although their mother lived a further six years, dying in April 1719, Sir Thomas assumed immediate responsibility for Thomas 'taking him at his father's funeral', with one of the earliest recorded

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[112] Keith Thomas, *The Ends of Life Roads to Fulfilment in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2009), p.26.
[113] Ottaway, *Decline*, p.156.
[114] Memorial to Lady Anne Parkyns Southwell and Nottingham Church History Project, http://southwellchurches.nottingham.ac.uk/bunny/hmonumnt.php Accessed 16/08/2017.
[115] UNMASC, Pa C26, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, Undated.
[116] UNMASC, Pa F31, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Inventory, 1713.
[117] UNMASC, Pa F32, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Accounts,1713-1730.; NRO, PR399, Bunny Register 1723-1802.

expenses on his behalf being £22 pounds spent on 'mourning cloathes for him and servant'.[118] With Sampson's death, and Sir Thomas's second marriage and future children as yet an unconsidered possibility, Thomas became his grandfather's heir, marking a material change in his position within the family as well as in his relationship with Sir Thomas. No longer simply the eldest son of the heir, the death of his father and his grandfather being well into middle age, brought the prospect of inheritance closer. [119] Thus Thomas became pivotal to the future of the family, reflected in anxiety for his physical survival and in carefully preparing him to assume his future responsibilities.

In common with many gentry boys, Thomas's first experience of education was in the care of private tutors; Mr Gleaves and Mr Lowther were paid ten and twenty pounds per annum respectively for 'schooling and educating' him between 1713- 1716.[120] In 1717 eight year old Thomas entered Westminster, one of the leading English public schools.[121] The previous two generations of Parkyns males had also attended Westminster although family tradition was not the only factor informing this choice. The school enjoyed such a strong academic reputation that even during the period where the headmaster was an avowed Tory, prominent Whigs were not deterred from sending their sons there.[122] But whatever Westminster's perceived scholarly eminence, Anthony Fletcher suggested that public schools fostered 'a particular form of masculinity, teaching… a set of characteristics that fathers believed

[118] UNMASC, Pa F32, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Accounts, 1713-1730.
[119] Sir Thomas was 51 when he assumed parental responsibility for Thomas.
[120] UNMASC, Pa F32, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Accounts,1713-1730.
[121] Russell Barker, G. F, Stenning, Alan, *The Record of Old Westminsters*, Vol.II (Chiswick Press: London, 1928) p.719.; UNMASC, Pa C33, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 23/12/1717.
[122] John Carleton, *Westminster School: A History* (Rupert Hart-Davis: London, 1965), p.26.

sustained English society'.[123] Importantly therefore the ethos of the school matched Sir Thomas's own value system.

Thomas's sister Harriot was educated to fit her for marriage and motherhood, a course realised when she was married to Richard Farrar of Market Harborough in June 1734.[124] Although starting a little later than Thomas, possibly when she was seven or eight, Harriott was also initially taught privately, beginning 'at least five years of schooling under good Mrs More and several masters'.[125] Having no close female relative to act as a role model and instructor in the skills of household management, Sir Thomas provided a substitute in the person of Mrs Smith, 'that wise, discreet governant and educator of youth as well as an inimitable pattern for her whole sex'.[126] Harriott seems to have spent considerable time with Mrs Smith, at least enough to have proved on occasion 'very troublesome to Madam Smith and that good family.'[127]But in 1725, Sir Thomas requested that the then thirteen year old return home to Bunny so that 'I may be sensible of the education I and our good friends Mr and Mrs Smith have bestowed on you and that as my housekeeper you would afford me some ease and relief'.[128]

Although the accounts do not indicate that, unlike his father and grandfather, Thomas's education was completed by admission to university or Inns of Court, in 1723 Mr Watts was paid £3 3s for 'Mr Thomas's entry for merchants accounting and writing' and then three years later in November 1726 a payment of £11.10s was

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[123] Anthony Fletcher, *Growing Up in England The Experience of Childhood, 1600-1914*(Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2008), p.196.
[124] NRO, DD1330, A Short History of the Parkyns Family of Bunny.; Fletcher, *Gender,* p.375.
[125] UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 1725.
[126] UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 1725.
[127] UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 1725.
[128] UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 1725.

recorded for Thomas to be taught ‘shorthand, sundry accounts’.[129] While not as John Locke observed, ‘ a science likely to help a gentleman to get an estate’, merchants accounts were of greatest benefit to ‘make him preserve the estate he has’.[130] While Harriott put her newly acquired domestic skills to use on behalf of her grandfather, her brother concentrated on developing gentlemanly refinements; chiefly music and dancing.[131] In May and November 1726 payments for music lessons were noted; a single lesson with a music master in a tavern costing 2s, and a further two months of instruction on the viol from Mr Stephens.[132] In addition to music tuition, money was spent with Mr Hare and Mr Dean to buy sheet music and to repair and maintain a viol.[133] It seems that Thomas tried more than instrument as another entry records the sum of £4 4s paid to Mr Stainforth to cover the cost of a broken ‘ivory German flute’.[134] Thomas attended musical performances with his tutor at Sadler’s Wells and also went with Mr Woodroffe ‘to a concert of music’.[135] Other refined entertainments were enjoyed; shoes and gloves suitable for attending a ball were bought on at least two occasions and besides the outings organised by Mr Bley, Thomas was taken to ‘Greenwich with the French master to see the park and hospital.’[136] Prior to his admission to school, expenditure on Thomas’s clothes was recorded as a lump sum covering ’cloathes, boarding and servants’ wages’.[137] Once established in school

[129] UNMASC, Pa F32, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Accounts,1713-1730.
[130] EEBO, L2762, John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, p.250.
[131] Fletcher, *Growing up,* p.151.
[132] UNMASC, Pa F32, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Accounts,1713-1730.There is also a record of £4 2s paid to ‘Mr Peak sword cutler’, suggesting that fencing or sword play was also included in these pursuits.
[133] UNMASC, Pa F32, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Accounts,1713-1730.
[134] UNMASC, Pa F32, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Accounts,1713-1730.
[135] UNMASC, Pa F32, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Accounts,1713-1730.
[136] UNMASC, Pa F32, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Accounts,1713-1730.
[137] UNMASC, Pa F32, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Accounts,1713-1730.

however, each individual item was entered separately listing individual businesses patronised. Richard Hollins dressed hats and provided gowns, Joseph Burton, hose, Mr Webster, shoes, Thomas Crompton supplied yards of Holland, cambric and calico, and Mr Gigg, shirts. [138] Fabric was purchased to make shirts, stocks and handkerchiefs, whereas generally coats, breeches and waistcoats were bought as a finished article.[139] By far the most frequent purchase over the thirteen years was of shoes, twelve pairs, and of gloves, 10 pairs.[140] While some more luxurious items were purchased such as the 'pair of superfine hose' costing 6s, 'three silk handkerchiefs' or the 'ribband for shirt sleeves', there is also evidence of the economies practiced; breeches were mended, 'old hats' were cleaned, clothes were 'mended and scoured', watches repaired and wigs, one of the more expensive items in a wardrobe and one invested with multiple connotations of gender and rank, were remounted.[141]

The practicalities of school life were also accounted for; porterage was paid for books to be carried to Westminster and Mrs Tollett's bill for August 1718 included '3 paper books and a quire of paper'. [142]Attention was paid to Thomas's comfort in his lodgings with ten yards of druggett purchased to cover the floor and a bureau costing 34s sent to the school to furnish his study.[143] He was provided with some cash money generally; 'for his pocket in my absence 18s' and specifically; to buy Christmas presents.[144] His health was also attended to, as seen by the entries for

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[138] UNMASC, Pa F32, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Accounts,1713-1730.
[139] UNMASC, Pa F32, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Accounts,1713-1730.
[140] UNMASC, Pa F32, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Accounts,1713-1730.
[141] UNMASC, Pa F32, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Accounts,1713-1730.; Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth Century England* (Yale University Press: Newhaven and London, 1993), pp.112,120-121.
[142] UNMASC, Pa F32, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Accounts,1713-1730.
[143] UNMASC, Pa A56, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Accounts, 31/05/1718.
[144] UNMASC, Pa F32, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Accounts,1713-1730.

doctors' bills, the services of the apothecary and on one occasion the purchase of 'Petters Pills', a patent remedy.[145] The health of his grandson would have been of particular concern to Sir Thomas, who would be well aware of how precarious life was having lost both of his sons in young manhood as well as two young grandchildren.[146] Whenever John Bley visited Westminster he always took care to reassure Sir Thomas that Thomas was well. In three visits over the school year of 1718 starting in January, Mr Bley reported that Thomas was 'in good health and continues to grow tall is but little marked by the smallpox'.[147] He remained in good health and by June he was 'very much grown at least half a head' continuing through August 'in a perfect state of health'.[148] These accounts show that Thomas was fed, clothed and educated in accordance with his station in life and, while perhaps not a markedly indulgent upbringing, certainly every care was taken. Together the evidence from the letters and accounts strongly suggest that this care was driven by grandfatherly affection.

Nevertheless, illustrating the reciprocity that Ben-Amos believed characteristic of early modern parent child relations, Sir Thomas considered the money expended on the upbringing of his grandchildren an investment for which he anticipated some return. Writing in 1725 to bid Harriott to return to Bunny to assist him with domestic duties he reminded her that he had 'laboured under at least 40 years for yours and your brothers sake as the only survivors of my house'.[149] Harriott's return to Bunny

[145] UNMASC, Pa F32, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Accounts,1713-1730.
[146] Linda Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent Child Relationships 1500-1900*(Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1993), p.127.
[147] UNMASC, Pa C56, Bley, Letter, 03/01/1718.
[148] UNMASC, Pa C47, Bley, Letter, 05/08/1718.
[149] Ben- Amos, 'Reciprocal Bonding', pp.291-312.; UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 1725.

was required as there was ' but a short time to make ready part of my unfinished house' to receive planned guests that included Harriott's brother Thomas on a visit from school.[150] Sir Thomas told Harriott that his domestic affairs were in some disarray with several items including bedding, cash and 'valuable goods too' having gone missing 'for want of you to look after my affairs'.[151] While this remark fits with Amanda Vickery's observation that it was in the domestic arena that women enjoyed relative authority and agency, there is no indication here that Sir Thomas intended to hand over the reins of management to Harriott.[152] Rather the reverse, as the letter ends presenting 'humble service to Mr Smith's good family desiring him to send me as much strong Holland as will make me a pair of sheets about 3s 6d per ell'.[153] While Harriott was to commission the purchase on behalf of her grandfather, it was Mr Smith who was entrusted to source sufficiently good quality fabric at the price stipulated and make the final purchase.[154] While Harriott's age and relative inexperience could be the salient factor here, this division of a relatively routine household task matches Karen Harvey's observation that domestic activity was gendered, with men acting to provision and manage the household while women were engaged with the more routine, practical domestic tasks.[155]

Unlike his sister, Thomas's horizons were altogether wider; the expansion of the Parkyns land and holdings undertaken by Sir Thomas to make 'sufficient

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[150] UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 1725.
[151] UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 1725.
[152] Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1998), p.127.; UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 1725.
[153] UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 1725.
[154] Antony Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* p.190.
[155] Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic; Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2012), pp.102,106.

improvement in your estate in future', would be his to manage and expand in his turn.[156] Thomas was the direct beneficiary of his grandfather's efforts to increase the family assets, but this was a task undertaken by Sir Thomas, as with all heads of landowning families, as part of his inherited identity that established 'continuation and perpetuation of the family estate' as a primary responsibility. Although closely connected to individual self-identity and ambition, nevertheless meeting conventional expectations to provide materially and improve future prospects for children and grandchildren are widely accepted by historians as markers of attachment.[157] However, Thomas's case offers an alternative measure of Sir Thomas's attachment in very specific, personal investment he made for his grandson's future. In spite of his admission that it had been 'thirty five years since I left the school, and can't say that I ever read my grammar since', Sir Thomas undertook to create a guide to Latin grammar, *An Introduction to the Latin Tongue*, published in 1717 for Thomas to use.[158] Although Gillian Avery refers to examples of textbooks, as opposed to leisure reading, specifically produced for children's use, this was by no means a widespread phenomenon which in itself illustrates the extent of Sir Thomas's desire to smooth Thomas's way at school.[159] The importance of Latin in the school curriculum made it an essential skill to master, however Sir Thomas had ambitions beyond mere proficiency in 'Parsing, Construing and Translating'.[160] He took issue with the current pedagogy, calling it 'the old round about way', criticising teachers

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[156] UNMASC, Pa C72, Thomas Parkyns to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 31/10/1730.
[157] Thomas, *Ends of Life*, p.26.
[158] NRO, RB85, *Introduction*, p.4.
[159] Lily's *Latin Grammar* and Comenius's *Orbis sensualium pictus* are both cited as examples by Avery. Gillian Avery, 'The Beginnings of Children's Reading', in Hunt, Peter (ed) *Children's Literature an Illustrated History* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1995), pp. 7,9,10.
[160] Fletcher, *Growing Up*, p.151.; NRO RB85, *Introduction*, pp.3,4.

'who it is to be feared .. go on their old beaten and threadbare road without so much looking on, or at least considering to render their tasks more easy and profitable, no less to themselves than their scholars.'[161] While inflexible teaching methods were a problem in themselves, Sir Thomas considered the texts in common use more appropriate for the use of an expert than the novice pupil; 'I can't but look upon the great grammars as fitter for critics in grammar, masters of Arts to have recourse unto, than a school boy to get without book'.[162] In his opinion this represented a comprehensive failure to address the needs of the pupil that ultimately stifled intellectual curiosity, and was therefore, inimical to the true purpose of education. Whilst he continued to advocate the same degree of 'strenuous' application he recommended to his wrestling pupils, in Sir Thomas's view learning should be a 'delight'.[163]

Whilst Thomas would likely have achieved a measure of success under the coercive system of learning then in place, Sir Thomas wanted him to have an experience that could truly be described as educative. Although retaining his attachment to tried and tested strategies; establishing a secure foundation in basic principles and 'writing down perpetually whatever you do… to imprint and rivet them in your memory as for ever to make them your own', Sir Thomas identified himself as a progressive who appreciated the personal and public benefits from education and was prepared to invest in it financially as his memorial attested.[164] Sir Thomas's believed that better results would be achieved by making learning a more

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[161] NRO, RB85, *Introduction,* pp.3,4.
[162] NRO, RB85, *Introduction,* p.5.
[163] NRO, RB85, *Introduction,* pp.7,6.
[164] NRO, RB85, *Introduction*, p.7. See pp.64,5

'lenient' process, and thereby more attractive to children, echoing the pattern championed by John Locke that giving children 'a liking and inclination to what you propose to them to be learned.. will engage their industry and application. The call for 'children to be treated with greater consideration and for learning to be made a pleasure', was also heard from other enlightened educationalists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[165]

The Introduction to the Latin Tongue represented a practical investment in Thomas's education aimed at facilitating 'the speedy and splendid advancement of your grandson'.[166] The 'benevolent endeavours' that went into its creation were acknowledged by contemporaries like John Plumptre who congratulated Sir Thomas for being 'an excellent example to the old who now commonly are so far from giving them the pains you do in the education of their children that they scarce care whether the poor things are educated at all'.[167] Since 'writing for one's children signified a way of taking care of them', the necessary commitment to produce this text epitomised an emotional investment in Thomas's development and well-being and can be understood as a material symbol of attachment to his grandson.[168]

A similarly strong emotional connection was also evident between Sir Thomas and his granddaughter Harriott, manifested in a letter written to Harriott in January 1723 concerning the death of her pet squirrel, Monseigneur.[169] Keeping a companion animal was common, and squirrels were noted for growing 'exceeding

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[165] Avery, 'Beginnings' p.11; NRO, RB85, *Introduction*, pp.7,6.; EEBO, L2762, Locke, *Education*, p.75.
[166] UNMASC, Pa C12, Plumptre, Letter, 07/09/17-.
[167] UNMASC, Pa C12, Plumptre, Letter, 07/09/17-.
[168] Claudia Ulbrich, 'Self-Narratives as a Source for the History of Emotions' in Jarzebowski, Claudia and Safley, Thomas Max, *Childhood and Emotion Across Cultures 1500-1800* (Routledge: London and New York, 2015), p.65.
[169] UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 22/01/1723.

tame and familiar to men' making them 'very pleasant playfellows in a house.'[170] Monseigneur was especially valued by Harriott being 'the gift of Mrs Chappell your friend'. Having been discovered:

> hanged in his chains I could not proceed to bury him without a coroner's view of his body with his inquest. He sent out his precept to the neighbourhood had Mr Bloodhound for his foreman, Mr Inquisition, Mr Castats Beatabout, Mr Swiftfoot, Mr Smellwell and the like. Nowhere was a better or stauncher jury packed together. One cry'ed he was murdered, another he was felo de se, a third opined he was starved to death upon which Mary Careless was called who pleaded that ever since you left him alone in the nursery he was much afflicted with the vapours struck with a profound melancholy whereupon it was the full cry of the jury Lunacy! [171]

The construction of this story raises several significant points concerning emotions. Even though it concerned the death of an animal Sir Thomas did not attempt to minimise the magnitude of the loss. On the contrary, the emotional bond between Harriott and the squirrel was recognised, almost certainly because Sir Thomas had personal experience of this, suggested by his decision to pose for his portrait with a favourite spaniel. Furthermore, the fictive creation of a coroner's jury made up of animals that mirrored the legal requirement for all unexplained deaths to be investigated, legitimated the emotional bond between humans and animals.[172] The jury pondered all possible causes of death: murder, neglect or *felo de se*; a deliberate act of self-murder by an otherwise sane individual, but the decisive evidence came from the maid Mary Careless who testified that the squirrel was in a state of profound melancholy, leading the jury unanimously to declare him a lunatic; a verdict that freed him from the penalties of the law applied to suicides.

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[170] EEBO, STC 24123, Edward Topsell, *The Historie of Foure Footed Beastes* (London, 1607), p. 658.
[171] UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 22/01/1723.
[172] Michael Macdonald and Terence R. Murphy, *Sleepless Souls Suicide in Early Modern England* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1990), p.24.

Once again Sir Thomas showed himself to be in tune with contemporary thinking, in this case reflecting how attitudes to suicide had changed over the course of the early modern period. Michael Macdonald and Terence Murphy plotted a shift that saw many more suicides recorded as *non-compos mentis* as the eighteenth century progressed, in their view a consequence of juries being more cognizant of, and sympathetic to, the effects of mental distress. [173] In contrast to earlier periods, by the end of the eighteenth century 'most suicides were routinely excused' in this way.[174]

But more importantly for this specific research, the evidence given by Mary Careless observed a distinct change in the squirrels mood immediately prior to death moving from a 'a merry frisking creature' to 'a profound melancholy'.[175] The implication of this evidence is an understanding that animals as well as humans experienced emotion, in fact Topsell's *Historie*, replete with examples of animal loyalty to their owners, indicates that this was a widely held belief.[176] The operation of both human and animal bodies was explained by the Galenic model determining physical characteristics and temperament by the dominance of essential humours.[177] Poor health, whether physical or psychological was a consequence of an imbalance, in Monseigneur's case, a physical symptom - an excess of black bile caused by a change in habit, the climate or even planetary movement – resulted in a psychological disturbance exhibited in a profound melancholy that resulted in his death.[178]

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[173] MacDonald and Murphy, *Sleepless Souls*, pp.16,76.
[174] MacDonald and Murphy, *Sleepless Souls*, pp.125,133.
[175] UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 1725.
[176] Topsell, *Historie,* p.141.
[177] Louise Hill Curth, 'Working animals' in Broomhall, Susan, (ed) *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction* (Routledge: London and New York), p.338.
[178] Curth, 'Working Animals', p. 338.

Sir Thomas used Monseigneur's death to press home life lessons he felt were important for Harriot to absorb. Although she had lost both mother and father, she 'was too young to remember your father nor yet old enough to be sensible of the loss and want of your indulgent mother'.[179] The only other family death in her lifetime, her uncle Beaumont in 1714, was unlikely to have been registered by the then two-year-old Harriott. Taking this lack of experience into account Sir Thomas began by recounting examples of grief that Harriott was more likely to have encountered drawing attention to actions and feelings that typified contemporary expressions of grief:

> One loseth a favourite coach horse can't be reconciled to her coach for a quarter of a year and mourns longer for him than most courts do for the death of their friend and neighbouring Prince. Another for the death of her lap dog receives no visits, mourns truly with a witness, in her closet without a witness the same can't eat at her wonted table for want of her right hand favourite whose meat she used to cut and serve first from her own plate.[180]

The debilitating effects of grief were noted here: social isolation, loss of appetite, avoiding activities that invoked painful memories, all registers of the emotional impact of bereavement that re-emphasise contemporary acceptance of a human animal bond. Whilst essentially sympathetic in tone, this was however a pragmatic sympathy promoting emotional resilience. Since death was part of the natural order this was an experience Harriott would meet again: 'Next in course of nature may be your great grandmother then my turn unless my wife your grandmother at London [] shall first take our places. We all must die sooner or later

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[179] UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 22/01/1723.
[180] UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 22/01/1723; Southwell & Nottingham Church History project http://southwellchurches.nottingham.ac.uk/bunny/hmonumnt.php accessed 09/01/2014.

and pay that debt to nature'.[181] Rather than a manifestation of the divine will, death was presented as part of the natural rhythm of life where 'every sweet has its bitter and we should not be sensible of pleasure if not sometimes afflicted with pain. Is not our grand and joyful carnival pursued by Lent with a mortifying abstinence?'[182]

Stoic acceptance as the key virtue of appropriate mourning was a familiar theme used by Sir Thomas when writing or replying to letters of condolence.[183] Harriott was to 'Arm yourself therefore like an Amazon with an undaunted courage becoming yourself'.[184] Sir Thomas disparaged excessive, overly emotional reactions that he consistently associated with women: 'Whether you should let my daughter your bedfellow know of your loss least she should sympathise with you and have a fit of the inguilts even to a Hyppo and when recovered seized with longing for so pretty a merry frisking creature'.[185] The lesson in mourning presented by Sir Thomas illustrates the ubiquity of gendered perceptions: as a female Harriott must overcome her predisposition to excessive emotional outpouring and learn to control and express her feelings judiciously.

There is a final note to the letter, appearing almost as an afterthought: 'Monsieur is to be buried in the wilderness and may revive next nutting time but without his chains lest he should walk and with the rattle of them affright the timorous neighbourhood into a belief my house is haunted.'[186] The Reformation had changed the theological basis that explained ghosts however, while Catholic teaching

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[181] UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 22/01/1723.
[182] UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 22/01/1723.
[183] UNMASC, Pa C29, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Lady Howe, Letter, 25/02/1715; Pa C26, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Duke of Kingston, Letter, 1706.
[184] UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 1725.
[185] UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 1725.
[186] UNMASC, PaC70, Harriott Parkyns to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 23/01/1731.

that ghosts were the souls of the dead had been utterly rejected, according to Peter Marshall, Protestant divines had been unable to formulate their own definitive interpretation, creating a space for competing explanations to develop.[187] Reactions to reported ghostly activity ranged from outright scepticism to suggestions that apparitions were other spirit creatures, either angels or demons, materialised as human. Nevertheless, 'relations' of ghosts, apparitions and poltergeists retained their place in the popular imagination as Laura Gowing notes, and even, as Keith Thomas suggests, for many educated men into the eighteenth century.[188]

Contemporary accounts of post reformation ghosts often described them as walking, understood as a manifestation of disquiet, an indication of a matter left unresolved.[189] In 1683 Francis Fey reported seeing an apparition of his master's father who used him to remind his son that 'several legacies, which by his testament he had bequeathed' remained unpaid.[190] The unnamed murder victim who appeared to William Clark in 1675 told him 'he should never be at rest' until money and writings he had buried at his former home 'were taken up and disposed of according to his mind.'[191] Whereas the ghost John Simpson witnessed confided the 'cause of his rising' was that he had treated his granddaughter unjustly during his life, leaving her

[187] Peter Marshall, 'Deceptive appearances: ghosts and reformers in Elizabethan and Jacobean England' in Parish, Helen, Naphy, William, (eds) *Religion and Superstition in Reformation Europe* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2002), p.196.
[188] Laura Gowing, 'The Haunting of Susan Lay: Servants and Mistresses in Seventeenth Century England', *Gender and History*, Vol.14, No.2 (2002), p.185.; Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (Penguin: London, 1973), p.706.; See also R.C. Finucane, *Appearances of the Dead: A Cultural History of Ghosts* (Prometheus Books: New York ,1984), pp.153-171.
[189] Marshall, 'Deceptive appearances', p.200.
[190] EEBO, N180, Daniel Brown and Thomas Malthus, *A Narrative of the Demon of Spraiton* (London, 1683), p.4.
[191] EEBO, C4565, John Millett, *The Restless Ghost* (London,1675), p.6.

unprovided for even though he was wealthy.[192] The feature common to all these accounts was that each ghost 'had some purpose to achieve' that involved the righting of a wrong.[193] In Sir Thomas's account of the inquiry into the squirrel's death, Mary Careless's testimony pointed to the source of the melancholy eventually determined as the cause of Monseigneur's death as Harriett's leaving the squirrel alone in the nursery. This opens the possibility that Sir Thomas used the idea of the squirrel as revenant to gently criticise Harriett's negligence of her pet.

The whole letter can therefore be read as an extended lesson to impress important life lessons, conveyed in a way that reflected the influence of John Locke in shaping reasoning to Harriett's 'age and understanding' expressed with 'kindness and affection'.[194]The imaginative effort embodied in the letter, taken in conjunction with the subscription where Sir Thomas signs declares himself 'without an allegorical fiction I am with the greatest sincerity and truth your affectionate grandfather', amounts to an entirely convincing statement of affection, but perhaps more importantly allows some insight into Sir Thomas's personal conception of affection.[195]Although careful of her feelings, Sir Thomas primary concern was not to endear himself to Harriott, nor to indulge her by glossing over minor faults, but to usefully shape her future conduct. Affection was, therefore, not the unchecked effusion of feeling, but a principled emotion that had rational ends in view.

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[192] EEBO, S5835a, John Johnson, *Strange and True News from Long Ally in More- Fields, Southwark and Wakefield in Yorkshire* (London, 1661), p.7.
[193] Thomas, *Decline,* p.712.
[194] EEBO, L2762, Locke, *Education*, pp.23,66.
[195] UNMASC, Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 22/01/1723.

While Sir Thomas wrote to his 'dear granddaughter' however, Harriott consistently framed her relationship with her grandfather in politely submissive language.[196] Although she uses 'love' and 'loving' when writing to her brother Thomas and his wife Elizabeth, she represented her attachment to Sir Thomas as one of duty and obligation: 'my duty to you Sir I am sensible ought far too exceed as all my dependence is on you.'[197] It could be argued that Harriott's choice of language differentiating between her feelings for her brother and grandfather reflected social decorum rather than any disparity in affection. Her brother and sister in law were her familial equals and so could be addressed in emotional terms, whereas her grandfather occupied a different relational space entirely by virtue of his age and gender, which propriety demanded be recognised with deference.

When relations between her brother and Sir Thomas began to deteriorate Harriott put her loyalty to her grandfather before her love for her brother:

> although I have all the love for a brother as a sister ought yet my duty to you Sir I am sensible ought far too exceed as all my dependence is on you and as I hope I have ever acknowledged all your kindnesses to me by dutiful behaviour so I shall continue to do so. [198]

For Harriott the most important thing was to reassure her grandfather of her loyalty and compliance, even putting this before her own enjoyment: 'I am sure all the pleasures of this town will yield me no satisfaction like I had of giving you all the demonstration in my power how much I am and shall be til death your dutiful granddaughter.'[199]

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[196] UNMASC, Pa C70, Harriott Parkyns, Letter, 23/01/1731; Pa C69, Harriott Parkyns to Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 19/07/1729.
[197] UNMASC, Pa C70, Harriott Parkyns, Letter, 23/01/1731.
[198] UNMASC, Pa C70, Harriott Parkyns, Letter, 23/01/1731.
[199] UNMASC, Pa C70, Harriott Parkyns, Letter, 23/01/1731.

Nevertheless, this was not a straightforward choice between sentiment and obligation; Harriott continued to love her brother describing herself as 'much concerned' at the prospect of worsening relations.[200] But in spite of the emotional turmoil experienced she chose to act on the sense of duty she felt she owed to her grandfather. Harriott's acknowledgement of dependency might suggest that this decision was informed by her estimate of where her own best interests lay. Undoubtedly the process of socialisation with its emphasis on female submissiveness would have been influential in forming her conviction that she ought to listen to the prompting of duty. But acting on principled conviction, while it subordinates feeling, does not remove it, both responses can exist if not comfortably, at least coterminously. This is an important issue that historians have had to account for in other contexts; for example, how to reconcile parental authority and children's wishes regarding marriage choices. As has been demonstrated in other parts of this thesis, emotions are complex and to ignore the nuanced subtleties distorts historical understanding.

The first intimations of tension between Sir Thomas and his grandson appeared in 1729 when Harriott wrote to her brother to convey information about his position in regard to some property of their mother.[201] At the behest of her grandfather Harriott advised him to approach the brother of Sir Richard Cust to ask 'what estates the Coopers hold in Lincolnshire besides and excepting what Mr Blackerby bought for which he paid our grandfather Sir Thomas'.[202] Thomas was

[200] UNMASC, Pa C70, Harriott Parkyns, Letter, 23/01/1731.
[201] UNMASC, Pa C69, Harriott Parkyns, Letter, 19/07/1729.
[202] UNMASC, Pa C69, Harriott Parkyns, Letter, 19/07/1729.

also advised to 'enquire of Mr Blackerby what you can by fair and obliging means' to confirm the specific details and then to confer with Mr Sterropp.[203] The timing of this enquiry is crucial to understanding Thomas's thoughts and feelings towards his grandfather at this point.

Thomas's position in the family had been radically changed by his grandfather's second marriage to Jane Barnett in 1727, quickly followed by the birth of two sons; Thomas in 1728 and George in 1729.[204] Thomas had himself married; 'Elizabeth Woodroffe, the daughter of Daniel Woodroffe of London on the 14th September 1728' at Gray's Inn chapel. [205]Although there is no conclusive evidence that the marriage of Thomas and Elizabeth was clandestine, the circumstances are suggestive since the Gray's Inn chapel was a proprietary extra-parochial chapel marrying couples by licenses issued by the Bishop of London ,until 1745 when Hardwicke's Marriage Act, designed to clamp down on irregular wedding ceremonies, passed into law.[206] Marriage by license was a legitimate option for couples for a variety of reasons. but it was also subject to misuse by underage couples, as Thomas and Elizabeth were, who wished to evade the scrutiny of family and community ,a necessary component of giving notice to marry by having the banns called in the parish church.[207] Having had sight of a letter no longer accessible, Bernard Twelvetrees suggested that Sir Thomas had tried to prevent the marriage,

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[203] UNMASC, Pa C69, Harriott Parkyns, Letter, 19/07/1729.
[204] NRO, PR399, Bunny Register, 1723-1802.
[205] Joseph Foster, *Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn 1521-1889 Together with the Register of Marriages in Gray's Inn Chapel 1695-1754* (The Hansard Publishing Union, London 1889) p.lxxvii.; NRO, DD1330, Short History.
[206] I am indebted to Andrew Mussell, Archivist, The Honourable Society of Gray's Inn, for this point.
[207] R.B. Outhwaite, *Clandestine Marriage in England 1500-1850* (Bloomsbury Publishing: London, 1995), pp58-60.

therefore, it could be that Thomas had either not sought his grandfather's consent for his marriage, as custom and courtesy dictated, or that he had wilfully ignored his expressed wishes.[208]

Thomas had also become a father to a daughter, Jane, which would explain why he felt it important to make a realistic survey of his prospects.[209]After his death it was revealed that he had run up 'a great many' gambling debts, so he might also have been under some financial pressure.[210] If this was the case, Harriott's reply will have done nothing to make him feel any easier:

> Capt John Coopers Widow… and Capt Frank Cooper are enquiring into the estate belonging to Major Cooper of Thurgarton who married our Grandmother Middlemore who tis to be feared did her endeavour to disinherit you of part of our Grandfather Middlemore and her estate in Lincolnshire to which you have a right by our fathers marriage to her daughter Middlemore…Mr Blackerby who bought Lusby can tell you the particular of what he bought of our mother all the rest in Lincolnshire the Coopers pretend to is yours as heir to our mother Alice Middlemore and I am fearful as I have heard our Grandfather Parkyns say of another estate Mrs Bell Cooper defrauded us. [211]

Thomas took his sister's advice to consult Mr Sterrop but by October had not received copies of the documents he requested. The next letter written to his grandfather suggests that the delay, coupled with the allegations of fraud made in Harriott's letter, caused a heightened sense of anxiety manifested by anger, suggested by the brusque tone and the accusations that his grandfather was investigating the possibility of denying him his full entitlement:

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[208] Bernard Twelvetrees, Sir Thomas Parkyns and his Buildings, Unpublished PhD thesis, p.18. The letter in question is UNMASC Pa C72.

[209] The year of Jane's birth has been calculated by working backwards from the date of her marriage as announced in the *London Evening Post* 14-16th April 1747, Issue 3034. It seems unlikely that she would have married younger than eighteen, making it probable that she was born sometime around 1729.

[210] UNMASC, Pa C23, Samuel Sterropp to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 06/03/1735.

[211] UNMASC, Pa C69, Harriott Parkyns, Letter, 19/07/1729.

> Mr Sterropp having some time ago promised me a copy of the articles made precedent to marriage between father and mother but just before he went to London, he sent me a letter in the [] thereof that he by mistake had packed them up with his other writings and had sent them to London. I look upon this as a wilful mistake and the truth be he took them up to have advice whether you can exchange Leak House Thorpe and the Leak estates and [] the clear annual value of £300 in lieu therof this being the proviso mentioned in the settlement after marriage with which I am threatened.[212]

Notes compiled by Knightly D'anvers of the Middle Temple whom Sir Thomas consulted for a legal opinion, outline the main points of contention.[213] Apart from the disputed ownership of Leake House, referred to in the letter above, there appears to have been two main issues: the first concerned a legacy of £500 bequeathed to Thomas's father Sampson in the will of his maternal grandfather John Sampson in 1691, the second was for 'the interest and the product therof' of the sale of goods and chattels belonging to John Sampson that he instructed his trustees to sell and to put the money raised out at interest until Sampson Parkyns became twenty-one, money that Thomas expected to inherit from his father.[214]
Thomas's acknowledgement of a payment of £500 from his grandfather, witnessed by Harriott in August 1731, confirmed that the issue had been partially resolved.[215]Another minor question had also been settled in Thomas's favour, when Mr Sterropp confirmed that 'your grandson is undoubtedly entitled to that ten pounds a year from the death of his father but the money you lately paid him will (I take it) fully [] any demand he may make for profits received on his account'.[216]

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212 UNMASC, Pa C72, Thomas Parkyns to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 31/10/1730.
213 UNMASC, Pa L 22/1, Case of Thomas Parkyns,1730; Pa L22/2, Case of Thomas Parkyns, 21/12/1730.
214 UNMASC, Pa L 22/1, Case of Thomas Parkyns,1730 Pa L22/2, Case of Thomas Parkyns, 21/12/1730.
215 UNMASC, Pa C71, Thomas Parkyns to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 29/08/1730.
216 UNMASC, Pa C21, Samuel Sterropp to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 26/08/1730.

There remained however the central issue of Leake House. Sir Thomas refuted Thomas's claim having been advised by 'a counsellor in Chancery who says No lands in Leak were settled the house there could not be yours without a valuable consideration elsewhere'.[217] Although firmly convinced the law was in his favour, Sir Thomas also felt very strongly that Thomas's expectations were unjustified: 'you deserve not Leake House that cost me above £6000 and no one can build the like for £50,000'… I have laid out at least £12,000 building the house I live in, Park wall £5,000 and building the tenants houses, a sufficient improvement of your estate in future without you unreasonably expecting the house at Leek for an old song'.[218]

Sir Thomas's reduction of his grandson's claim to a set of monetary values perhaps intentionally, missed a key point of Thomas's case. The value of the house existed as a material fact, however just as important was the identity conferred by ownership of it.[219] The eventual possession of Leake House as part of his inheritance had been a certainty that Thomas had lived with throughout his life. With the birth of Sir Thomas's two sons, Thomas had been, or at least feared being, displaced as his grandfather's heir. Although now more important as he had a child of his own to care for, this was not just about the alteration to his material prospects. His expectations, tied to his identity and place in the family and indeed the wider world, had been entirely undermined. Far more perilous, and indeed far reaching than potential financial disadvantage, was the damage done to the fragile commodity of reputation; a complex intersection of his material worth, his manhood and his claim

[217] UNMASC, Pa C72, Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 31/10/1730.
[218] UNMASC, Pa C72, Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 31/10/1730.
[219] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* pp.72,73.

to gentility, all of which were impacted by possession of property.[220] The case Thomas initiated at Nottingham Assizes in 1733 to contest his grandfather's disposition of the estate can therefore be understood not entirely as a dispute about material goods, but as a defence of individual social worth. [221]

While the details of the case were tested against expert opinion, the two men underpinned their legal claims with an emotional case. Thomas presented himself as 'your ever dutiful grandson' respectfully adding 'my wife joins me in our humble duties to you and good lady', assuring his grandfather that his wish was that 'things will be settled admirably' between them.[222] In his accusatory reply, Sir Thomas's disappointment in his grandson is palpable: Thomas was 'wrong to an undutifulness', his letters epitomised 'unmannerliness' and finally he charged Thomas with lacking reason and rationality, the hallmarks of mature masculinity.[223] These were transgressions against key tenets of social order: politeness, civility, hierarchy, but there is also an emotional dimension here. In the same way that grief has been understood as an indication of emotional attachment, the strength of Sir Thomas's disappointment in Thomas's behaviour reflected the emotional importance of the relationship. This is not just an outraged patriarch, Sir Thomas was mourning the loss of an affectionate relationship with his grandson, for many years the personification of the future of the Parkyns family and title.

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[220] Shapin, *Social Theory*, pp.43-64.
[221] NRO, DD 1330, Short History of the Parkyns Family of Bunny.
[222] UNMASC, Pa C72, Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 31/10/1730.
[223] UNMASC, Pa C72, Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 31/10/1730. See also Nicola Philips 'Parenting the Profligate Son: Masculinity, Gentility and Juvenile Delinquency in England,1791-1814', *Gender and History*, Vol.22, No.1 (2010), pp. 93-108.

Two years after the Assize court apparently rendered its judgement in 'favour of the grandson', Thomas' funeral was reported in the *General Evening Post*: 'Last night was decently interred in the Church of St Dunstan's in the West, the corpse of Thomas Parkyns, esq who died on Sunday last at Brompton in the 26th year of his age.'[224] As his widow began to sort out his estate the scale of Thomas's indebtedness was revealed: 'having the greatest part of the bills by me which I am sorting, there is so many I could not get them done by the time you fixed'.[225] Resolving these debts was achieved through what Hunt describes as 'a kin based system of moral enforcement and resource sharing'.[226] Thomas's wife, his executor and her brother Daniel Woodroffe met with Sir Thomas's representative Mr Sterrop to look 'over the list of debts and had a good deal of discourse about the affair'.[227] Mr Sterrop then met with Sir Thomas to 'examine into this matter and consult about proper measures'. [228] To satisfy the creditors it was proposed that composition of 10s in the pound be offered. Sir Thomas was to put up £1000, the widow was to contribute £500, together covering £3,000 of debt.[229] This was a substantial sum that did not include the gambling debts that Mr Sterropp advised could be ignored.[230] If the creditors chose to reject this arrangement and demand full payment, the widow would have been entirely reliant on Sir Thomas to 'make up the deficiency'.[231]

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[224] NRO, DD1330 Short History of the Parkyns Family of Bunny; *General Evening Post*, London June 5th – 7th 1735.
[225] UNMASC, Pa C74, Elizabeth Parkyns to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 1735.
[226] Hunt, *Middling Sort,* p.24.
[227] UNMASC, Pa C23, Sterropp, Letter, 06/03/1735.
[228] UNMASC, Pa C23, Sterropp, Letter, 06/03/1735.
[229] UNMASC, Pa C75, Samuel Sterropp to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 15/03/1735.
[230] UNMASC, Pa C23, Sterropp, Letter, 06/03/1735.
[231] UNMASC, Pa C74, Elizabeth Parkyns, Letter, 1735.

An agreement was finally drafted in 1736 to end 'all suits and differences in the family', however the title to Leak House remained an issue.[232] In Mr Holden's judgment, Sir Thomas's title was 'a very doubtful point', but Sir Thomas's insistence 'upon the widows conveying her interest in Leak House to Sir Thomas', remained an obstacle to the final agreement.[233] Elizabeth was unwilling to do this as 'should she comply with what is desired she apprehends it may hereafter be made use of to the disadvantage of the child as if it was the aim of the mother and her advisors that the child have no title'.[234] Elizabeth's defence of her child's interest had echoes of the energies expended by the Lanes and the Jury's to safeguard their individual interests; that can be understood as yet further evidence that material interests were at the heart of family relations.

In a practical sense this is a fair assessment, but only insofar as this view is privileged by the relatively small sample of correspondence that has survived. In any event this chapter has demonstrated how emotion was also present in inheritance claims through its connection with masculine identity. Resolving conflict over inherited property was important, not just because the wishes of testators had to be observed, but because it was the only way to maintain harmonious relations and, ultimately, social order. In Knightly D'anvers opinion the discord that made such an imprint on the lives of Sir Thomas and his grandchildren arose because 'that part of the copy of the will which relates to the estates at Risley and Breaston is so imperfect wanting words to make it sense'.[235] This is one of many possible examples

[232] UNMASC, Pa C24, Mr Holden to Samuel Sterropp, Letter, 1736.
[233] UNMASC, Pa C24, Mr Holden, Letter, 1736.
[234] UNMASC, Pa C24, Mr Holden, Letter, 1736.
[235] UNMASC, Pa L22/2, Case of Thomas Parkyns, 21/12/1730.

illustrating why contemporary writers placed so much stress on making a will that made a testators wishes unambiguously known in order to avoid destructive arguments between family and friends.[236]

All the indications are that Sir Thomas enjoyed an affectionate relationship with his grandchildren. The efforts he went to on their behalf were not restricted to provision for their maintenance and future material comfort which suggests that Thomas and Harriott represented more than just the continuance of the family name but existed as individuals to whom he responded emotionally. That Sir Thomas seems to have experienced some sense of enjoyment and fulfilment from being a grandparent is the inevitable assessment of his grief at the failure of his relationship with his grandson. Likewise, Lady Parkyns lifelong commitment to the welfare of her Weekes and Parkyns grandchildren offered them material and emotional support well into adulthood.

It is more difficult to detect affection between Sir Thomas and his nieces and nephews, although this does not mean that such affection didn't exist. Most of the surviving evidence is related to the pragmatic business of distributing the family assets that creates the impression that acquisitive materialism sat at the heart of family relationships. This chapter has endeavoured to suggest a corrective to that view. There is emotion in plenty in the purposeful energy with which legacies were contested, albeit of the negative variety. Fear and anxiety of varying shades about maintaining individual identity and family reputation were key here and yet the

[236] J.D Alsop 'Religious Preambles in Early Modern Wills as Formulae', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol.40, No.1, (1989), p. 220.; Christopher Marsh, 'Attitudes to Will Making in Early Modern England', Arkell, Tom; Evans, Nesta; Goose, Nigel (eds) *When Death do us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England*. (Leopards Head Press: Oxford,2000), pp.159,168,169.

Parkyns were not strangers to love and generosity. A set of underlying assumptions gave families a framework to appeal to when settling disputes and if this was essentially rooted in authority and hierarchy it did not preclude affection, although it made it more difficult to see. The final chapter of the thesis continues with this theme examining Sir Thomas's friendship network for evidence of emotions both visible and invisible.

Chapter 5
Your devoted, humble servant

Jeremy Taylor's eighteenth century treatise explaining the nature and obligations of friendship, recognised it as a vital component of personal well-being: 'As any man hath anything of the good,… so he can and must have his share of friendship.'[1] What Taylor understood by friendship had distinctly different connotations to modern concepts of this relationship since, as Randolph Trumbach has noted, friends were not just those with whom there was a close emotional rapport but included near and distant kin, patrons and clients.[2] As 'friend' was a flexible designation equally applied to relationships with or without an obvious emotional connection, historians initially defined early modern friendship in terms of a binary opposition of utility and feeling.

Early modern friendships have thus been represented in the historiography as two distinct types fundamentally different in form and expectation. Functional or instrumental friendships were cultivated with an eye to their potential to convey future social advantage. As originally articulated by Lawrence Stone, this type of friend was: 'someone who could help you on in life', signifying a relationship that did not depend on any deeper emotional connection than would naturally occur between an individual and their 'advisors, backers, associates.'[3] In contrast, sentimental friendship, 'a relationship of mutual affection', was freely chosen, solely

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[1] Early English Books Online (hereafter EEBO), T317, J. Taylor, *A Discourse of the Nature, Offices and Measures of Friendship, with Rules of Conducting it* (1657), p.10.
[2] Randolph Trumbach, *The Rise of the Egalitarian Family: Aristocratic Kinship and Domestic Relations in Eighteenth Century England* (Academic Press: New York, 1978), p.65.
[3] Laurence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (Penguin: London, 1990), p.78.

on the grounds of personal appeal with no thought of potential future benefit.[4] Recent contributions to the historiography however, challenge the idea that early modern friendship can be neatly organised into opposing types.

Naomi Tadmor's systematic examination of the friendship networks of London shopkeeper Thomas Turner suggested that the separation between instrumental and sentimental friendships was by no means as clearly distinct as had been previously assumed. Her analysis led her to conclude that, in the day to day experience of friendship, 'sentimental and sociable ties were very closely intertwined with instrumental and business ties'.[5] Similarly, Keith Thomas also noted this blend when he observed that for many, close friendships were built on already existing relationships as 'neighbours, business colleagues, or near relations'.[6] Thomas suggested that although friendship may well have originated as an instrumental relationship, it would have then naturally extended into a sentimental connection as people lived and worked together.

Nevertheless, even if a distinction between instrumental and sentimental friendship could legitimately be maintained, there is still reason to consider that both types of relationship encompass some emotional quality. Eisenstadt and Roniger's definition of patron – client relations as; 'an interaction of a simultaneous exchange of resources', appears to be an unequivocal description of an instrumental

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[4] David Garrioch, 'From Christian Friendship to Secular Sentimentality: Enlightenment Re-evaluations' in Caine, Barbara, *Friendship a History: Critical Studies of Subjectivity and Culture* (Equinox Publishing: London, 2009), p.178.; Eva Osterburg, *Friendship and Love, Ethics and Politics. Studies in Medieval and Early Modern History* (Central European University Press: Budapest, 2010), p.26.
[5] Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth Century England. Household, Kinship and Patronage* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2001), p.202.
[6] Keith Thomas, *The Ends of Life, Roads to Fulfilment in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2009), p.199.

relationship. Even so, sentiment is not entirely excluded, as the 'exchange of resources' they referred to included feeling, defined by them as a 'personal spiritual attachment' between patron and clients.[7] Thomas also conceded that although 'incidental to their main purpose', instrumental connections of the kind previously noted often generated 'amiable, even affectionate relationships.'[8] Therefore if there is a distinction, it would seem to be rooted in the motivation driving the selection of a friend, rather than the emotional value of the subsequent friendship.

This chapter takes its lead from both Tadmor's and Thomas's work and will explore the emotional experience of friendship through the varied friendships of Sir Thomas Parkyns. Mapping the emotions experienced in friendship relations will add to current understanding as this has not yet been addressed in a significant way in the historiography. It will also undertake a reconsideration of friendships that appear as primarily strategic relationships and will attempt to suggest how emotion was present here also, thereby presenting a more nuanced understanding than has been achieved to date.

To accomplish this, two key objectives have been identified: firstly, to consider how friendship was initially manifested and subsequently maintained. This will include informal strategies, such as an intellectual exchange of opinions, taking an interest in the welfare and well-being of friends and their families, as well as the practice of gift exchange and hospitality. Additionally, drawing on inter disciplinary insights from linguistics, sociology and psychology, the chapter will consider how

[7] S.N. Eisenstadt, Louis Roniger, 'Patron Client Relations as a Model of Structuring Social Exchange', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol.22, No.1 (1980), pp.49,50.
[8] Thomas, *Ends of Life*, p. 192.

friendship networks provided emotional support, whether this was explicitly articulated, implied, or can be surmised as a likely consequence. As in other chapters, family papers, self-published writings and funerary monuments of the Parkyns family will be used as evidential sources. These will be set alongside the letters exchanged between Sir Thomas and all non- kin who were included within contemporary notions of friendship.[9]

The foundations of friendship

Sir Thomas's friends comprised a large and diverse group. In his will he listed sixteen men to whom he bequeathed a mourning gift after his death, an action signalling some degree of sentimental attachment between donor and beneficiary.[10] The bequests were divided into two groups, the first seven included: Charles, Lord Talbot, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Sir Charles Sedley, Baronet Thomas Abney, William Williams Esquire and his son William Noel Williams Makepeace and William Wright Esquire. It is however the final nine beneficiaries who are of greater potential interest to this study since this group were distinguished by being separately listed as 'my neighbours, friends and relations'.[11] Included here were Francis Borlas Warren, George Gregory, John Plumptre, John Neale, Gilbert Beresford, Mr Alvery Dodsley, John Newdigate, John Launder and John Bley.

To these names can be added those men to whom Sir Thomas dedicated the various editions of his published books. As will be developed later, inclusion in a literary dedication was widely appreciated as a public statement of personal

[9] Although contemporary definitions would have included kin, these have been omitted here as they have been considered in other chapters.
[10] Garrioch, 'Christian Friendship', p.192.
[11] Nottingham Record Office, (hereafter NRO) PR313, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.13.

attachment, whether this was real or speculative. A further eighteen names appear in this context: John Manners the Duke of Rutland and his fourth son Lord Thomas Manners, Evelyn Pierrepont Duke of Kingston, Thomas Pelham Holles Duke of Newcastle, Ralph Duke of Montague, Charles Lennox Duke of Richmond, Philip Stanhope Earl of Chesterfield, Lord Scrope Howe, Lord John Montague, Captain Vernon, Francis Lewis, John Plumptre, Thomas Bennet, Job Stanton Charleton, Lord Gower of Trentham and Lord Waldegrave.

Although confirming that Sir Thomas had a substantial friendship network, for the practical purposes of this study many of these names can be disregarded as there is little or no surviving evidence to shed light on the relationship. Nevertheless, once the names of correspondents have been cross referenced with names taken from the will and book dedications, a meaningful sample remains comprising: the Duke of Kingston, the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Chesterfield, Lord and Lady Howe, Lord Thomas Manners, John Plumptre, John Bley, William Dawes, the Archbishop of York, Alvery Dodsley and George Gregory. To this list can be added the names of Robert Dormer, (Mr Justice Dormer), Robert Constable, George Arnett and Samuel Sterrop, as each of these is represented by several letters in the collection.

A further group were either the writers or recipients of only a single letter but nevertheless contribute to this study. Included here are William Singleton, Matthew Brailsford, Marshal de Tallard and Dr Knaggs. Other names are only mentioned by the major correspondents in passing, but the way they are referred to suggests that they were known to Sir Thomas in some way. In this group are Thomas Powis;

Attorney General to James II, William Cavendish Earl, later Duke, of Devonshire, Patricius Chaworth, his son Mr Chaworth, Philip Dormer Stanhope son of the Earl of Chesterfield, Mr Willmot, Mr Barnes, Sir Gervase Clifton, Lord William Miller, Mr Stillington, Dr Friend and Richard Allen Green. Finally, it should also be noted that in five other letters that will be cited here, either the writer or the addressee has not been identified.

This friendship network was largely established on permutations of three primary links: Westminster school, Whig politics and In Play wrestling. Sir Thomas attended Westminster, as did his sons and grandson, something he had in common with the Duke of Newcastle and the Duke of Dorset. He maintained his connection with the school into his adult life by attending the Annual Meeting of Westminster Scholars, serving as a steward for the meeting on at least one occasion as the *Daily Journal* from 1731 shows. [12]Additional evidence of his attendance at these gatherings comes from the third edition of *The Inn Play* published in 1727, where Sir Thomas recorded that he 'was and will ever be obliged in a singular manner, to Dr Friend, who was pleased to give me leave to take a fall (i.e., wrestle) with some of his King's Scholars (named in the dedication) in his school the very next Friday after I attended that anniversary assembly.'[13]

The Dr Friend who gave permission for that wrestling demonstration was Robert Friend, headmaster of the school from 1711-33. Whilst his tenure did not include the years either Sir Thomas or his sons were pupils, Dr Friend would have been in post when his grandson attended the school. Although the school was the

[12] *Daily Journal,* 12th January 1731.
[13] Nottingham Subscription Library (hereafter NSL), Sir Thomas Parkyns, *The Inn Play*, 1727, p.66.

initial connection between the two men, they also shared an interest in wrestling. When preparing his funeral monument Sir Thomas wrote to Dr Knaggs asking him to request Dr Friend to allow some of his scholars to compose a distich, a two line rhyming couplet, to complete one of the sculptured panels.[14] Later in the letter Sir Thomas also asked Dr Knaggs to check if 'Dr Friend rec'd my wrestling books I directed for him', promising to send replacements if the originals had gone missing.[15] Wrestling was also the heart of the relationship between Sir Thomas and the Duke of Rutland's family. Although it was to the Duke's second son Thomas, one of Sir Thomas's wrestling pupils, that Sir Thomas had a particularly strong attachment, nevertheless both the Duke and Duchess and their other children also referred to themselves as Sir Thomas's 'disciples'.[16]

As a Justice of the Peace and Deputy Lieutenant for Nottingham and Leicestershire, Sir Thomas was part of the network of local office holders so, as might be expected, there is a significant correlation between the names that appear in the context of friendship and senior figures in the county. Patricius Chaworth, who visited Bunny with his wife, and Alvery Dodsley bequeathed a mourning ring in Sir Thomas's will, each served as Sheriff of Nottingham in 1705 and 1707 respectively.[17] John Sherwin, one of Sir Thomas's executors, was mayor of Nottingham in 1716, while the Duke of Kingston and later the Dukes of Newcastle served as Lieutenants for the county during Sir Thomas's lifetime. The names of his

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[14] NRO, M43, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Dr Knaggs, Letter, 01/10/1715.
[15] NRO, M43, Parkyns, Letter, 01/10/1715.
[16] NSL, *The Inn Play*, pp. v, vi, ix.
[17] Patricius Chaworth was the illegitimate son of the 3rd Viscount Chaworth, he inherited the estate but not his father's title. There is a further connection between the two families; Sir Thomas received a bequest of £50 from Viscount Chaworth's will in 1693. NRO DDCM1/6.

friends are also prominent among the Recorders, Burgesses and Knights of the Shire.[18]

Sir Thomas supported the Whig interest in the county, headed between 1690 and 1740 by the Duke of Newcastle and supported by the Duke of Kingston, the Manners family and Lord, later Viscount, Howe and his wife, all of whom corresponded with Sir Thomas. Scrope Howe, described by Sir Thomas in a letter of condolence to his widow in 1715, as a 'friend and favourite ever of my father, self and son', had been 'a prominent Whig in the county since the Exclusion Crisis' representing the county in parliament from 1690 until his defeat in 1698 and again in 1710.[19] His son, Emmanuel Scrope Howe, one of the 'worthy gentlemen my subscribers', listed in the dedication of the third edition of *The Inn Play*, also held the seat in 1722 and again in 1727. [20] John Plumptre, also a staunch adherent of the Duke of Newcastle represented Nottingham in parliament for thirty two years.[21] Plumptre was another of the patrons listed in *The Inn Play* and, along with George Gregory, both men 'from leading town families' who successfully stood together in the borough elections in 1715 and 1722, were among the 'friends and neighbours' bequeathed a mourning ring in Sir Thomas's will.[22]

Outside of these networks the remaining connections were neighbours, in the case of Sir Gervase Clifton and Mr Chaworth, and business associates, in the case of Samuel Sterrop Sir Thomas's legal advisor, and Abel Smith, son of the founder of the

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[18] John Blackner, *History of Nottingham* (Amethyst Press: Yorkshire, 1985), pp.282-298.
[19] University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections (hereafter UNMASC), Pa C29, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Lady Howe, Letter, 25/02/1715; R. Sedgewick, *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1715-54 Vol II* (Boydell and Brewer, 1970), p.154.
[20] Sedgewick, *History*, p.154.
[21] Sedgewick, *History*, pp.358,82.
[22] Sedgewick, *History*, pp. 358,82.; NRO, PR 313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.13.

Nottinghamshire banking family.[23] The relationship with John Bley however is less easy to classify. At one time a neighbour, born in the nearby village of East Leake, John Bley established a successful distillery business in London and was thus in an ideal position to act on Sir Thomas's behalf in financial and business matters, providing a link between Sir Thomas and the city of London that became increasingly important with London's expansion as a commercial centre. John Bley fulfilled several commissions for Sir Thomas including overseeing an order for 'one dozen and a half silver plates and 4 small dishes'.[24] While the plate was being packed up for delivery by the Mansfield carrier, John Bley noticed that the 'hollow dish convenient for sauce' did not match Sir Thomas specifications: 'If I mistake not Mrs Maddon is mistaken in the model for sauce. I understood you designed it double for hot water to keep the sauce warm'.[25] But while familiar with the design, possibly having previously discussed it with Sir Thomas, Bley requested that further instructions be given to Mr Maddon as to 'how you'll have the pewter models altered as to size or otherwise', leaving the final decision to Sir Thomas in respectful acknowledgment of the limits of his remit. [26]

As Susan Whyman observed in her study of the Verney family, the 'brokerage function' fulfilled by John Bley 'was crucial to gentry families for London affected every aspect of their affairs'.[27] The intimate understanding entailed in this relationship is evident from the multiplicity of ways John Bley was involved in the

[23] UNMASC, Pa C21, Samuel Sterropp to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 26/08/1730; Pa C25, Abel Smith to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 16/11/1737.
[24] UNMASC, Pa C47, John Bley to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 05/08/1718.
[25] UNMASC, Pa C47, Bley, Letter, 05/08/1718.
[26] UNMASC, Pa C47, Bley, Letter, 05/08/1718.
[27] Susan Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late Stuart England. The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys 1660-1720* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1999), p.17.

affairs of the family. Not only did he have a detailed knowledge of financial matters, gained from untangling several complex issues connected to the inheritance from Sir Thomas's father, but as has been shown in a previous chapter, on several occasions he mediated between Sir Thomas and members of his family then resident in London, particularly his mother, Lady Parkyns and her grandchildren.[28] He demonstrated his personal loyalty by fully safeguarding Sir Thomas's interests, protecting family assets by investigating the circumstances of Ann and Thomas Jury's marriage for example. On another occasion 'Mr Carew Weeks spent an afternoon with me on Friday', so that Mr Bley could clarify his position in regard to the Parkyns estate by showing him 'the copy of the deed of settlement'.[29] John Bley also used this occasion 'to advise him to frugality', for which 'cautionary advice' Sir Thomas expressed his gratitude.[30] The degree of latitude John Bley exercised in the affairs of the family reflected the trust Sir Thomas placed in him.

That trust was confirmed by the important role John Bley took with respect to the care of Sir Thomas's grandson and heir. As Anthony Fletcher has shown, using nearby friends 'to keep an eye on children at school' was a relatively common practice.[31] Not only was John Bley entrusted with seeing the boy settled into school, but he also subsequently made several visits on Sir Thomas's behalf to check on his comfort and well-being. As would be expected in a friendship, Sir Thomas reciprocated this interest, visiting when in the vicinity; 'on Friday last being at

[28] UNMASC, Pa C46, John Bley to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 17/06/1718.
[29] UNMASC, Pa C46, Bley, Letter, 17/06/1718.
[30] UNMASC, Pa C46, Bley, Letter, 17/06/1718.
[31] Anthony Fletcher, *Growing up in England The Experience of Childhood, 1600-1914*(Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2008), p.176.

Loughborough at an Highways sessions I made use of the opportunity of visiting Mr Wight and your mother that I might advise you of their health.'[32]

The evidence considered so far has established John Bley acting as a trusted advisor, working to protect the financial interests of his friend and patron, although their letters occasionally suggest greater familiarity. John Bley is quite restrained in his addresses to Sir Thomas, only ever referring to him as 'Sir' and signing himself 'your humble servant'. However, Sir Thomas expressed his appreciation of 'the cautionary advice given to Couz Weekes' and 'the many troubles' entailed in the care of his grandson more fulsomely: 'As I am sensible I am much obliged to you I would have you [know]that I am devotedly your faithful servant'.[33] The most obvious interpretation of the apparent disparity between the warmth of addresses between the two men is to consider this as a reflection of emotional reserve as John Bley sought to maintain a professional or social distance. But other factors may be pertinent here, such as individual personality traits, or equally his responses may have been shaped by different social experiences in terms of education or cultural exposure.

There is reason, however, to consider the apparent reserve of Bley's address was not altogether a consequence of emotional distance as Sir Thomas felt sufficiently comfortable to share his rather unflattering estimate of the character of Mr Thornton:

> ..you know him that he is apt to draw in a long bow as you archers of London style the persons that are slow and not punctual in his payments and I am fearful the same may be

[32] UNMASC, Pa C46, Bley, Letter, 17/06/1718.
[33] UNMASC, Pa C46, Bley, Letter, 17/06/1718.

said of him as to his business …that he was not capable of speaking nine words in ten hours and those not to the purpose.[34]

The same letter also bitterly criticises Sir Thomas's sister in law, a woman he considered had 'used him barbarously'.[35] As Linda Pollock has suggested, such frank remarks could be the consequence of the relative privacy afforded by correspondence, but as Amy Harris has suggested, indulging in epistolary gossip 'signalled to both writer and reader that they were peers, intimates, who could set aside conventions when necessary'.[36] These less guarded confidences, especially the criticism of a family member to someone not only outside the family circle, but also socially inferior, are therefore entirely consonant with intimacy.

Expressing friendship

A preliminary assessment of the level of familiarity between other correspondents can be made using the opening and closing salutations of the letters, since these are the points at which the writer defines and acknowledges their relationship with the addressee. While Eve Tavor Bannett identifies this as the space that 'registered hierarchies and acknowledged relations of power', David Postles argues that these expressions intrinsically convey some suggestion of sentiment, whether that is 'familiarity and closeness' or 'distance and respect'.[37] Evidence taken from this particular letter collection is, at least superficially, more suggestive of the

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[34] UNMASC, Pa C46, Bley, Letter, 17/06/1718.
[35] UNMASC, Pa C46, Bley, Letter, 17/06/1718. See chapter 2 for further discussion.
[36] Linda Pollock, 'Anger and the Negotiation of Relationships in Early Modern England ', *The Historical Journal,* 47: 3 (2004), p.572.; Amy Harris, '''This I Beg My Aunt May Not Know'': Young Letter Writers in Eighteenth Century England, Peer Correspondence in an Hierarchical World', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth,* Vol. 2:3 (2009), p.344.
[37] Eve Tavor Bannett, *Empire of Letters: Letter Manuals and Transatlantic Correspondence 1680-1820* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2006), p.65.; David Postles, 'The Politics of Address in Early Modern England', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol. 18, No.1:2 (2005), p.99.

latter. There are only two instances where a direct claim of friendship was made: 'My friend' is used in one case and 'My dear friend' in another.[38] In the majority of cases the observance of social proprieties took precedence as the formal address appropriate to the social rank of the addressee was used, such as 'Your Lordship' or 'Your Grace'.[39] The most common form of address was a simple polite 'Sir', occasionally expanded to 'Honoured', 'Honourable' or 'Worthy Sir'.[40]

The same polite formality is mirrored in the subscriptions, although here friendship is referred to with greater frequency: Lord Chesterfield and the Archbishop of York each sign themselves 'Your assured friend' and the Duke of Newcastle concludes his letter with 'most faithful friend'.[41] The only other reference to friendship appears when Sir Thomas writes to Mr Basse informing him that his son William had been witnessed stealing a dog from one of Sir Thomas's tenants.[42] His request that the dog be promptly returned to its owner 'to avoid future trouble', is signed 'his as well as your friend, Thomas Parkyns.'[43] The context suggests that 'friend' is used here in the sense of someone offering impartial advice for benefit of another. Given that Sir Thomas was a Justice of the Peace this might be read as a

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[38] UNMASC, Pa C27, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Robert Constable, Letter, April 1718; Pa C18, Thomas Pelham Holles Newcastle to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 17/09/1720. Irma Thoen suggests that no significance should be attached to this; she considers it simply to be a reflection that the relationship may not have been analysed in this way. Irma Thoen, *Strategic Affection? Gift exchange in Seventeenth Century Holland* (Amsterdam University Press,2007), p.165. See also Tadmor, *Family*, p.173.
[39] UNMASC, Pa C33, Sir Thomas Parkyns to the Archbishop of York, Letter, 23/12/1717; Pa C37, Sir Thomas Parkyns to 'Your Lordship', Letter, Undated.
[40] UNMASC, Pa C21, Sterrop, Letter, 26/08/1730; Pa C11, Robert Dormer to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 07/09/17-; Pa C20, John Davys to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 22/04/1730.
[41] UNMASC, Pa C13, Earl of Chesterfield to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 08/06/1717; Pa C18, Newcastle, Letter, 17/09/1720; Pa C33, Archbishop of York, Letter,23/12/1717.
[42] UNMASC, Pa C35, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Mr Basse, Letter, 02/01/1719.
[43] UNMASC, Pa C35, Parkyns, Letter, 02/01/1719.

friendly warning to Mr Basse to check his son's behaviour before it became more serious.

A common feature across all letters was the stress laid on the obedience and humility of the writer in the subscriptions. In many instances writers concluded their letter with the claim to be 'your most obedient humble servant.'[44] The value attached to sincerity, loyalty and respect was also emphasised through the use of such phrases as: 'your Lordships most faithful and sincerest humble servant', 'I am with all imaginable respect' and 'your most faithfully devoted humble servant'.[45] Incorporating as many as possible of these desirable qualities sometimes resulted in torturous phraseology; a manifestation of what Anna Bryson termed a 'competitive exercise in mutual deference'.[46] Gary Schneider considers egregious deference was a rhetorical device, evidence of 'epistolary anxiety' engendered by the practical obstacles to maintaining unbroken contact.[47] Gaps in communication caused by delayed or lost post prompted individuals to over compensate with expressions of esteem as a way of reassuring correspondents that an apparent lack of contact did not reflect any diminution in the strength of their attachment.

A style of address based in deference would seem wholly appropriate where the relationship was professionally or instrumentally based since, as Stone points

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[44] UNMASC, Pa C9, William Singleton to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 25/07/1711; Pa C19, Samuel Sterropp to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 11/10/1727; Pw187, John Plumptre to John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, Letter, 20/08/1710.

[45] UNMASC, Pa C37, Parkyns, Letter, Undated; Pa C46, Bley, Letter, 17/06/1718; Pw186, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Duke of Newcastle, Letter, 22/03/1708.

[46] Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1998), p.169.

[47] Gary Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity. Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England 1500-1700* (University of Delaware Press, 2005), pp.15,52.

out, such ‘modes of address were significant indicators of social realities’.[48] Thus, when Sir Thomas concluded a letter to the Duke of Newcastle by signing himself ‘your Grace’s Most faithful, Much Favoured, Most devoted humble servant’, a specific function was achieved; of reflecting their relative positions within the social hierarchy.[49] But even when circumstances would seem to dictate the need for warmer, more personal forms of address, such as a letter of condolence, even here a mild form of what Brown and Levinson dubbed ‘humiliative’ politeness persisted as demonstrated in the self-abnegation of an unnamed correspondent who signed a letter extending his sympathies to Sir Thomas after the death of his eldest son, as ‘the most sincere and meanest, of your friends’.[50]

Where correspondents recognised and expressed their gratitude for favours performed, this was commonly articulated by invoking obligation, thereby tacitly acknowledging the existence of a ‘balance of debt that must never be brought into equilibrium’.[51] An enduring sense of obligation ensured the continuation of the relationship in the cycle of reciprocity precisely described by William Dawes: ’I find thanks for one obligation always draws on another and when shall I ever get out of debt at that rate?’[52] As Lynn Johnson has observed, the objective of returning thanks was not to terminate an exchange, but was a further step to encourage and ‘maintain

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[48] Lawrence Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (Penguin Books: London, 1979) p.139.
[49] UNMASC Pw2 186, Parkyns, Letter, 22/03/1708.
[50] UNMASC, Pa C28, Unknown to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 13/04/1713; Penelope Brown, Stephen Levinson, *Politeness Some Universals in Language Usage* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1987), p.179.
[51] Barry Schwarz, ‘The Social Psychology of the Gift’ in Komter, Aafke, *The Gift: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Amsterdam University Press: Amsterdam,1996), p.77.
[52] UNMASC, Pa C33, Archbishop of York, Letter, undated.

an endless reciprocity'.[53] A continuous expression of gratitude bound friends and acquaintances together in the present as well as the future, exemplified in such closing expressions as 'your most faithful, humble servant to command'.[54]

The 'rhetoric of humility' was pervasive; correspondence was commonly classed as an 'honour' or 'favour', suggesting that receiving a letter was, in itself, perceived as an act of social recognition.[55] Where letters contained even relatively minor requests, these were generally presented apologetically as an unwarranted trespass on the more valuable time and energy of the addressee. Mr Singleton's appeal that Sir Thomas intervene in a dispute regarding school keys for example, was framed as just such an intrusion: 'I have something further to trouble you which I do with shame enough considering how often I have troubled you before on the same account.'[56] This fits with Tavor Bannett's observation that eighteenth century letter writing manuals recommended constructing the opening clauses of letters so as to favourably dispose the recipient of the letter to agree to the request.[57] Where commissions were accepted, they were also generally accompanied by lavish compliment. When Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles agreed to stand as godmother to Sir Thomas's granddaughter, although a daughter of one of the most influential men in the country, she expressed herself ready 'to accept the honour of serving Mr Parkyns… that she may in everything show herself duly respectful'.[58] Bryson

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[53] Lynn Johnson, 'Coercion and Interest; debating the foundations of justice in early modern England', *Journal of Early Modern History*, No.8.2 (2004), p.49.
[54] Pa C29, Parkyns, Letter, 25/02/1715 ; Pa C33, Parkyns, Letter, 23/12/1717.
[55] James Daybell, 'Material meanings and the Social Signs of Manuscript Letters in Early Modern England', *Literature Compass,* 6:3 (2009), p.655.
[56] UNMASC, Pa C9, Singleton, Letter, 25/07/1711.
[57] Tavor Bannett, *Empire*, p.75.
[58] UNMASC, Pa C10, Matthew Brailsford to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 25/11/1712.

considers that rather than an authentic expression of esteem, this should be regarded in the light of a 'manipulative' strategy whereby a 'fictive attribution of superiority … imposes an obligation to a similar response.'[59] In each instance, emotion was managed to further instrumental relationships.

Although it is difficult to assess the affective significance of a relationship purely from the evidence of the opening and closing of letters alone, if taken at face value, such expressions, which appear even in the most intimate letters, are suggestive of reserve, implying that emotional links between the correspondents were, at best, superficial. Where feelings were expressed directly it was frequently in the form of elaborate compliment that might easily be interpreted as mere compliance with social ritual rather than authentic sentiment, a process that Obadiah Walker deplored as 'the putting together of many good words to signify nothing.'[60] Walker's comment was emblematic of a shift in values identified by Philip Carter culminating in a 'redefinition of politeness' that reached its fullest expression in the later part of the eighteenth century.[61] As Lawrence Klein has shown, as the prevailing social norm, politeness had evolved from its origins in advice books as a set of ideals to regulate behaviour in royal courts, to encompass all aspects of refined social behaviour.[62] The change Carter observed centred on an emergent critique of this literature that re-evaluated courtly politeness as artificial, self-interested and

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[59] For example: UNMASC, Pa C14, B. Sherrard to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 29/09/1717; Bryson, *Courtesy*, p.168.
[60] EEBO, W400, Obadiah Walker, *Of Education* (1673), p.211.
[61] Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society. Britain 1660-1800* (Routledge: Abingdon, 2001), p.61.
[62] Lawrence Klein, 'Liberty, Manners and Politeness in Early Eighteenth Century England', *The Historical Journal*, Vol.32, No.3 (1989), p.583.

potentially duplicitous.[63] As this reaction gained momentum over the course of the century politeness was superseded by sensibility replacing a consciously mannered performance with genuine expressions of sentiment, thus dispensing with the now toxic freight of artifice attached to politeness.[64]

This is not to suggest that polite expression inherently lacked feeling, however. Pocock's analysis of the drive underpinning the concept of politeness suggested that it was originally imagined as a means of diffusing tensions generated in mid seventeenth century religious enthusiasm.[65] Politeness, founded on 'an awareness of the needs and responses of others', was not meant to suppress emotional expression, although it did seek to contain it within defined boundaries, by endorsing a mode of expression that aimed at openness and authenticity whilst simultaneously neutralising the potential for social divisions provoked by articulating personal views and opinions that could offend others.[66]

In the light of Austin's Speech Act theory discussed in the introductory chapter, the polite expressions used by correspondents would be categorised as 'Constatives'; that is, expressions designed to accomplish a specific objective.[67] Within the context of eighteenth century society, vocabularies of obligation, deference and obedience were not empty, ritualistic formula, but were purposefully deployed to preserve social harmony. For John Brewer, addresses based on a code of politeness and civility 'proposed a more harmonious ideal' of interaction that was in

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[63] Carter, *Emergence*, pp.57.58.
[64] John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination. English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Harper Collins: London, 1997), pp.111,112.
[65] J.G.A Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce and History* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1985), p.236.
[66] Carter, *Emergence*, p.65.; Bannett, *Empire*, p.73.
[67] J.L. Austin, *How to do Things with Words* (Oxford,1976), pp.3-7.; Introduction, p. 11.

stark contrast to the turmoil of 'political divisiveness and religious bigotry' experienced over the course of the seventeenth century.[68] But just as importantly on a personal level, practicing civility in this way served as a key indicator of 'status, manners and breeding' and thus underpinned individual social identity.[69]

In addition to serving wider social objectives polite courtesies were also invoked to achieve specific, personal ends illustrated by the request made by the Duke of Newcastle for Sir Thomas to support his choice of candidate in forthcoming parliamentary elections. Sir Thomas had long been aligned with the Newcastle interest as can be seen from expressions of loyalty in several letters. In October 1708 Sir Thomas took the Duke's part in a dispute concerning the ravages of the deer population in Sherwood Forest. In his position as Warden of the Forest, the Duke was pressured to present a petition for compensation to the Queen, which he refused to do for fear of offending her.[70] This became a significant issue damaging the cohesion of the local Whigs and would ultimately affect the outcome of the county election later in the year, but Sir Thomas cautioned his peers against acting precipitately because this would be interpreted as a betrayal of the Duke's trust.[71] His allegiance to the Newcastle family was widely known: when John Holles died in 1711, William Singleton offered his commiserations to Sir Thomas 'you being a friend of the Duke of Newcastle and doubtless not a sharer in that concern that all

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[68] Brewer, *Pleasures*, p.102.
[69] Peter Burke, 'A Civil Tongue: Language and Politeness in Early Modern Europe' in Burke, Harrison and Slack (eds) *Civil Histories. Essays Presented in Honour of Sir Keith Thomas* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2000), pp.31,32.
[70] Hayton, D, Cruikshank, E, Handley, S, *History of Parliament. The Commons 1690-1715 Vol.II Constituencies* (Boydell and Brewer, 2002), p.458.
[71] UNMASC, Pw2 185/1, Parkyns, Letter, 22/03/1708.

real lovers of their country must have for the loss of that great man.'[72] Following the death of the Duke Sir Thomas apparently seamlessly transferred his loyalty to the Duke's nephew and heir Thomas Pelham Holles. Nevertheless, however longstanding, it was understood that continuing loyalty was only ensured by assiduous maintenance, partly achieved by using the vocabulary of affect, a strategy Tadmor regarded as 'calculated', designed 'to introduce sentiment' into what were plainly 'unequal and utilitarian relationships.'[73]

An example of this strategy is present in a letter written by Thomas Pelham Holles in September 1720. He begins by addressing Sir Thomas in the warmest terms as 'My Dear Friend', and signs himself 'your most faithful friend and obedient, humble servant'.[74] Throughout the letter he lavishes praise on Sir Thomas for his record of public service, noting 'The zeal you have always showed for the true interest of our county, your service of the good King George'.[75] Tribute was paid to 'your assistance and interest which I am very sensible is more considerable than any gentleman in the county'.[76] This fulsome praise ended with a delicate reminder that serving the Duke's interest 'shall not fail to be represented even to the king himself who I am sure will own his obligation to you for it.'[77] In William Reddy's model these are performative utterances; that is the Duke's expressed sentiments were not wholly straightforward descriptions of Sir Thomas's service and loyalty, but were

[72] UNMASC, Pa C9, Singleton, Letter, 25/07/1711.
[73] UNMASC, Pa C18, Newcastle, Letter, 17/09/1720; Tadmor, *Family,* p.236.
[74] UNMASC, Pa C18, Newcastle, Letter, 17/09/1720.
[75] UNMASC, Pa C18, Newcastle, Letter, 17/09/1720.
[76] UNMASC, Pa C18, Newcastle, Letter, 17/09/1720.
[77] UNMASC, Pa C18, Newcastle, Letter, 17/09/1720.

finely calculated to ensure its continuation by reminding him of the advantages he gained from it.[78]

There are also reminders of the subtleties of early modern friendships. A letter written by Sir Thomas in March 1708 to John Holles, the third Duke of Newcastle, concluded with the sentiment that 'all may fall as easy as you can wish relating to the Duchess of Albemarle as well as all your undertakings.'[79] This was an interestingly layered remark with its pointed reference to a specific problem within the Duke's family; the conduct of his troublesome sister in law Elizabeth Monck, the Duchess of Albemarle. Described somewhat euphemistically as a lady of 'wayward and fretful temper', her notoriously eccentric behaviour caused her to be 'generally distinguished by the epithet 'The Mad Duchess of Albemarle', a label that outlived her second marriage to the Duke of Montague in 1692, a marriage marked by family scandal and expensive, protracted legal disputes over property. [80] While there is nothing here to suggest that Sir Thomas was privileged by any private confidence, the explicit, if discreet, reference to an important personal concern implies, or at least, claims, intimacy. Sir Thomas's signature on this letter is uncharacteristically ornate; with his name, the date and place of writing enclosed within a series of elaborate whorls. (See Appendix B). Daybell suggests that an individual's signature is a textual representation of identity and that any change conveys a personal signal. While there is no certainty, this newly elaborate signature, the only one of its kind in

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[78] William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling A Framework for the History of the Emotions* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2001), pp.98,99.
[79] UNMASC, Pw2 186, Parkyns, Letter, 22/03/1708.
[80] *Belle Assemble being Bell's Court and Fashionable Magazine*, London, Feb 1818, p.59.; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Ralph Montague, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19030?docPos=15, last date of access 15/08/2016

the collection of letters, might well be understood as a visual declaration of status intended to diffuse any intimation that in enquiring about a sensitive family matter Sir Thomas was presumptuously assuming a familiarity he was not entitled to claim.[81]

The available evidence suggests that ritualised expressions of regard were not confined to apparently instrumental interactions since they also appear in letters that resonate with warmth and good feeling. George Arnett's expression of disappointment at being unable to visit Bunny to 'wait upon that person I have so just a veneration for', implies a emotional connection that was further underlined by Arnett's willingness to take Sir Thomas's advice in personal matters.[82] Nevertheless, although he refers to Sir Thomas as an 'affectionate friend', in closing his letters he still utilises the vocabulary of submission and humility, signing himself; 'I am with deference and respect, Honoured Sir, your affectionate humble servant.' [83]

Performing friendship

Although Sir Thomas's relationships with the county elites were primarily founded on their common experience of discharging public duties, they nevertheless appear cordial. Sir Thomas lent fishing equipment to the Earl of Chesterfield and gave him his own recipe for 'slip cote cheese'.[84] From the Earl's personal acknowledgement of 'The receipt you sent me', it would seem the recipe for this local soft cheese was sent directly to him rather than to his housekeeper or steward.

[81] Daybell, 'Material meanings', p.657.
[82] UNMASC, Pa C16, George Arnett to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 30/05/1718.
[83] UNMASC, Pa C16, Arnett, Letter, 30/05/1718.
[84] UNMASC, Pa C13, Earl of Chesterfield, Letter, 08/06/1717.

Other amicable contacts include Sir Thomas's offer to the Archbishop of York to advise him on 'How you may lay out the readiest way and least expensive way' to build a duck decoy similar to his own in Bunny Park.[85] At some time during Marshal de Tallard's imprisonment in Nottingham, Sir Thomas took the opportunity to consult this 'most expert vintner' on how best to prepare the ground to increase the yield of vines grown 'before my house pruned and dressed with my own hand'.[86]

Winemaking and building were among several interests pursued energetically by Sir Thomas, but as discussed in the first chapter, the defining passion of his life was Cornish Hugg wrestling. Naturally Sir Thomas formed close attachments to men who shared this passion. Included in the preface to the third edition of *The Inn Play* is a letter from one of Sir Thomas's wrestling pupils, Lord Thomas Manners that illustrates a particularly affectionate bond. While Sir Thomas closed his letter with the subscription 'Yours devotedly with heart, hand and foot', Lord Thomas reciprocated: 'I can never thank you enough for the favour of your letter … mankind is beholden to you ... and I in particular, as you have thought me worthy of having your intentions addressed to me.'[87] Lord Thomas used the imagery of wrestling to portray a relationship founded on robust comradeship as he professed himself ready to:

> always stand upon a good guard to serve you offensively and defensively, on all stays, my arm is ever extended, my foot advanced, my fist clinched and my broadsword drawn when you call for it, in short I am Dear Sir Thomas, yours in all holds postures and guards, Inlock and Outlock, erect or inclining inside outside medium or pendant, your trusty friend Thomas Manners.[88]

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[85] UNMASC, Pa C33, Parkyns, Letter, Undated.
[86] UNMASC, Pa C64, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Marshall de Tallard, Letter, Undated.
[87] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.v.
[88] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.vi.

Steadfast support was expressed in terms of an affectionate respect glossing over the disparity in their ages and social rank, and, within the context of the master pupil relationship, authority. Thomas Manners' description of himself as 'your trusty friend' emphasised his constancy, an unmistakeable inference of a well-established bond.[89]

In some instances the mutual enjoyment of wrestling developed ties that blurred the distinctions of social rank, further evidence that, as Whyman suggested, social networks among the gentry didn't conform to a rigidly hierarchical pattern.[90]The annual wrestling competition held in Bunny at midsummer attracted wrestlers of renown like Richard Allen of Hucknall, singled out by Sir Thomas for the distinction of being designated 'my friend'.[91] This friendship was also based on the common interest in wrestling and on the part of Sir Thomas, a profound admiration of Allen's skill and prowess as a wrestler. Recording that Allen had 'frequently won the most prizes' reigning 'Champion of Nottinghamshire for twenty years at least', Sir Thomas valorised Allen's physical strength, describing how 'he wrestled for a small prize where at least twelve couples were competitors, and without much fatigue won it.'[92]

As a man who enjoyed robust good health, part of the value Sir Thomas attached to wrestling was as a regimen that cultivated physical strength and provided a legitimate outlet for men constrained from duelling to 'show their

[89] NSL, *The Inn Play,* p.vi.
[90] Whyman, *Sociability*, pp.3,32.
[91] NSL, *The Inn Play*, 1714, p.17.
[92] NSL, *The Inn Play*, 1714, p.17.

resentment of affronts offered them' in physical competition. [93] This conception of masculinity as naturally active and combative, was attractive to men like William Tunstall who expressed himself delighted by Sir Thomas's efforts to restore wrestling to popularity especially amongst the young and thus reverse the trend for young men to believe that their 'hands and legs were only made for cards and dancing.[94] Lord Thomas Manners, who also took the view that young Englishmen had sunk into 'indolence and effeminacy', applauded Sir Thomas for instructing 'Englishmen to deserve the title and teaches them to make their broad swords the terror of all Europe'.[95]

These men subscribed to a common understanding of ideal masculine behaviour that, at least in part, was founded on and sustained by physical prowess. They shared a vision of 'Brawny Britons' as rightful leaders in Europe, based on their military proficiency; a stark contrast to what was perceived as continental degeneracy.[96] Articulating their opinions in this way identified those with a similar world view, thus acting as a mechanism to recognise others who qualified as a sound connection; important in a society that considered friendship dependent on conformity to accepted views. This was not speculative discussion to explore contemporary issues, since in the examples considered here, the opinions are voiced with confidence that they are already held by the person they are expressed to. Repetition confirmed the essential legitimacy of those opinions and thus reinforced personal conviction of their inherent soundness. In this way sharing opinions as part

[93] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p. iv.
[94] NSL, The Inn Play, p.1.
[95] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.vi.
[96] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.vi.

of the exercise of friendship was fundamental to the process of social validation, serving as an 'essential anchor and resource for self-esteem and confidence'.[97]

Articulating their views in this way provided a space for individuals to rehearse commonly held anxieties. Several letters testify to tensions generated by the actions of England's perennial enemies the French and Scots; in January 1715 Robert Dormer relayed news of the first Jacobite invasion: 'the Pretender being now landed in Scotland … it is apprehended we may hear from Scotland of an action there in a few days.'[98]At such a critical juncture Sir Thomas and his friends were anxious that young Englishmen would not be equal to the physical challenge of effectively defending the country against its enemies.[99] The process of reiterating their concerns, of repeating the solutions they jointly endorsed, reinforced their collective identity and fortified their certainties.

Letters also played a part in fashioning political identities and were widely used to canvas support for electoral candidates; Sir Thomas described his own enthusiastic part in a successful campaign in 1719 when 'my own pen was blunted by writing to friends for their electing Lord William Manners'.[100]As Clare Brant's research has established, 'Sharing political intelligence was a staple of correspondence', therefore letters played an important role in shaping political discourse as contemporary political controversies were contested by friends in their written conversations.[101] As the century progressed, the reach of epistolary

[97] R.S. Albert, T.R. Brigante, 'The Psychology of Friendship Relations: Social Factors', *Journal of Social Psychology*, 56:1(1962), p.39.
[98] UNMASC, Pa C11, Dormer, Letter, 07/09/17-.
[99] UNMASC, Pa C34, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Mr Justice Dormer, Letter, 30/03/1719.
[100] UNMASC, Pa C34, Parkyns, Letter, 30/03/1719.
[101] Clare Brant, *Eighteenth Century Letters and British Culture* (Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2006), pp.169,173.

discussion was extended beyond the personal letter to letters written to be published in newspaper and pamphlet campaigns, a development Evan Gottlieb considered critical in shaping public opinion.[102]

Just such a campaign was set in train by the introduction of the Peerage Bill in 1719 by a Whig government keen to bolster their future position by permanently limiting the crown prerogative to appoint new peers to the House of Lords.[103] Among the pamphlets published to air the respective cases, some of which ran to several editions, were *The Old Whig*, written by Joseph Addison, and Sir Richard Steele's *The Plebeian*.[104] Writing to Mr Justice Dormer, who had been 'out of town' whilst 'the bill had been on the anvil', Sir Thomas advised that he read both sets of pamphlets to understand 'all the argument on that head especially the latter the Old Whig which argues clearest'.[105]

Readership of popular pamphlets provided a basis for an ongoing exchange of views and information between Sir Thomas and his friends.[106] After his 'perusal of a late virulent pamphlet ... entitled *The Clemency of our English Monarch'*, Mr Sherrard concluded: 'I cannot but think Mr Justice Dormers direction highly necessary and that all friends to the government ought vigorously to oppose such open insults.'[107] The primary function of the pamphlet was to persuade, but in this

[102] Brant, *Letters,* p.199.; Evan Gottlieb, *Feeling British: Sympathy and National Identity in Scottish and English Writing 1707-1832* (Bucknell University: Lewisburg, 2007), p.12.
[103] Edward Raymond Turner, 'The Peerage Bill of 1719', *The English Historical Review*, Vol.28, No.110, (1913), p.243.
[104] Turner, 'Peerage Bill', p.250.
[105] UNMASC, Pa C34, Parkyns, Letter, 30/03/1719. Six months later Sir Thomas also suggested Justice Dormer read the *Free thinker Extraordinary* and the *Free Thinker Ordinary* number VII.
[106] Weatherill, Lorna, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760* (Routledge: London and New York, 1996), p.189.
[107] UNMASC, Pa C14, Sherrard, Letter, 29/09/1717.

instance, for Sir Thomas, Mr Sherrard and Justice Dormer, it served to confirm what they already knew and believed. Their engagement with the contemporary discourse was an opportunity for them to reiterate views held in common which reinforced their friendship with every repetition.

On a more personal level, friends expressed their interest in the welfare and progress of each other's children. For the most part, in the period covered by the letters, this interest was focused on Sir Thomas 's grandson, Thomas. Some enquiries, such as Mr Plumptre's wish for 'the speedy and splendid advancement of your grandson' imply that the dominant concern was for the child to realise their potential for social advancement.[108] But while this was undoubtedly present, it was not the exclusive concern as the Archbishop of York's reception of the news that Sir Thomas had successfully negotiated his grandson's entry to Westminster School demonstrates.[109] The operation of patronage is evident in this process beginning with the Archbishop's expression of appreciation of 'your compliance with my request of boarding him at Mrs Tollets', rewarding Sir Thomas's deference to his judgement by promising to exercise his influence further by giving Mrs Tollet 'strict charge to take all possible care of him' adding 'I have no doubt that she will do so.'[110]Although that final phrase leaves no doubt that it is chiefly the Archbishop's intervention that would secure the best care for Thomas, it would also reassure Sir Thomas that his grandson would be well looked after, suggesting that there was

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[108] UNMASC, Pa C12, John Plumptre to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 07/09/17.
[109] UNMASC, Pa C33, Archbishop of York, Letter, Undated.
[110] UNMASC, Pa C33, Archbishop of York, Letter, Undated.

potential within successful client patron relations to recognise and address emotional needs as well as practical concerns.

When Thomas took his place at Westminster Sir Thomas trusted his friend John Bley to oversee the practical details of the early school days which offered opportunities to monitor Thomas's health and progress on behalf of his grandfather.[111]In January, June and August 1718, he was able to reassure Sir Thomas of his grandson's health and spirits.[112] Friends also played an important role in the upbringing of Thomas's sister Harriott who was put in the care of the Smith family for a significant part of her childhood. The practice of placing children with a surrogate family for some part of their upbringing was understood to expand their social opportunities and facilitated 'crucial' social links.[113]

Interest therefore ranged from making polite enquiry to active participation in children's lives. However minor, playing some part in raising children can be considered an expression of regard for their parents that was duly appreciatively acknowledged in several letters. Sir Thomas recognised his 'heavy obligation' to John Bley adding 'My grandson can neither want health or fail of growth in person or win improvement of his intellect whilst daily with you.'[114] He also had occasion to thank Robert Dormer and his wife for their particular interest in his grandson as well as 'our good friends' Mr and Mrs Smith for their part in granddaughter Harriott's

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[111] Henry French, Mark Rothery,' 'Upon Your Entry into the World': Masculine Values and the Threshold of Adulthood among Landed Elites in England 1680-1800', *Social History*, Vol.33, No.4 (2008), p.410. French and Rothery consider the role John Bley fulfilled here a strategy to support Thomas in a transitional phase of his progress to independence.
[112] UNMASC, Pa C46, Bley, Letter, 17/06/1718; Pa C47, Bley, Letter, 05/08/1718.
[113] Shelia McIsaac Cooper, 'Comparisons between Early Modern and Modern English Domestic Servants', pp.64-5 cited in Clegg, Jeanne, 'Good to Think With: Domestic Servants, England 1660-1750, *Journal of Early Modern Studies*, No.4 (2015), p.53.
[114] UNMASC, Pa C46, Bley, Letter, 17/06/1718.

upbringing.[115] In turn Sir Thomas attentively enquired after the Duchess of Rutland's family, enquiries that the Duchess referred to as 'extraordinary instances of civility and respect', thanking Sir Thomas specifically for 'your obliging remembrance of Lord Sherrard', her son.[116]

More substantially than occasional informal enquiries, those who accepted an invitation to become a godparent were, overall, expected to demonstrate a consistent, lifelong interest in a child. Frequently it was those considered family friends that were invited to stand sponsor for newly born children, and whilst this was represented as a privilege bestowed by the parents, David Cressy suggests that such invitations were made with a view to securing 'connections that the growing god children might later exploit.'[117] Acquiring such socially advantageous contacts may well have been the motivation for Sampson Parkyns' invitation to the Duke of Newcastle's daughter to be godmother to his daughter Ann.[118] But even if a predominantly functional choice, building a network of influence whether based on land, political connection or office was itself 'important for the emotional structuring of relations'.[119] Insofar as parents demonstrated their long term concern for the welfare of their children when they chose godparents with future material benefit in mind, this cannot be automatically read as a decision made apart from any feeling. As godparents enlarged the community sharing an interest in the material, and

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[115] UNMASC, Pa C34, Parkyns, Letter, 30/03/1719; Pa C68, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Harriott Parkyns , Letter, 1725.
[116] UNMASC, Pa C14, Sherrard, Letter, 29/09/1717.
[117] David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death. Ritual, Religion and the Life Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1997), p.159.
[118] UNMASC, Pa C10, Matthew Brailsford to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter,25/11/1712.
[119] Hans Medick, David Sabean, David Warren, *Interest and Emotion. Essays on the study of Family and Kinship* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1984), p.5.

potentially the emotional, future of a child, this effectively multiplied the avenues of support that could be accessed in the future illustrates an investment made by parents in the welfare of their children.[120]

Selecting influential godparents may have been a way of materially future proofing children, but before modern advances in medicine, life, especially young life, was precarious as several letters of condolence in the collection testify. Writing this type of letter was particularly understood as an obligation of true friendship and was therefore taken seriously.[121] It represented an opportunity for friends to offer consolation and provide a space for the bereaved themselves to articulate and enact their emotional pain.[122] While it has been noted by Ralph Houlbrooke and others that ostentatious mourning, perceived either as questioning the divine will or as insincere, was regarded with suspicion, nevertheless, letters of condolence resonate with profound emotional distress.[123]

When his youngest son Thomas died in 1706 aged nineteen, Sir Thomas confided to the Duke of Newcastle that he felt 'exposed of mind and shaken', signing himself 'your Grace's... much afflicted servant.'[124] This sense of isolation and

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[120] Elizabeth Foyster, 'Parenting was for Life, Not Just for Childhood: The Role of Parents in the Married Lives of Their Children in Early Modern England', *The Journal of The Historical Association*, Vol.86, No.283 (2001), pp.314-327.; Linda Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent Child Relationships from 1500-1900* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge,1983); I.K. Ben-Amos, 'Reciprocal Bonding: Parents and their Offspring in Early Modern England', *Journal of Family History,* Vol.25, No.3 (2000), p.301.

[121] Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England 1480-1750* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2000), p.245.

[122] Katie Barclay, 'Grief, Faith and Eighteenth-Century Childhood: The Doddridges of Northampton', Barclay, K, et al (eds) *Death, emotion and childhood in premodern Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan: London, 2016), p.174.

[123] Ralph Houlbrooke, 'Civility and Civil Observances in the early Modern English Funeral', Burke, Harrison and Slack (eds) *Civil Histories. Essays Presented in Honour of Sir Keith Thomas* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2000), p.71.

[124] UNMASC, Pa C26, Sir Thomas Parkyns to the Duke of Newcastle, Letter, 28/07/1706.

vulnerability, the consequence of being abandoned by God to face 'injuries, severe trials and indignities', was reiterated to the Duke of Kingston.[125] In both letters he presented his loss in terms of an idealised religiosity that chose to interpret Thomas's death as a mark of Divine favour: 'I must look upon it as a merit no less than the favourite scholar who is always taxed by his indulgent master in the most knotty and improving exercise'. [126]There was comfort, too, in the thought that 'he that is dead is freed from sin', therefore Thomas's death was a manifestation of divine mercy. By 'taking him early to himself without giving him further time to disobey' God had prevented Thomas from marring his 'early promise'.[127] The essence of this theme, transposing physical and emotional loss into spiritual gain, was repeated to the Duke of Newcastle: 'the greatest assurance that I have of God's taking notice of me that ..I shall take better root in his memory'.[128] Sir Thomas's iteration of resignation to the Duke of Kingston: 'I am well satisfied the more we struggle in our misfortunes the harder we draw the knot and the more it pinches us so that as taking the advice of my friends the philosophers as the best way, I submit and lie still under the doubt', reflected a stoic acceptance of adversity that was an important element of the culturally acceptable response to grief.[129.]

There are marks of emotional intimacy in both the letters to the Duke of Kingston and the Duke of Newcastle but the greater detail in the latter affords the

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[125] UNMASC, Pa C26, Sir Thomas Parkyns to the Duke of Kingston, Letter, undated.
[126] UNMASC, Pa C26, Parkyns, Letter, Undated.
[127] EEBO, S5223, George Stanhope, *The Happiness of Good Men After Death*, London (1699), p.11; UNMASC, Pa C26, Parkyns, Letter, Undated.
[128] UNMASC, Pa C26, Parkyns, Letter, 28/07/1706; Anne Laurence, 'Godly Grief: Individual Responses to Death in Seventeenth Century Britain' in Houlbrooke, Ralph, Death*, Ritual and Bereavement* (Routledge: London and New York, 1989), p.74.
[129] UNMASC, Pa C26, Parkyns, Letter, Undated.

opportunity to consider that Sir Thomas shaped his expressions of grief to fit his audience. To the Duke he outlined his plans to settle on his surviving son Sampson '£1000 and £1500 after my mother's decease and my wife's and I departure along with an extraordinary good house I am now building for him'.[130] The settlement of property and money enhanced Sampson's marriage prospects and acted as 'an invitation' to attract 'a good and discreet wife who will delight to lead a country life with him', thereby ensuring the continuation of the family line.[131] To the premier magnate of the county, Sir Thomas represented the death of one son as a frustration of landed ambition that was restored by investment in the survivor, thus re focussing the letter to reassure the Duke that grief had not emotionally destabilised Sir Thomas, but that he retained sight of his social responsibilities. While the house that Sir Thomas was building for Sampson might be seen as 'rather too large and commodious for my estate but if I do all myself about it at an easier change being the only surveyor and director among my workmen constantly from morning til night. I hope your Grace will not look upon this as extravagant.'[132] In seeking his approval of his plans for Sampson even while mourning, Sir Thomas remained acutely aware of the Duke's role as his patron.

Expressions of sympathy made by friends to the bereaved emphasised empathetic fellow feeling. In a letter received after Sampson's death in 1713, an unnamed correspondent begged 'leave to drop a tear with you in the concern you are in and assure you I am truly sorry for the misfortune of your family in the death

[130] UNMASC, Pa C26, Parkyns, Letter, 28/07/1706.
[131] UNMASC, Pa C26, Parkyns, Letter, 28/07/1706.
[132] UNMASC, Pa C26, Parkyns, Letter, 28/07/1706.

of your son.'[133] This was a finely judged expression; a single tear validated grief as a natural and proper emotion while remaining true to prescriptive ideals that represented copious weeping as loss of control, especially significant for men.[134] Since 'Love indeed commands a tear, but faith forbids a deluge', Sir Thomas was exhorted to 'piously resign yourself up to the power which has taken away your son' remembering that 'God has many gracious ends to serve in our misfortunes'.[135] While it might seem very poor comfort to modern ears to be promised divine recompense for the loss of both sons in the form of 'drawing out your own life and health to a full length and then by restoring you a double blessing in your hopeful grandson', this letter reinforces the contemporary belief in piety as a salve for grief but is also a reminder that ultimately internal peace was achieved by realising the potential of the living. [136]

Of course, bereavement affected more than just parents, but whatever the relationship, where friends advised the newly bereaved a similar pattern was followed. In the first instance there was assurance that the burden of grief was shared. Apologising for his failure to offer his condolences in person to the widow of Lord Howe, Sir Thomas explained his absence by his concern that 'I should renovate your grief and assured of trebling my own by the very thought of Lord Howe'.[137] An

[133] UNMASC Pa C28, Parkyns, Letter, 13/04/1713.
[134] Capp, Bernard, ''Jesus wept' But Did the Englishman? Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, No.224 (2014), p.75.
[135] EEBO, B1474, Francis Bayly, *An Antidote Against Immoderate Sorrow for the Death of Our Friends* London (1660), p.21.; UNMASC Pa C28, Parkyns, Letter, 13/04/1713; Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family* p. 221. See also Andrea Brady, '''A share of sorrows'' Death in the Early Modern English Household' in Susan Broomhall, *Emotions in the Household 1200-1900* (Basingstoke: 2007), p.185.; Claire Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (1984), p.94.
[136] UNMASC, Pa C28, Parkyns, Letter, 13/04/1713; Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the family'*, p.236.
[137] UNMASC, Pa C29, Parkyns, Letter, 25/02/1715.

appeal for patient submission was repeated given that the uncertainties of life meant 'There is no such thing as tranquillity of mind this side of the grave. Without pain we should not be sensible of pleasure … if you please to make use of but part of this philosophy that you may bear the loss of your Lord.'[138]

A similar combination of empathy and pragmatism was also evident when supporting friends through physical illness. In October 1717 George Arnett reported that his response to an unspecified illness had been to 'be a hermit and scarce peep out of my cell.' [139] Sir Thomas appears to have advised that activity and company would be a wiser alternative, and the following spring Mr Arnett reported that he had deferred to what he styled his friends 'judgement or rather prescription, or Px in your last'.[140] As a consequence of knowledge gained in treating injuries occasioned in wrestling bouts and his study of 'physick both Gallenic and Paracelsick' , Sir Thomas considered himself 'a judicious physician'.[141]According to Clare Brant, it was still relatively common practice for doctors to prescribe by letter, so George Arnett's allusion to Sir Thomas's advice as a 'prescription' might be interpreted as a respectful acknowledgement of expertise, but to be fully compatible with the general tone of friendly intimacy visible in the letter, it could also be read as a gently humorous nod to a friend's conceit.[142]

Mr Arnett reassured Sir Thomas that he had complied with his advice by choosing 'merry company' and outdoor pursuits when the 'ways were passable'.[143]

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[138] UNMASC, Pa C29, Parkyns, Letter, 25/02/1715.
[139] UNMASC, Pa C15, George Arnett to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 29/10/1717.
[140] UNMASC, Pa C16, Arnett, Letter, 30/05/1718.
[141] NSL, *The Inn Play* p. iv.; British Library Newspapers, Burney Collection, *Parkers Penny Post*, London, Friday September 29th, 1727.
[142] Brant, *Letters,* p.177.
[143] UNMASC, Pa C16, Arnett, Letter, 30/05/1718.

Such was his respect for the advice, being 'very well satisfied you are more adept in everything you profess', he embraced the recommended course of action 'with as much intenseness of thought as a young lad of eighteen set upon the goal of matrimony'.[144] Reporting the successful outcome of taking his friends advice, George Arnett observes the physical renewal he experienced, and reports that he experienced an emotional shift, where a pervasive mood of autumnal melancholy was transformed to feeling 'brisk and airy' by the spring.[145]

Friends did not limit their concern to each other's physical welfare, rather prescriptive literature recognised promoting the psychological well-being of friends by offering 'counsel wisely and charitably' as an integral responsibility.[146] This involved providing an external check on friend's behaviour; although such censure was always accompanied with encouragement to correct and improve.[147] True friends did not shirk this responsibility and no issue was considered the private preserve of individuals. Speaking about the desertion of his first wife Elizabeth, Sir Thomas noted it was the 'greatest and best of our friends 'who attempted to heal the breach between them.[148] The depth of their concern was reflected in their strenuous efforts using 'powerful arguments' to persuade her to return 'to me her husband at Bunny'.[149]

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[144] UNMASC, Pa C16, Arnett, Letter, 30/05/1718.
[145] UNMASC, Pa C16, Arnett, Letter, 30/05/1718.
[146] EEBO, T317, J. Taylor, *A Discourse of the Nature, Offices and Measures of Friendship with Rules of Conducting it*, London, (1657), p.96.
[147] UNMASC, Pa C34, Parkyns, Letter, 30/03/1719.
[148] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.14.
[149] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.14.

Although such endeavours were likely mostly concerned with preserving social order, nevertheless emotions still loomed large when the ties of friendship demanded that corrective advice be offered.[150] When Sir Thomas wrote to Justice Dormer 'I could not hear you say cousin frequented assemblies, masquerades and plays without a shiver on my spirits', he rehearsed a commonly held view that all these activities were seen as frivolous and charged with sexual danger, especially for men, while the masquerade was singled out by anxious social commentators as the 'emblem of a society gone horribly wrong'.[151] There was no explicit statement of disapproval, and yet his somatic response, the 'shiver on my spirits', strongly conveyed his distaste, even anxiety.[152] On this occasion his criticism of the conduct was not expressed in a reasoned case but as an emotional experience.

That questionable behaviour evoked an emotional response was more fully exposed when Sir Thomas learned of the disgrace of his friend Robert Constable, Proctor of the Court of Arches at Canterbury, who, in 1718, was convicted of uttering 'Treasonable and Seditious words against his Majesty'.[153] Sir Thomas's initial reaction after seeing the news in the local press was shock: 'My friend I begin now to suspect my eyesight whilst I seem to see your name in Nottinghamshire news as disaffected with the government.'[154] The two men had shared many hours of intimate conversation 'in mornings when sober, in evenings when mellow and in

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[150] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.14.
[151] Elizabeth Hunt, 'A Carnival of Mirrors. The Grotesque Body of the Eighteenth-Century Masquerade', Kittredge, Katherine, *Lewd and Notorious. Female Transgression in the Eighteenth Century* (University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, U.S, 2016), p.101.
[152] UNMASC, Pa C34, Parkyns, Letter, 30/03/1719.
[153] EEBO T160581 *The Annals of King George, Year the Sixth*, (London,1721) p.391; *The Evening Post* Tues Nov 25- Thurs Nov 27th, 1718.
[154] UNMASC, Pa C27, Parkyns, Letter, April 1718.

most hours and parts of the night', and yet Sir Thomas had never suspected 'but that I kept company with a true King George's man.'[155]

Sir Thomas's reacted emotionally to this realisation; his 'satisfaction and tranquillity', were wholly undermined. [156] His outrage at being the victim of a long standing deception is almost palpable in his question: 'In the name of Fortune what have you meant whilst you have played the sycophant so many years with me as your friend?'[157] To the distress of feeling himself personally wronged by Robert Constable's deception was added a reputational wound; however unwittingly, Sir Thomas had acknowledged as a friend a man now publicly exposed as holding opinions at odds with those of his friendship network. Sir Thomas's concern with his own reputation was not unfounded as the Hanoverian regime's sensitivity to criticism was demonstrated by the severity of the punishment meted out; a £200 fine and six months in prison with a further condition compelling Constable to 'find security for his good behaviour for three years' after release.[158] This event illustrates both the intensity of feelings generated in friendship but also points to the limitations of the relationship. The primary consideration was not the enjoyment of mutual, sentimental regard since whatever the emotional satisfaction offered, friendship could only flourish where both sides subscribed to the same values. Sir Thomas's strongly worded protest can be understood as disassociating himself from

[155] UNMASC, Pa C27, Parkyns, Letter, April 1718.
[156] UNMASC, Pa C 27, Parkyns, Letter, April 1718.
[157] UNMASC, Pa C 27, Parkyns, Letter, April 1718.
[158] UNMASC, Pa C 27, Parkyns, Letter, April 1718; EEBO, T160581, *The Annals of King George,*p. 391; See Cressy, David, *Dangerous Talk: Scandalous, Seditious and Treasonable Speech in premodern England* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2010), pp.236-240.

Robert Constable in order to preserve his own reputation and place within his friendship network.[159]

Indeed, friends were a crucial resource in preserving gentlemanly reputation. In an undated letter addressed to 'Your Grace' written to rehabilitate Sir Thomas's reputation he opened his defence by acting as his own character witness contending that 'no flesh living' was capable of 'rendering me undutiful'.[160] He detailed an unblemished record of twenty six years loyal service to the crown taking part in 'levies in 3 kings and part of 2 queens' reigns' as well as being 'by your Grace on all occasions.'[161] It is however the testimony of friends that is regarded as pivotal as Sir Thomas's perceives that it is 'want of friends at court', causing the Queen to forget his 'present as well as my past services', that have given rise to the present suspicion of disloyalty.[162]

To counter the accusation, he protests his fidelity by citing the actions of friends. In the reign of James II, 'Thomas Powis my friend and King James then Attorney General' had vouched for his loyalty.[163] Of greater value however was the reminder that the Duke of Devonshire had expressed his confidence in Sir Thomas by recommending his appointment to the post of Sheriff.[164] This was a significant friend to call on, not only was the Duke 'thoroughly engaged' with the government of the day, but had been a major actor in the Glorious Revolution.[165] One of the Immortal Seven who invited William of Orange to replace his Catholic father in law

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[159] UNMASC, Pa C 27, Parkyns, Letter, April 1718.
[160] UNMASC, Pa C 38, Sir Thomas Parkyns to unnamed recipient, Letter, undated.
[161] UNMASC, Pa C 38, Parkyns, Letter, undated.
[162] UNMASC, Pa C 38, Parkyns, Letter, undated.
[163] UNMASC, Pa C 38, Parkyns, Letter, undated.
[164] UNMASC, Pa C 38, Parkyns, Letter, undated.
[165] UNMASC, Pa C 38, Parkyns, Letter, undated.

James II as King of England, he was also a prime mover in the Nottingham uprising, one of only two, that took place to coincide with the landing of William of Orange in England.[166] Thus, Sir Thomas invoked the Duke of Devonshire's credibility with the current administration as a bulwark against personal reputational damage.

Hospitality and gift giving

A key attribute of a gentlemanly reputation was the exercise of hospitality, that served to discharge social and familial obligations and reinforce ties of friendship. Correspondence served to fulfil this function to some degree, however face to face visits were the preferred form of social interaction, as George Arnett's wish to speak to Sir Thomas 'without pen and ink' bears out. [167] Neighbouring gentry and elite families entertained at Bunny included the Earl of Chesterfield who thanked Sir Thomas for 'all your favours to me and my son at Bunny' and Mr Chaworth and his wife from nearby Felley Priory who took the opportunity to rest at Bunny on the homeward journey to Annesley.[168] Impromptu visits, lacking a formal invitation, like the one made by Sir Gervase Clifton and his wife in 1711 have been suggested as indicating greater intimacy.[169]

Where invitations had to be declined, immense care was taken to carefully word the refusal in terms of regret and disappointment to avoid giving offence.

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[166] David Hosford, *Nottingham Nobles and the North Aspects of the Revolution of 1688*(Archon Books; Hamden: Connecticut, 1976), pp.6,44. At the time of the events referred to William Cavendish would have been the Earl of Devonshire, the Dukedom wasn't conferred until 1694. Sir Thomas is using the current title suggesting that this undated letter was written after then.

[167] UNMASC, Pa C 64, Parkyns, Letter, undated; Gary Schneider*, The Culture of Epistolarity Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England 1500-1700* (University of Delaware Press: 2005), p.16; UNMASC, Pa C16, Arnett, Letter, 30/05/1718.

[168] UNMASC, Pa C13, Earl of Chesterfield, Letter, 08/06/1717; Pa C32, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Reverend Master Official, Letter, 03/10/1717.

[169] UNMASC, Pa C64, Parkyns, Letter, undated; Whyman, *Sociability*, p.99.

George Arnett wrote that the necessity of a trip to York meant he was 'disappointed of seeing Bunny.'[170] The Duke of Newcastle expressed himself 'heartily sorry' not to be able to visit Bunny and took great care to ensure that this was understood as an entirely practical decision, and not a reflection on Sir Thomas personally, by offering his assurance that 'we wanted nothing but your own good company at Mansfield to make us completely happy'.[171]

The social interaction afforded by visiting friends was valued as a physical and psychological restorative:

> I am infinitely obliged to you and Mr [] your curate for your kind visit and for not only giving me an hours refreshing rest from fatigue I had undergone yesterday but also that you exhilarated and redoubled my strength and spirits with unusual vigour.[172]

As the century progressed, Kate Davison observed increasing importance was attached to social visits incorporating a functional element of self-improvement.[173] This is borne out by Sir Thomas's description of a visit to Scarborough in May 1714 as 'edifying', adding that 'I never spent 2hrs with greater pleasure, satisfaction or improvement to myself than those'.[174] Lorna Weatherill's analysis of patterns of consumption indicate that the experience of entertaining was becoming increasingly sophisticated, evidenced by the purchase of specialised equipment.[175] Sir Thomas's purchase of 18 silver plates engraved with the Parkyns coat of arms, the damask table linen and china mentioned in his will, show Sir Thomas made a financial

170 UNMASC, Pa C16, Arnett, Letter, 30/05/1718.
171 UNMASC, Pa C18, Newcastle, Letter,17/09/1720.
172 UNMASC, Pa C30, Sir Thomas Parkyns to unknown recipient, Letter, 04/05/1714.
173 Kate Davison, 'Occasional Politeness and Gentlemen's Laughter in Eighteenth Century England', *The Historical Journal*, Vol.57, No.4 (2014), p.939.
174 UNMASC, Pa C31, Sir Thomas Parkyns to unknown recipient, Letter, 26/07/1716.
175 Weatherill, *Consumer behaviour,* p.156.

investment in entertaining his friends.[176] But an emotional investment is also implied in the light of the symbolic value attached to sharing food and drink suggested by Alan Bray to make an active contribution to the formation and maintenance of friendship bonds.[177]Using this argument, enjoyment of a pleasant social occasion such as the 'hearty welcome' extended to the Archbishop of York to share 'a dish of beefsteaks and a glass of good wine at his daughter's house' can be understood as more than a making a friendly advance, but as creating an opportunity to actively cultivate this friendship.[178]

Drink played a major role on such occasions with many of the accounts mentioning toasting the health of absent friends.[179] Foyster suggests that the practice of this polite gesture was so widespread that failure to participate was perceived as an insult.[180] Along with his mother, Sir Gervase Clifton and his wife, Sir Thomas toasted the health of Marshal de Tallard in wine made 'this year from some of my grapes'.[181] When returning thanks to Sir Thomas for a gift of two pairs of ducks, John Bley added that they had been enjoyed while 'I and friends made merry … frequently drinking to the donors health'.[182] Sir Thomas described feeling 'mellow in evenings' when sharing drink in the company of Robert Constable.[183] But while choosing 'merry company' or 'making merry' conveys an atmosphere of

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[176] UNMASC, Pa C47, Bley, Letter,1718; NRO PR313 Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.14.
[177] A. Bray, M. Rey, 'The Body of a Friend: Continuity and Change in Masculine Friendship in the Seventeenth Century', in Hitchcock and Cohen, *English Masculinities 1660-1800* (Longman: Harlow, 1999), p.70.
[178] UNMASC, Pa C33, Parkyns, Letter, undated.
[179] UNMASC, Pa C33, Parkyns, Letter, undated; Pa C56, Bley, Letter, 03/01/1718.
[180] Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England Honour, Sex and Marriage* (Longman: London and New York, 1999), p.120.
[181] UNMASC, Pa C64, Parkyns, Letter, undated.
[182] UNMASC, Pa C56, John Bley to Sir Thomas Parkyns, Letter, 03/01/1718.
[183] UNMASC, Pa C27, Parkyns, Letter, April 1718.

conviviality, it is unlikely that this implied outright drunkenness.[184] Foyster and Shepard's work on masculine reputation suggests that whilst drinking played a significant part in male sociability, drunkenness was widely considered detrimental to health and more significantly, to masculine reputation where rational moderation was a key virtue.[185] As discussed in the first chapter Sir Thomas condemned immoderate drinking as it undermined athletic performance and was inimical to good health. Moreover the culture of excess was widely associated with immature youth whereas Sir Thomas and his friends would probably all be men of middle age at least.[186]

Whether polite and decorous or hearty and convivial, good conversation was a staple of these social gatherings. As Michele Cohen has demonstrated, 'the compleat' eighteenth century gentleman was a man of conversation' who deployed this skill to affirm his claim to gentility.[187] The premium placed upon polite and enlightening conversation was apparent from Sir Thomas's reluctance to allow an unnamed guest to time to peruse a book that contained 'hints and curiosities in gardening and husbandry' since this distraction would have 'deprived me of your more learned and philosophical edifying conversation.'[188] However contemporary advice also required friends to engage not just in 'frequent… delightful as well as useful conversation', but also specified that it should also be 'intimate' which surely

[184] UNMASC, Pa C16, Arnett, Letter, 30/05/1718; Pa C56, Bley, Letter,03/01/1718.
[185] Foyster, *Manhood*, p. 40.; Carter, *Emergence*, p.65.
[186] Alexandra Shepard, 'From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen? Manhood in Britain, circa 1500-1700', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol.44, No.2 (2005), p.293.
[187] Michelle Cohen, 'Manners Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry and the Construction of Masculinity1750-1830', *Journal of British Studies* Vol. 44, No. 2 (2005), p.325.
[188] UNMASC, Pa C30, Sir Thomas Parkyns to unknown recipient, Letter, 04/05/1714.

suggests that friendship depended on exchanging deeper, more intense confidences.[189]

Exchanging gifts further reinforced friendship ties; food gifts; chiefly game from the home estate, 'the gift of words'; news and intellectual exchange, books, dedications and poems, mourning rings and other tokens were regularly exchanged between friends.[190] Anthropologists and sociologists have conceptualised gifts as 'vehicles and instruments for realities of another order; influence, power, sympathy, status, emotion'.[191] As such, they are therefore loaded with symbolism beyond their material reality as a commodity. Gift giving has also been interpreted as a mechanism to prolong a relationship by initiating a cycle of reciprocity, an unending, ongoing process of exchange.[192] With the possible exception of mourning tokens that have an obviously emotional dimension, gifts should not necessarily be considered to be intrinsically sentimental tokens of regard but can also be understood as 'an imposition of identity' intended to convey messages of social status and power.[193]

Heal makes a case for considering letters, as a form of words used to convey news and ideas, as a gift in themselves.[194]This is confirmed by Robert Dormer's wish that 'I might make some other returns than in words only but I find myself

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[189] EEBO, M1069, S. Masters, *A discourse of friendship preached at the Wiltshire Feast in St Mary le Bow Church,* December 1st, 1684, p.10.
[190] Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2014), p.43.
[191] Levi Strauss, 'The Principle of Reciprocity' in Lewis Coser and Bernard Rosenberg, *Sociological Theory; A Book of Readings* 5th ed (Macmillan: New York, 1982), p.63.
[192] Heal, *Power*, pp.23, 43,44.; Ben Amos, 'Gifts and Favours', p.300.
[193] Schwarz, 'Psychology', p.69.
[194] Heal, *Power*, pp.43,49.

absolutely bankrupt that everything besides is out of my power.'[195] He then went on to relay news of strategies employed to strangle the supply lines of the Jacobite rebels and on a happier note commented: 'We have great expectations of the Princesses' happy delivery, her lying in being expected about 20th instant'.[196] Mr Sterrop described to Sir Thomas the 'great rejoicings' at the coronation of George II in October 1727 and in 1735 reported the defeat of the proposal to repeal the Tests Act that made evidence of Anglican communion a requirement for public office, thus effectively barring Catholics and Dissenters, expressing his hope, that they would now 'sit down and be quiet'.[197] Although not the primary purpose, conveying news of affairs of the day served to diminish social or cultural isolation and as such provided 'material evidence of social connectedness'.[198]

More tangible gifts were made in the form of food; Lord Chesterfield authorised his keeper to send Sir Thomas 'a fat buck' from his deer park.[199] Sir Thomas went on to boast of a 'standing commission' for venison from Lord Chesterfield, as a means of publicising his social connections and the 'degree of his prestige'.[200] In the upper ranks of society, giving food as a gift was not undertaken as practical contribution to the household budget, it was intended to put the recipient

[195] UNMASC, Pa C11, Dormer, Letter, 14/01/1715.
[196] UNMASC, Pa C11, Dormer, Letter, 14/01/1715.
[197] UNMASC, Pa C19, Sterrop, Letter, 1727; Pa C 75, Samuel Sterropp to Sir Thomas Parkyns, letter, 1735; H.T Dickinson, *The Politics of the People in Eighteenth- Century Britain* (St Martin's Press: Basingstoke and London, 1995), p.85.
[198] Schneider, *Epistolarity*, p.27,48.
[199] UNMASC, Pa C13, Chesterfield, Letter, 08/06/1717.
[200] UNMASC, Pa C13, Chesterfield, Letter, 08/06/1717; Pa C46; Bley, Letter, 17/06/1718; Levi-Strauss cited in Schwarz, *Psychology*, p.77. Sir Thomas also gave gifts of game from his own duck decoy, ducks and teal were sent to William Dawes. Three pairs of ducks were sent via the Leeds Carrier to Mr Bley which he then shared with Mr Edwards and Mr Banks. UNMASC, Pa C33, Archbishop of York, Letter, undated; UNMASC Pa C47, Bley, Letter, 17/06/1718.

in mind of the donor. In itself the consumption of fresh meat was an 'index of wealth and status', but venison had a particular significance, as possession of a deer park was an unambiguous marker of elite status.[201] Thus, the gift of venison was a particularly 'powerful gesture in the cycle of local reciprocity', underlining the ability of the donor to give such a high value gift while simultaneously confirming the intrinsic worthiness of the recipient.[202]

Besides enjoying Lord Chesterfield's venison with neighbours at Sunday dinner, Sir Thomas sent one haunch via the London coach to Mrs Tolletts, where his grandson was boarding whilst at Westminster. This was intended so that 'Mr Nicholls, Mrs Tollets and grandson's usher' might eat and drink to Lord Chesterfield's health'.[203] By distributing Lord Chesterfield's largesse further down the social scale, Sir Thomas replicated the patrician gesture, a process that again reflected the social hierarchy, albeit one layer down, thus the original gift created an opportunity for Sir Thomas to reinforce his own social networks.[204]A further haunch was despatched to John Bley's family at East Leake where, according to Sir Thomas's later report, it was made into a pie.[205] As there is some reason to consider the Bley Parkyns friendship as a more personal association, in this instance the venison may well have been intended as an expression of regard. The same gift served differing

[201] Adam Fox, 'Food, Drink and Social Distinction in Early Modern England', in Hindle, Shepard and Walter, *Remaking English Society. Social Relations and Social Change in Early Modern England* (The Boydell Press: Woodbridge, 2013), p.173.
[202] Felicity Heal, 'Food Gifts, the Household and the Politics of Exchange in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, No.199(2008), p.59.; Heal, *Power,* p.41.; Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England 1680-1780* (University of California Press: Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1996), p.147.
[203] UNMASC, Pa C46, Parkyns, Letter, undated.
[204] Whyman, *Sociability*, p.29.
[205] UNMASC, Pa C46, Parkyns, Letter, undated.

ends, but the overall objective remained the same, to 'gain security and fortify oneself against risks incurred through alliances and rivalry.'[206]

In a burgeoning literary culture books became another staple of gift giving.[207] As a published author, Sir Thomas was assiduous in presenting his own books as gifts. Copies of *An Introduction to the Latin Tongue,* the book of Latin grammar compiled for his grandson's use at school, were presented to Mr Plumptre and also to Mr Shillington's son in return for a copy of Mr Browne's *English Grammars*.[208] In his thanks to Lord Thomas Manners for his own gift to Sir Thomas of a book on wrestling, Sir Thomas was able to report with some satisfaction that his wrestling manual was 'now out of print and all disposed of to friends'.[209]

For an author, making a gift of his own writing was invested with emotional connotations that made this more than an intellectual exchange and much more than an act of egoism. Not only did the considerable personal labour invested in the book's creation enhance its perceived value as a gift, this was further multiplied by the financial sacrifice resulting from gifting a marketable commodity.[210] While all gifts had a symbolic meaning promoting social cohesion, a book had a particular potency as, although a common gift, it could be intensely personalised in the dedicatory clauses, thus for those named in the dedication, the gift of a book was invested with particular significance. An impressive selection from the English peerage is mentioned in the extended dedications to each edition of *The Inn Play*. The

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206 Ben Amos, 'Gifts and Favours, p. 299.; Levi Strauss, 'The Principle of Reciprocity', p.63.
207 Carter, *Emergence,* p. 33.
208 UNMASC, Pa C12, Plumptre, Letter, 07/09/17- ; Pa C31, Parkyns, Letter, 26/07/1716.
209 NSL, *The Inn Play*, p. iv.; NRO, M43, Parkyns, Letter, 01/10/1715.
210 Heal, *Power*, pp.44,46.

Dukes of Rutland, Kingston, Newcastle, Montagu, Richmond and Dorset are named along with the Earl of Chesterfield and Lord Howe. Although Heal considers dedications in books as 'the most precious of all the presents contemporary donors could provide', it cannot be assumed that of itself that inclusion necessarily indicates emotional attachment.[211] But at the very least, a connection of some importance is implied in polite recognition of the debt owed to patrons.

The first letter of dedication, to 'his Sacred Majesty George II', appears an unambiguous appeal for royal patronage [212] It opened by making flattering allusions to the king's 'unparralled, polite and incomparable wisdom', managing to pay homage to the policy decisions that have established ' a firm and lasting peace' achieved with 'little bloodshed', whilst at the same time proposing the king as a model of martial valour able to 'vanquish and subdue rebels at home, as well as give terror to your enemies abroad.'[213]This hagiography was followed by a humble request that 'my little book' be included in the royal library and Sir Thomas's proposal of himself as an advisor to the King's Master of Horse as an expert capable of making 'the most vicious and unmanned horse in your army stand fire without the least flinch'.[214]

In contrast, the second dedication addressed to Lord Thomas Manners is altogether more personal, peppered with friendly remembrances and highly complimentary references. After citing Martial's epigram, 'Fame comes too late to the dead', Sir Thomas thanked Thomas Manners for his generous compliments:

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[211] Heal, *Power*, p.43.
[212] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p. ii.
[213] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p. ii.
[214] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p. ii.; Heal, *Power* pp.43-46.

‘since you have given much more whilst living than I deserve’.[215] He relayed the pleasure he took ‘in your Lordships love of all heroic exercise’, commenting admiringly on ‘the aptitude with which you took my lessons, even faster than I could give you them’.[216] Underlining his belief that physical activity was fundamental to life, Sir Thomas hoped that ‘your athletic inclination continue’ so that he could enjoy the reflected glory from having ‘lived to see myself outdone by my noble and honourable scholars’.[217]

In turn, Thomas Manners paid homage to Sir Thomas as a wrestler considering that such was his prowess, he would have been capable of winning a prize at the ancient Olympic Games.[218] He encouraged Sir Thomas to ‘Suffer not your memory to be blotted out among men’ but to leave a legacy; ‘like Caesar leave your own commentaries behind you, reprint your athletic book’. Even better, he urged Sir Thomas ‘to make it still more valuable, have your own figure placed in the frontispiece, that succeeding ages may see your herculean labours were finished with herculean nerves.’[219]Although this was unmistakeably an affectionate compliment from one sportsman to another, nevertheless patronage remained an essential element of this relationship. Sir Thomas recognised the importance of Thomas Manners ‘approbation’ and duly acknowledged his obligation: ‘I would have all the world know your Lordship does me the honour, whilst I readily embrace you and your noble command’.[220]Presented in terms of client and patron,

[215] NSL, *The Inn Play,* p. xi.
[216] NSL, *The Inn Play,* p. xi.
[217] NSL, *The Inn Play,* p. xi.
[218] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.vi.
[219] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.vi.
[220] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p. xi.

but with a corresponding affectionate dimension nevertheless, the friendship between Thomas Parkyns and Thomas Manners is a good example of how instrumental and sentimental features were simultaneously present in some friendships.

This affection was not so apparent in connection with other patrons on whom Sir Thomas recognised himself as wholly dependent. The security brought by his patrons provided the 'good firm basis and foundation' for the writing and eventual publishing of *The Inn Play* without which it 'would otherwise fall to the ground'.[221] In Barry Schwarz' analysis of the psychological processes involved in gift giving he argues that an integral function of acknowledging a gift is to reflect the comparative standing of donor and recipient.[222] In this instance Sir Thomas frames his acknowledgement unmistakeably within the structure of patron client relations. However, Schwarz also considers that in this process, identity is not just reflected but is also conferred.[223]This becomes apparent in Sir Thomas's casting those men who 'strongly supported' him by extending their 'patronage, pardon and unwonted indulgence', as men of 'capabilities and active penetration'.[224] These complimentary references enhance the reputation of the patrons as well as that of the client as a consequence of their joint association in a successful endeavour.

In the dedicatory clauses considered thus far, Sir Thomas appeared as both established and prospective client but he was also solicited as a patron through the gift of verses included with a letter addressed *To The Honourable Sir Thomas Parkyns*

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[221] NSL, *The Inn Play,* p.xvi.
[222] Schwarz, ‚Psychology', p.70.
[223] Schwarz, ‚Psychology', p.70.
[224] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p. xvii.

of Bunny in County of Nottingham Upon his book of Wrestling.[225] Included in the preface of both the second and third editions and subsequently published separately in 1727 in *A Collection of Ballads and some other Occasional Poems*, the verses were written by William Tunstall whilst imprisoned in the Marshalsea for debt. [226] Tunstall hoped to persuade Sir Thomas to allow his verses to 'accompany you to the press and by that means be transmitted to fame and posterity' believing that such proximity would confer 'honours in the ages to come when so near to the honourable name of Parkyns they shall see that of Sir, your most humble servant'.[227]

When Sir Thomas sought the patronage of George II, he was careful to establish his suitability as a client by a display of deference; a strategy that Tunstall also used. He expressed himself 'very much delighted to find we have in our days a person of your quality' whose 'quality and credit' and 'skill and experience' put him in an ideal position to persuade young men to take up wrestling. [228]Throughout both letter and verses he emphasised the impact of Sir Thomas's contribution, suggesting that his advocacy of wrestling, and particularly the publication of *The Inn Play*, marked a watershed in the sport:

> Then new epocha's from thy sports shall rise,
> And future years be reckoned from thy prize,
> And men shall question where the date to place,
> To thy new Annals or to Anna's Peace. [229]

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[225] NSL, *The Inn Play,* pp.1,5. Gary Schneider notes that where verse epistles were aimed at securing patronage, they served the same communicative function of letters, see Schneider, *Epistolarity*, pp.17,19.
[226] EEBO, T000037, William Tunstall, *A Collection of Ballads and Some Other Occasional Poems* (1727), p.24.
[227] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.1.
[228] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p.1.
[229] EEBO, T000037, Tunstall, *A Collection of Ballads and Some Other Occasional Poems*, p.24.

In each comparison made by Tunstall, Sir Thomas's pre-eminence was emphasised: 'eager youths in future days, shall look, Not on my verse, but thy Gymnastic book.' The continual accent placed on the superior merits of Sir Thomas affirms his desirability as a patron, whereas the consistent deference manifested by Tunstall mark his suitability as a client.

In addition to the reassurance of an appropriate display of deference, a potential client also needed to demonstrate alignment with the values and opinions of their prospective patron. Accordingly Tunstall echoed Sir Thomas's concern about the physical and moral state of young men, drawing a parallel between decreasing participation in physical activity and the perception of a nation in decline.[230] This same opinion was echoed in another literary gift, the poem created by Francis Hoffman referred to in chapter 1; '*A poem in Defence of the Marble Effigies of Sir Thomas Parkyns.*'[231] Unlike Tunstall, Hoffman makes no apparent claim for patronage appearing to be engaged in no more than a literary show of solidarity against Sir Thomas's clerical critics. Referring to him as 'brave Parkyns', Hoffman justified Sir Thomas' advocacy of wrestling scripturally simultaneously pointing to the benefit of the nation from 'Britannia's sons improv'd'.[232]The sentiments expressed by both Tunstall and Hoffman, may or may not reflect their sincerely held opinion, but the primary purpose of these expressions was to ratify fundamental ideas and beliefs at the very heart of Sir Thomas's identity since both poems, gifts in themselves were also conceived to convey the gift of public support.

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[230] NSL, *The Inn Play*, p1.
[231] NRO, DDMI 94, Francis Hoffman, *A Poem in defence of the Marble effigies of Sir Thomas Parkyns.*
[232] NRO, DDMI 94, Hoffman, *A Poem in defence of the Marble effigies of Sir Thomas Parkyns.*

A gift more heavily redolent of affectionate ties were the small tokens, typically gloves, or rings bequeathed after death. In the sixteenth century the distribution of mourning rings was intended to act as material reminder of mortality, but by the eighteenth century the practice had become increasingly popular as a means of registering a personal sense of loss.[233] Houlbrooke sees this as an additional consequence of religious reformation whereby the distribution of mourning tokens provided a material focus for grief in the void left by the abolition of Catholic intercessory rites.[234] Acting as a reminder of their friendship with the deceased, these small gifts were material evidence of 'the intense bonding among kindred and close friends'.[235]

Whilst some testators chose to stipulate a specific amount of money, typically between ten and twenty shillings, to be given to named individuals for them to buy a mourning ring, others, like Sir Thomas, chose to have them distributed at or after the funeral. His will instructed: 'And I hereby also devise and order that rings of a guinea value each may after my death be delivered to the several persons following'.[236] He nominated sixteen individuals, divided into two distinct groups of which the final nine were specifically designated 'My neighbours, friends and relations', exactly the people identified as being the most usual recipients of mourning rings.[237]Where testators left a sum of money for the purchase of a mourning token as Lena Cowan Orlin pointed out, no direct association existed

[233] Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family,* pp.59,253.
[234] Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family*, p.253.
[235] Ben-Amos, *Culture of Giving*, p.166.; Thomas, *Ends of Life*, p.211.
[236] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will, 1735, p.13.
[237] Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family*, p.252.; Ben-Amos, *Culture of Giving*, p.166.

between the donor and the object. [238] Furthermore, as she found no evidence that bequests were indeed used as directed by testators, Orlin concluded that morning tokens should be regarded of no more emotional weight than any other economic bequest.[239] However, in this instance the men nominated by Sir Thomas were from substantial local families for whom a guinea ring could hardly be considered a financial legacy, and could even be regarded as derisory. While true that the item itself would carry no special weight, the materiality of the token would invoke remembrance of the source. Furthermore, even if regarded as a one-way sentimental transaction, a wish to be remembered rather than a wish to remember, an expressed hope to remain in memory articulates a desire to symbolically remain part of the community of friends.

This chapter set out to examine letters exchanged between Sir Thomas Parkyns and his friends to uncover the emotional nature and significance of friendship. The aim was to contribute to the current historiography by arguing that even instrumental friendship, was to some extent, underpinned by emotion. It is clear from the evidence considered that it is not possible to divide this group of friends into neat categories of sentimental or instrumental friendships: a conclusion Tadmor and Thomas had already reached. What has become apparent however is the degree to which emotion permeated even those relationships that appear, at least superficially, to be determinedly functional, thus illustrating that the rewards of friendship, then as today, are surely contextual: on some occasions providing an

[238] Lena Cowen Orlin, 'Empty vessels' in Hamling, Tara, Richardson, Catherine, *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meaning* (Taylor and Francis: Abingdon and New York, 2016), pp. 301-303.
[239] Orlin, 'Empty vessels', pp. 301-303.

emotional reward, on others returning practical social benefits. In some instances, these were combined, for example with regard to the role of friends in maintaining social reputation where a display of loyalty from a friend is emotionally rewarding but also offers the tangible benefit of being able to continue to participate in fully in social and public life. Establishing and maintaining friendship was the consequence of a number of factors. In expressions of interest in the life, family and welfare of friends, in hospitality, gift giving, acts of social recognition sharing news and opinions friendships of the period bear a remarkably similar shape to those of the modern world.

Conclusion

This thesis has examined the emotional landscape of Sir Thomas Parkyns of Bunny, Nottinghamshire. By employing the research approach of emotions, its findings contribute significantly to established historiographical debates on affective relationships in early modern England. While the concept of a low affect society originally posited by Lawrence Stone has been thoroughly challenged, important gaps remained in the historiography indicating useful work still to be done that particularly benefits from applying emotion as the analytical lens.[1] The contribution made by this thesis is in exploration of the depth and texture of emotional expression across all life cycle stages considering when and how emotional conduct was guided by social convention.

The historiography of familial relationships has expanded considerably from early analyses limited to marriage and parenthood to encompass siblinghood, the role of grandparents and more latterly, because they were included in the concept of the early modern household family, domestic servants. A noticeable overlap was uncovered between family members and individuals designated as friends and therefore research gravitated towards analysing the foundations of friendship which naturally raised questions of emotional attachment between friends. From this existing field of research, two broadly defined challenges emerged that shaped the

[1] Laurence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (Penguin Books: London, 1979).

research objectives of this study. The first was to build on current understandings of all primary personal relationships, especially those connections included in the historiography relatively recently. Secondly, and most importantly, to explore the emotional dynamics of each relationship using a holistic approach to facilitate the fullest possible appreciation of the entirety of individual emotional experience. Bringing all meaningful emotional connections together was distinctly advantageous in research terms insofar as it enabled interconnected relationships to be viewed from different perspectives.

The evidential base for this investigation comprised textual sources: family correspondence, accounts, wills, and several self-authored writings, primarily the *In-Play* wrestling manual, but also a textbook of Latin grammar and numerous pamphlets expressing Sir Thomas's thoughts and opinions on local and national issues. Physical survivals - epigraphs, memorial tablets and funerary monuments- were also exploited as evidential sources of Sir Thomas's relationships with his family, friends, servants and tenants. All sources were intensely scrutinized using insights from the major theoretical approaches outlined in the methodology; specifically, emotional language, regimes, and communities, as appropriate. While unambiguous emotion labels were used sparingly and in some source types, such as accounts for example, were entirely absent, nevertheless the scope of the evidence permitted several alternative means of recovering emotional experience. In the specific case of the letters, the relational positions of the correspondents were established in subscriptions and superscriptions which was helpful in decoding emotions implied within the content. Emotion states were also signalled through

written descriptions of gestures or posture, facial syntax and bodily sensations. Additionally, the material evidence of the letter in terms of drafting revisions, or alterations in signature were read as indicators of emotional flux. Aside from correspondence, legacies, memorials, accounts and records of charitable activity revealed the emotions underpinning the performance of Sir Thomas's extensive social and familial obligations. Finally, careful assessment of emotional utterances and behaviours in all sources revealed emotions that although not explicitly labelled, were nonetheless strongly inferred in the primary emotional expression.

Historians are becoming ever more adept at extracting emotions from relatively unpromising material and while many of the sources used would not previously been considered favourable for the recovery of early modern emotions, nevertheless, having 'squeezed the sources' a world rich in feeling was revealed.[2] Caring for his family furnished material evidence of Sir Thomas's emotional investment in marriage, children, grandchildren, nephews and nieces. The evidence also suggests he derived significant emotional satisfaction from successfully adding to the wealth and prestige of the Parkyns family and ensuring its continuation. This was also the case when fulfilling the obligations of his social rank in office holding and charitable provision. Sir Thomas left an enduring stamp on the physical landscape of his estate and in community rituals and celebrations he established that collectively added to his social credit, a source of private satisfaction and public esteem. He was a self-confessed patriot, a lover of his country determined to maintain Britain's pre-eminence in Europe and defend her against enemies both

[2] Diarmaid McCulloch, *Thomas Cromwell: A Life* (Allen Lane: USA, UK, 2018), p.15.

internal and external. This brand of loyalty was held in common with his friendship network where his acknowledged expertise in wrestling earned the approbation of peers that developed into emotionally rewarding friendships across the social spectrum.

But he also encountered setbacks and disappointments. As was the case in positive emotional experiences, points of crisis made it apparent that emotional burdens had both a private and a public component. The emotional cost of his first wife's desertion was not just experienced as a personal, emotional wound since the reputational damage incurred jeopardised his standing at the head of the local community and amongst his contemporaries which would have evoked different but nonetheless potent emotions. There can be no questioning the paralysing nature of grief experienced following the deaths of both his elder sons, but what was essentially an intensely personal loss also imperilled familial continuity that itself exacerbated the emotional cost. This was a crisis revisited with similarly intense emotional reactions when the rift between Sir Thomas and his grandson threatened to frustrate his plans to transfer the Parkyns estate in line with contemporary expectations safely into the hands of an heir of his own blood in. Each experience illustrated a wider truth that individual emotional security was, and indeed is, frequently contingent on the circumstances of those closest in blood or friendship, however when navigating emotional challenges Sir Thomas relied on two major, overlapping constructs of early modern society: social rank and gender.

The intensely hierarchical nature of early modern society conceived good social order in terms of assigning each individual to a fixed position anchored by

vertical and horizontal obligations. Individual aspiration was therefore not focused on social mobility, but on acquitting to the fullest possible extent the responsibilities associated with social placement. Memorials distilled the elements of what was regarded as a successful life into key obligations that for gentlemen like Sir Thomas depended on ensuring uninterrupted occupation of a family estate, and effectively overseeing expansion of what he himself inherited for the benefit of future generations of Parkyns. Although quantified materially in terms of properties, acres and guineas acquired in marriages and dispensed in legacies, reaching socially defined objectives could only be accomplished through relationships with family, friends and community. Therefore, each record of a material transaction, whether in wills, marriage contracts, memorials or epigraphs, had an implied emotional potential that was manifested in two distinct forms. In the first instance intimate, amicable and even patriarchal relationships had the capacity to deliver personal emotional satisfaction and in a wider sense, accomplishing socially defined objectives central to notions of selfhood and identity was of itself emotionally rewarding.

The emotional dividend men earned from successfully performing their social obligations was chiefly realised through the proper exercise of authority, maintaining orderly families and communities through effective governance. For Sir Thomas, upholding his own place within the social hierarchy required him to manage the status of inferiors and dependents, most obviously visible in the lifelong practice of deference instilled from childhood, reflected in finely graded forms of respectful address that recognised social seniority. Furthermore, to ensure that the

family as an entity, and the individuals within it, continued in a position to assert their status through possession and display of material wealth, mandated Sir Thomas's oversight of the prudent management and orderly distribution of family assets. This responsibility encompassed regulating his personal financial conduct and that of dependent family members by supervising inheritance practice and urging, and occasionally imposing, fiscal discipline. Outside of the family, providing education for the children of the community prepared them for economic activity in training for status appropriate occupations to avoid future disorder caused by idleness, dependency and poverty, but emphatically not to promote social mobility. Presiding over an economically well-ordered family and community enhanced Sir Thomas's social credit and consequentially his emotional wellbeing.

Nevertheless, although social order and private emotional satisfaction were closely connected, they were not assigned the same priority. Early modern society privileged stability as a bulwark against the chaos of disorder so that even in the context of decisions with significant emotional consequences, any individual distress that might result was perceived as of secondary importance to the overarching purpose of preserving the material and social status that were the backbone of family reputation. This guiding precept accounts for seemingly cold, authoritarian decisions to prohibit particular marriages or to refuse to bend the rules of inheritance practice to satisfy individual need or pursue a more equitable disposal of assets than primogeniture, that has led to a mistaken attribution of an unfeeling emphasis on economic priorities by early modern patriarchs. A more subtle reading of the evidence shows, however, that even in instances where decisions appeared to smack

of supremely cold authoritarianism, while emotion may have been obscured in the process, it was never completely absent.

Since the entire purpose of family was to preserve, provide and care for the whole in order to ensure the long-term interests of each part, nothing would be gained from threatening the stability of the family unit merely to satisfy transient emotional desires of individuals. However, this should not be understood as uncompromising prioritising of the material above the feeling since the damage caused by imprudent or undisciplined economic behaviours had more than just economic consequences. Jeopardising financial stability created the potential for family conflict, fragmentation even breakdown, and therefore also carried immense emotional risk. To the early modern mind prioritising fiscal order in families was vital to ensure not just the material, but also the emotional security of individual family members.

While material security underpinned and therefore asserted social status, elite families also proclaimed their right to occupy their elevated state by virtue of ancient pedigree; commonly claiming uninterrupted lineage from the eleventh century Norman invasion on their memorials.[3] Although the Parkyns ancestry may have been an especially sensitive concern, as the baronetcy was a relatively recent creation, Sir Thomas was by no means exceptional in exploiting every advantageous family connection whether or not there was any accompanying intimacy. But here again pragmatism and emotionalism bled into each other as the medals left in the

[3] Memorial, Dame Anne Parkyns, North Wall of the chancel, St Mary the Virgin, Bunny, Nottinghamshire.

care of Sir Thomas's eldest surviving son illustrate.[4] As gifts from peers commemorating the birth of the Parkyns heir, the medals confirmed Sir Thomas's inclusion within that social network, and therefore they work separately and collectively as a material symbol of status. However, they are also evidence of an emotional connection; the moment in time when the peer group was united in celebrating the birth of Sir Thomas's heir with all that implied personally and socially. Sir Thomas's wish that the medals were 'kept by him and in the family forever in commemoration of the donors', can therefore be interpreted as emblematic of both material and emotional concerns.[5] On one level the medals were preserved as a sentimental remembrance of his son's birth and of those friends who celebrated it with the family. But they were also representative of rank, and therefore Sir Thomas's concern that they were conserved and displayed, even if only for a family audience, showed the importance of using every opportunity to assert social status. The practice of bequeathing mourning tokens, small personal gifts made to selected individuals after death, might also be considered to accomplish a similar purpose. Although predominantly understood as a sentimental gesture to preserve remembrance within the constellation of family and friends, more than an emotional connection was attested to; they were a claim of social parity with those to whom such gifts were willed and therefore a final assertion of social rank.

Meeting the demands of headship of his family, household and community effectively required Sir Thomas to satisfy the idealised gender codes validating his place at head of both social and gender hierarchy. Successfully acquiring and

[4] Nottingham Records Office, (hereafter NRO) PR313, Sir Thomas Parkyns, Will,1735, p.11.
[5] NRO, PR313, Parkyns, Will,1735, p.11.

performing manly virtues established male honour or credit with positive connotations for emotional wellbeing. Failing to meet codified standards of behaviour, however, evoked painful emotions, predominantly shame. In combination these two factors supplied the necessary impetus for individual men to regulate their emotional conduct; a conscious practice of tempering emotions to avoid contravening the gender code. This process was apparent in Sir Thomas's replies to letters of condolence that were shaped as reassurances that he had not been overwhelmed, and therefore emasculated, by grief but was actively exerting his powers of reason to maintain self-mastery under extreme provocation. When in conflict with family members, friends or associates, his tone was forthright, his language blunt, but always moderate, as the guiding concern was to express his feelings within the bounds of the emotional standards expected of men. On occasion his choice of particular emotion labels reflected a nuanced appreciation of socially sanctioned emotions. Since patriarchal values informed the prevailing emotional regime, negotiating life's emotional demands was essentially presented in terms of meeting the demands of idealised gender norms.

Sir Thomas's advice to wrestlers reiterated the centrality of male honour, emphasising physical vigour and strategic reasoning as the fruits of self-discipline and moderation, key masculine traits. Every aspect of his training programme fitted his students not just to be good wrestlers but to be men who would be fit, in every sense of the word, to occupy their premier place in the gender hierarchy. However, realising his purpose to reinforce the necessity of enacting ideal male behaviour did not rest exclusively on appeals to reason. Sir Thomas appreciated and utilised the

emotive power of imagery and also deployed language to emotionally manipulate his readers, drawing clear distinctions between the masculine sheep and effeminate goats to convey approbation of men who were 'daring, healthy and robust persons', while inferring disgust and invoking shame in descriptions of infantilised and effeminate men as 'little waffling, yelping curs' and 'darling sucking bottles'.[6]

Occasional criticism of his close female relations showed that Sir Thomas's guidance and discipline of his extended family likewise rested on gendered norms. His advice to his granddaughter, advocating the application of reason as a strategy to contain and combat grief, reflected his internalisation of dominant perceptions of men invested with reasoning capacity, and of women as weak creatures whose irrationality was visible in emotional extravagance. Indeed, transgressive female behaviour was frequently at the heart of conflict within the family. Predominantly located in failing to recognise and cooperate with male authority, inappropriate female agency led to domestic clashes and ultimately familial disorder. Each separate incident of female intransigence would have its own intrinsic and immediate emotional cost, but males were particularly vulnerable as a significant component of male honour, and therefore their emotional welfare, rested on the conduct of the women under their authority. Although the expectation of what was understood as wholly natural and divinely ordained female submission did not always translate into daily experience, it was nevertheless expected that men should and would exert control. Therefore, when insubordination escalated, as it did in both the case of Sir Thomas's first wife and his sister in law particularly, this would be

[6] Nottingham Subscription Library, Sir Thomas Parkyns *The Inn Play*, 1727, p.xvi, 20,9,20.

interpreted by the world at large as the result of ineffective headship, which would consequentially multiply the emotional toll in public reputational loss.

In all aspects of life examined here, this study points to an emotional regime dependent on regulation that fits within early modern understandings of emotions as a dangerously disruptive force. Sir Thomas presented himself as accepting gendered emotional standards, regulating his own emotion and the emotions of those under his authority, according to contemporary prescription, using a variety of strategies. The study confirmed and extended understanding of how closely material and emotional concerns overlapped through analysis of the emotional stimuli sitting at the core of economic behaviours, thereby adding nuance to arguments articulated especially by Rachel Weil and David Sabean.[7] Additionally, scrutinising Sir Thomas's friendship network corroborated Naomi Tadmor and Keith Thomas's reconsideration of friendship as a combination of instrumentality and sentimentality.[8] However, the evidence considered also established the significance of sentiment within this proposed blend by demonstrating that the practice of friendship strongly inferred appreciation of a friend as a significant emotional resource.

[7] Rachel Weil, 'The Family in the Exclusion Crisis: Locke versus Filmer Revisited' in Houston, Alan and Pincus, Steve (eds) *A Nation Transformed: England after the Restoration* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2001), pp.100-124.;Hans Medick, David Sabean, (eds) *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1984).
[8] Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth Century England. Household, Kinship and Patronage* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2001).; Keith Thomas, *The Ends of Life. Roads to Fulfilment in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2009).

Nevertheless, the process of research has also raised questions that while not answered here would undoubtedly justify further study. This is certainly the case with regard to the emotional intensity of the master servant relationship, especially in the case of the men of Sir Thomas's household staff engaged primarily because of their wrestling prowess. Although historians have observed that close cooperation within the domestic environment frequently generated levels of intimacy between servants and masters, in this specific case it appears as though Sir Thomas exploited the conventional purpose of domestic service to bring certain men under his tutelage thus creating the conditions for particularly intense emotional connections.[9] Further research proposed by Kristina Straub, but as yet unrealised, may bring to light similar examples that will add further understanding of the distinctive emotional connections forged by men through domestic service, perhaps utilising William Reddy's idea that individuals find or create spaces separate from conventional constraints that serve as an emotional refuge.[10]

Although impossible to consider in any depth here, the relationship between humans and animals was a recurring theme. Sir Thomas generated income from the sale of wool and invested in high quality horses for recreation and transport, but animals were more than a material asset, they also figured as an emotional resource exemplified by the affection Harriott Parkyns felt for her pet squirrel,

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[9] Andrea Brady, ''A Share of Sorrows'' Death in the Early Modern English Household' in Broomhall, Susan, *Emotions in the Household 1200-1900* (Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2007), pp.185-201; Jeanne Clegg, 'Good to Think With: Domestic Servants, England 1660-1750', *Journal of Early Modern Studies*, No.4 (2015), pp.43-66.

[10] Kristina Straub, *Domestic Affairs: Intimacy, Eroticism and Violence between Servants and Masters in Eighteenth Century Britain*. (John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 2009).; Jan Plamper, 'The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, Peter Stearns'. *History and Theory*, Vol.49, No.2 (May 2010), p.244.

Monseigneur.[11] This example emphasised the emotional potential of the human/animal bond, although more striking was the realisation that early modernity considered animals themselves capable of emotion. Extending research currently focused on the emotional bond between humans and animals kept as economic assets to that between humans and domestic animals, or further examination of the possibilities of emotional connections made by animals to their human keepers, would in either case be interesting developments of emotions research. As Rob Boddice notes, the latter would be an exceptionally challenging undertaking, however Louise Curth is more confident as she observes a growing number of academics who see possibilities in this field. [12]

One further potentially fruitful research objective could be a re-evaluation of the emotional potency of gifts in the light of recent studies of material culture.[13] In the early modern period, food, mourning tokens, words in the form of letters, book dedications and poems, were all given as gifts, providing 'material evidence of social connectedness'.[14] The analysis of Sir Thomas's personal gift giving established exchanging gifts as a practice of greater significance than an exchange of material commodities, transmitting codified messages of social status and preserving relationships as a protection against social isolation. In the latter case, therefore,

[11] Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800* (Penguin Press: London, 1984).
[12] Rob Boddice, *The History of Emotions* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2018), pp.100-104.; Louise Hill Curth, 'Working Animals' in Broomhall, Susan, *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction* (Routledge: London and New York, 2017), p.339.
[13] For example, Hamling, Tara; Richardson, Catherine, *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Culture and its Meanings* (Taylor and Francis: Abingdon and New York, 2016).; Downes, Stephanie; Holloway, Sally; Randles, Sarah, *Feeling Things: Objects and Emotions Through History* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2018).
[14] Schneider, *Epistolarity*, Gary Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity: Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England 1500-1700* (University of Delaware Press: Newark, 2005), pp.27,48.

giving a gift was also an emotional exchange. Although Lena Cowan Orlin challenges the notion that the object gifted carries any emotional resonance, suggesting instead that it is the source of the gift that initiates any emotional response, this might be tested with regard to a gift created by the giver, or donated from their own personal possessions.

Perhaps even more timely would be to consider if benefit might be derived for postmodern society from understanding the regulation of emotional expression through early modern social codes. Humans crave social connection; just as in the eighteenth century, so today an ideal life is built on social interaction encouraging free and authentic expression of feelings as an important contribution to individual wellbeing. The age of the internet, not least the proliferation of social media sites, delivered hitherto unknown possibilities of interaction, however the immediacy of communication afforded by the internet is not wholly unproblematic as articulating opinions can easily descend into untrammelled emotional expression that has too frequently culminated in threats of physical and sexual violence in an attempt to silence dissenting voices. Nor is internet trolling of public figures the entirety of damage; schoolchildren have been the victims of online bullying campaigns, others have reacted to the breakdown of romantic relationships by posting what has become known as revenge porn, each phenomena linked to deteriorating mental health and even tragic instances of suicide that have given pause for thought as to the cost to social harmony and individual wellbeing of unconsidered speech.[15] Of course, the anonymity of internet communications coupled with a relative lack of

[15] https://www.bullying.co.uk/cyberbullying/;http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2015/2/section/33/enacted Last accessed 12/08/2020.

regulation makes it much easier to ignore conventions that may govern face to face interactions. But even away from the electronic world, calls for increased civility in public life, the proliferation of signage in public places proclaiming a zero-tolerance policy to abuse directed at employees are further evidence that society as a whole has not achieved a healthy balance between freedom of expression and emotional restraint.[16]

This is not a new challenge. Early modern society understood the cost of divisions caused by political and religious differences amongst family, friends and neighbours. Successively nuanced iterations of civility, politeness and sensibility were all attempts to formulate conventions to harness emotional restraint and achieve a balance between authentic and open expression and 'the combative aspect of social interaction'.[17] Of course, such emotional regimes would be problematic for mature liberal democracies, not least because they are based in anachronistic gender and status codes. However, whilst undesirable to reduce all human communication to comply with Thumper's Law, where if nothing nice can be said, nothing should be said at all, current strategies are largely confined to approaching the problem from a legal perspective inevitably enacted only after damage has been inflicted.[18] Although historical study has been predominantly occupied in tracing progression towards the achievement of the greatest degree of individual autonomy, a useful contribution might be made by shifting the focus of research towards evaluating the

[16] https://www.local.gov.uk/civility-public-life Last accessed 12/08/2020.

[17] Keith Thomas, *In Pursuit of Civility: Manners and Civilisation in Early Modern England* (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2018), p.12.

[18] Robert Sternberg; Peter Frensch, *Complex Problem Solving: Principles and Mechanisms* (Psychology Press, New York, London,1991), p.383.

potential merit of past emotional regimes that imposed external discipline and encouraged self-restraint, even though these may run counter to seemingly unassailable contemporary social norms. This could be a particularly opportune moment, as the recent pandemic has enforced a re-assessment of many assumptions hitherto accepted unquestioningly. An alternative possibility to capitalise on the utility of historical research presents itself coming out of scientific investigation to inform responses to Covid 19. Biomedical scientists at Manchester University used historical knowledge of past pandemics to help assess the impact of the coronavirus on modern day communities. In the opinion of Professor Sheena Cruikshank, History's involvement with this project was crucial as 'Learning about our history with disease informs our future.' [19] The academic study of history therefore has a contribution to make beyond its own pure research interests and as Emotions History particularly has benefited greatly from interdisciplinarity it is well placed to contribute to collaborative discussions with other social sciences to explore potential approaches to this specific issue. Given that History departments in universities are under enormous pressure to prove their practical worth in a world where the highest value is placed on whatever can be quantified, using historical study, including emotion studies, to inform strategies to combat persistent social questions would certainly transform perceptions of the discipline.

[19] https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-derbyshire-51904810 Last accessed 15/09/2020.

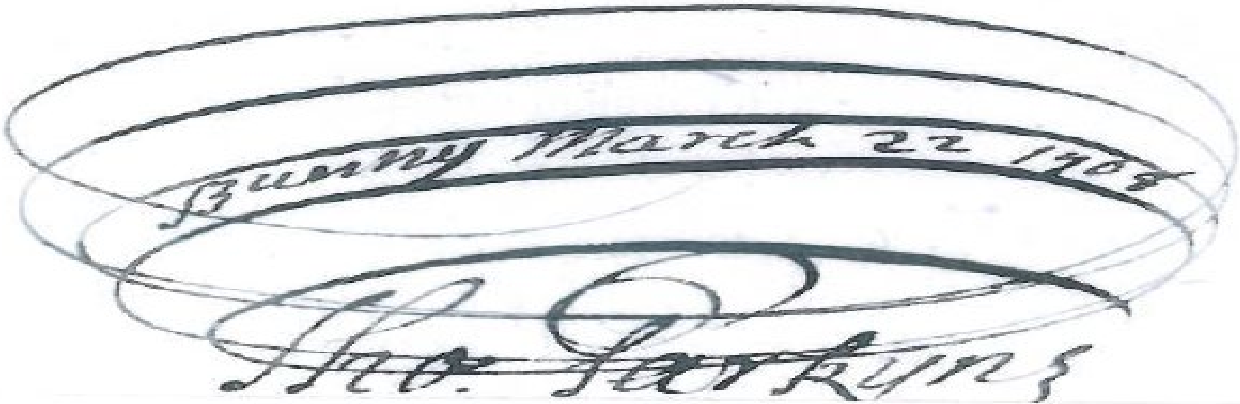
Appendix A:

Figure 1. Memorial of Sir Thomas Parkyns.[1]

[1] St Mary's parish church, Bunny, Nottingham.

Appendix B:

Figure 2. Signature Sir Thomas Parkyns.[2]



[2]UNMASC, PW2186, Sir Thomas Parkyns to Duke of Newcastle, Letter, 22/03/1708.

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